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SUSSEX.



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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1821.

ART. I.—*El Teatro Español; ó Coleccion de Dramas escogidos de Lope de Vega, Calderon de la Barca, Moreto, Roxas, Solis, Moratin, y otros célebres Escritores; precedida de una breve Noticia de la Escena Española y de los Autores que la han ilustrado.* Num^a. I.—XX. Londra. 1819, 1820, 1821.

THE drama of Spain, although its influence has been felt both in France and in England, is by no means generally known beyond the precincts of the Peninsula: the fame, in fact, of its writers has been, as it were, buried beneath their abundance. Whatever real merit Lope de Vega may possess, his celebrity is entirely ascribed to the marvellous facility with which he poured forth his prolific writings; and the long array of Calderon's works, consisting of sixteen volumes of plays and autos, is sufficient to appal a foreign reader. Occasionally the success of a particular imitation, the *Cid* of Corneille for instance, has excited the public curiosity to trace the source of so noble a poem; but in general the imitators themselves have awakened so little interest, that, instead of being able to reflect back their own fame on the originals to which they were indebted, they have themselves quietly sunk into neglect and disregard. Of the French writers who have thus taken refuge from the charge of plagiarism in utter oblivion, we might instance Quinault and Thomas Corneille; nor has the name of Dryden tempted any of his critics to trace back his *Almanzor* and the heroes of his *Indian Emperor* to their prototypes on the Spanish stage.*

If, however, there were no intrinsic merit in the works of the Spanish dramatists, it would still be a worthy object for the philosophy of literary history, to examine into the remarkable coincidence, in the manner of composition adopted by our own early writers, with that of Lope de Vega and Calderon. Nor has this forcible argument in their favour escaped the notice of those German critics, who have waged war so powerfully and successfully against the rigid and arbitrary rules of the French Aristarchs. Now, without recurring to 'the principles of romantic poetry' established by our theorizing neighbours, which we confess, after great toil and attention, we are unable clearly to

* Fletcher also appears to have had considerable intercourse with Spain. Three of his plays are from the *Novelas* of Cervantes. We think too that we trace his *Elder Brother* in the *Di una Causa* of Calderon. The supernatural part of *Mas-singer's Virgin Martyr* reminds us strongly of the same author's religious pieces.

comprehend,* and which (as we are unfortunately troubled with homely and antiquated scruples as to understanding ourselves, that we may be understood by our readers) we forbear to attempt expounding, we may simply state this remarkable fact: two nations, totally unconnected in their literature, as Spain and England undoubtedly were previously to the formation of their dramatic manner, have nevertheless simultaneously adopted the same peculiarities of composition. They have agreed to consider the dramatic illusion, whatever it may be, capable of being employed on a much more extensive scale: instead of representing a single action confined as near as possible to the natural period in which it really takes place, they have boldly placed a succession of different actions, occurring in different places and at different times, before the spectator, and demanded from his imagination the connecting together and condensing them into a whole. Sometimes, indeed, they have carried this principle to such an excess, as, in the *Winter's Tale* of Shakspeare, the *Dutchess of Malfy* of Webster, and the *Aurora en Capocabana* of Calderon, to introduce into the same piece successive generations: these extravagancies indeed, are of rare occurrence, and in general have been reprobated by sound and judicious taste. Their success, however, as long as they restrained themselves from these more violent flights, has been undoubted; the spectators have found no difficulty in following this longer and more complicated train of action; the rapid change of scene does not seem to interfere with their delight, and the poet's magical power of placing his audience at one moment in Thebes, at another in Athens, seems to be admitted. The cause of this success the acute mind of Johnson first detected; and he was at no loss to prove that the more rigid and exclusive system proceeded upon a narrow, if not an erroneous opinion as to the nature of the deception practised upon the audience in a theatre. We are aware that our antagonists will retort upon us, that this argument only proves the writers of both nations to be equally barbarous; and that this common infringement of the laws of composition by no means vindicates us in our rejection of them. But it is not on the ground of our indulging in similar extravagance that we attempt to justify each other, but because we are both found

insanire — certâ ratione modoque;

because our principle is different; because the human mind has been found capable of being strongly moved both in Spain and

* We are glad to shelter our want of comprehension under the authority of Mr. Campbell. 'When I am left (says he) to infer that all this is right on romantic principles, I confess that those principles become too romantic for my conception.'—*Essay*, p. 155.

England by this less harmonious, less simple, but at the same time more copious and varied species of dramatic representation. In fact the earlier mode of composition seems to have been very much the same in both countries: the Chronicle or the Novel selected for the groundwork was broken into scenes, and cast into dialogue; with us, as our five acts required more matter than the shorter pieces of the Spaniards, a second tale was often engrafted as an underplot, being more or less artfully connected with the main story according to the skill of the poet. The Spanish piece, however, was very rarely without the comic accompaniment of the *Gracioso*, passing with as rapid a transition from grave to gay, from tragic to comic effect, as in Shakspeare himself.

Nevertheless, though this remarkable resemblance exists between the two theatres, yet in other respects they are totally and entirely distinct. Our own national drama, that, we mean, of Shakspeare and his contemporaries, is the drama of human character. The soul of man is the subject of its delineation; the action and the circumstances of the piece are entirely subordinate and subservient to the displaying of the passions and affections of the persons represented. The interest of the piece, though sometimes most skilfully maintained, is nevertheless a secondary object; the attention is fixed almost entirely on the actions and the language of the leading characters, not so much because they conduce to the event of the piece, as because they make us, as it were, familiar with the personages before us. Hence the nature and the truth of their portraits; we do not shudder and weep merely because situations of danger and distress are placed before us, but because the language of those who address us is that of human beings under acute suffering, or violent emotion. Hence the bursts of poetry, the passages of impassioned eloquence, the delicate touches of feeling—all which betray the heart within, and admit us to a communion and a sympathy with the speaker; hence the profound though unobtrusive morality; hence the solemn train of reflection—the more than philosophic meditation into which they so often force the mind of the reader or hearer.

In the Spanish theatre it is exactly the reverse—the interest is every thing; the characters comparatively are nothing. If the feelings are generally at ease, the curiosity is never at rest; incident crowds on incident in endless variety, sometimes entirely unexpected, sometimes most subtly and artfully prepared. The breathless audience appear to hurry on, little caring in what manner the personages express themselves, only anxious to know how they are to be extricated from their difficulties, and how the conclusion is to be brought about. A Spanish play is a continued

adventure; indeed we might, without being too fanciful, almost conceive them to have grown out of the 'Romance,' or tale in verse, as the tragedies of Greece grew out of the dithyrambic ode; increased indeed in length, but having lost little of their original liveliness. In truth were this not the case, were it not for the vivid and rapid action pervading every piece, we could not possibly endure the everlasting repetition of the same *dramatis personæ*, acting from the same principles, and influenced by the same passions: the lover, faithful as Amadis, and almost as much given to poetry as Antar; the mistress relaxing by regular gradation from the lofty prude to the love-sick maiden; the brother 'jealous as the pard' of his sister's honour; the *gracioso* and the *criada*, with their amusing parody on the high-flown phrases and unremitting constancy of their superiors. The mind, therefore, is in a perpetual state of pleasing excitement, yet can rarely revert to any particular passage by which it has been strongly affected; there are no pages to which we recur again and again with unwearied and encreasing delight. While, on the one hand, we are sure of never being wearied by prolixity, or composed to sleep by languor, we are, on the other, almost secure against being elevated into rapture, or melted into tears: we are little attached to the characters while they are present before us; but are irresistibly impelled to inquire into their future destiny. The judicious remarks of Lord Holland on the genius of Lope de Vega may be applied generally to the Spanish drama. 'On the whole, the fertility of his genius in the contrivance of interesting plots, is as surprizing as in the composition of verse. Among the many I have read I have not fallen on one which does not strongly fix the attention; and though many of his plots have been transferred to the French and English stage, and rendered more correct and more probable, they have seldom or never been improved in the great article of exciting curiosity and interest. This was the spell by which he enchanted the populace, to whose taste for wonders he is accused of having sacrificed so much solid reputation. True it is that his extraordinary and embarrassing situations are often as unprepared by previous events as they are unforeseen by the audience; they come upon us by surprize, and when we know them we are as much at a loss to account for such wonderful occurrences as before; they are produced, not for the purpose of exhibiting the peculiarities of character, or the workings of nature, but with a view of astonishing the audience with strange, unexpected, unnatural, and often inconsistent conduct in some of his principal characters. Nor is this the only defect in his plots. The personages, like the author, are full of intrigue and invention, and while they lay schemes, and devise plots, with as much ingenuity

as Lope himself, they seem to be actuated by the same motives also; for it is difficult to discover any other than that of diverting and surprising the audience. Their efforts were generally attended with success. All contemporary authors bear testimony to the popularity of Lope's pieces; and for many years he continued the favourite of the public. Stories are related of the audience taking so lively an interest in his plays, as totally to give way to illusion, and to interrupt the representation. A spectator on one occasion is said to have interfered with great anxiety for the protection of an unfortunate princess—"dando voces," says my author, "contra el cruel homicida que degollaba al parecer una dama inocente"—crying out against the cruel murderer, who to all appearance was slaying an innocent lady.

This acute and discriminating criticism will justify us, we conceive, in leaving Lope de Vega in the hands of his noble biographer, more especially as his lordship has apparently done his author ample justice in the play which he has selected as a specimen of his works, and of which he has given an abstract. The '*Estrella di Sevilla*' is far superior to all the works of Lope which have fallen into our hands; indeed the arrangement of the plot is excellent. The three other plays which are contained in the '*Spanish Theatre*,' now publishing with great credit to the editor, in London, offer fair specimens of his general manner; we should, however, willingly have exchanged one of them for the '*Arauco domado*,' the extracts from which by M. Sismondi appear fully to justify the praise bestowed on it by that judicious critic.

Cervantes, whose history is one of the darkest in the martyr-ology of genius, among the various literary projects to which bitter poverty and distress reduced him, turned his attention to the theatre of his country. There is a melancholy nobleness in the tone and language with which he speaks of his more successful rival, Lope, who was basking in the favour of princes, and in a state of respectability and opulence, which, although it might not satisfy his own inordinate desires, and with which indeed he frequently expresses himself discontented, presented nevertheless a strong contrast to that of the wandering and indigent Cervantes—"that prodigy of nature, the great Lope de Vega, who raised himself to the monarchy of the stage, and brought beneath his jurisdiction all the old farce-writers (*los farsantes*)."² Of the dramatic works of Cervantes himself the greater part have perished, and of those which survive, the two contained in the present selection, the *Numancia* and the *Trato di Argel*, have alone obtained any celebrity. The latter is a confused, though at the same time a distinct representation of three plots, which, with scarcely any mutual connexion, interfere with and delay the interest each of the

other: its great attraction is that, like the *Araucana* of Ercilla, it is a sort of personal poem; the adventures of the author, during his slavery, being said to be described under one of the characters.

But the *Numancia* is in a higher strain. Rude in its conception, broken in its narration by the introduction of various allegorical personages, and with little of what is called plot, its simple energy and the dreadful reality of its incidents arrest the attention most forcibly; and we forget, in the spirit and strength of the outline, the obvious deficiency in the rest of the picture. From the days of Saguntum to those of Zaragoza, Spain has been remarkable for the obstinacy and unconquerable fortitude with which her cities have resisted their besiegers; nor had any people ever a better right to emblazon the legend '*pro aris et focis*' on their banner, than the Numantines. The poet has felt like a true descendant of such ancestors, and seems to take a pride in the undaunted and unbroken resolution with which he makes his characters endure the most awful horrors of war, and the most aggravated miseries of famine. There is no prominent or predominant character; the Numantine people are the hero of the piece; the love of Morandro and Lira, though the part on which the reader dwells with the greatest sympathy, is still strictly subordinate to the general design. It has been justly observed that there is a considerable resemblance in the construction and conduct of this piece to the ruder works of Æschylus, more particularly his '*Persæ*'; there is the same absence of individual interest, the same reliance on the incidents as they are placed successively before the spectator, with an utter neglect of artificially connecting them, and making them grow one from the other; the same hardy and unpolished energy of manner,—though we would not compare Cervantes with Æschylus in point of poetical merit.

The *Numancia* opens with a dialogue between Scipio and Jurgurtha, in which the former, to whom the Senate has entrusted the final reduction of the rebellious city, complains of the luxury and want of discipline in his army. He therefore orders them to be summoned before him; upon which, according to the stage direction, 'as many soldiers as possible enter, armed in the ancient manner, *without harquebusses*,' and, after an eloquent reproof and exhortation from him, swear to conquer Numancia, or to die. The scene is concluded by the entrance of two ambassadors from the city; but their tone of defiance mingled with submission is answered by a demand of unconditional surrender, against which their spirits revolt, and the conference ends with declarations of mutual hostility. After this enters 'a lady crowned with towers, and with a castle in her hand, who signifies Spain.' She invokes

vokes 'the high, serene and spacious heavens,' to have compassion on Numancia, within whose walls the last remains of her beloved liberty exist, and whose destiny she perceives to be near at hand; she calls also upon the River Duero, to defend the city, the walls of which it washes, and to revenge the common cause upon the enemy—upon which the River Duero enters, *with some other little boys drest like rivers as he is, which represent three small rivers which fall into the Duero.* The river utters a prophetic speech, in which it declares that no power can avert the fall of Numancia, but that Spain may console herself, for the days will come when her oppressed people shall revenge themselves upon their oppressor. The troops of Spain shall make 'the great Pilot of the Holy Bark fly away, (alluding to the siege of Clement the Seventh, in the Castle of St. Angelo, by Charles the Fifth,) and 'the sword of Spain shall again be brandished over the neck of Rome;' but 'the great Albano' (Paul the Fourth) shall have the prudence to avert the blow. All this is sadly misplaced; the execution, however, of the scene is far superior to the judgment displayed in introducing it.

The second act opens with a meeting of the leaders of the city, at which, after a spirited debate, strongly portraying the extremity to which Numancia is reduced, it is agreed that the Gods should be consulted. The next scene introduces us to the two friends, Leoncio and Morandro, and to the passion of the latter for the beautiful Lira;—while they are discoursing, the priests enter with the sacrifice, and all the people gather round them: the rites are performed with an evident study of classical accuracy; but the signs begin to be inauspicious; the flame is weak, and points to an ill-omened quarter: eagles appear in the heavens surrounding and subduing other birds; at last, when the victim is to be sacrificed, and the officiating minister prays—that 'even as he bathes his knife in the pure blood, with a clear heart and a clean conscience, so the hard earth of Numancia may be bathed with the blood of Romans, and so serve them for sepulture,' 'a devil is to rise as high as the waist through the boards of the stage, to overthrow the altar of sacrifice, put out the fire,' &c. The priests stand aghast; the melancholy Morandro expresses his despondency, but the firmer Leoncio, in the spirit of Homer's patriotic warrior, exclaims that these vain appearances subdue not the soul of the warrior.

His arm is still his star and sign,
His valour is his influence!

Not content, however, with the knowledge obtained from the gods, Marquino, an enchanter, raises a dead body from a tomb, into which, in despair at the intelligence he receives, he precipitates himself.

himself. This whole scene is little more than a free translation from the *Erictho* of *Lucan*, with the horror, if possible, aggravated.

The third act introduces us again to the Romans; *Corabino*, a Numantian chief, appears upon the wall, challenging the Roman army to single combat; *Scipio* treats his desperate defiance with contempt—upon which the scene changes to the interior of the city, when *Corabino* proposes to the citizens to force a way through the enemy sword in hand; this advice is rejected upon the entrance of their wives and children, who, in beautiful language, deprecate the being left to slavery and dishonour. Their plea is successful and they depart, *Lira* and *Morandro* alone remaining:—we should inform the reader, previously to laying our imperfect translation before him, that the play is written for the most part in the *ottava rima* of the Italians; the rest in what the Spaniards call *redondillos*, a short lyrical measure with the rhyme or assonance (in this play of *Cervantes* it is always rhyme) recurring with regularity, according to the stanza, if we may so call it, which the poet adopts at the beginning of his scene. Our translation follows the original closely in this respect, though we have now and then indulged ourselves in a licence.

Morandro. Why so swiftly art thou flying?

Go not, *Lira*,—let me still

Taste what may my spirit fill

With glad life, even while I'm dying.

Lira, let mine eyes awhile

Gaze upon thy loveliness,

Since so deep is my distress,

Thus it would its pangs beguile.

Oh sweetest *Lyre*, that soundest so,

For ever in my phantasy,

With such delicious harmony

It turns to glory all my woe.

What now? What stand'st thou mutely thinking?

Thou of my thought the only treasure!

Lira.

I'm thinking how thy dream of pleasure,

And mine so fast away is sinking.

It will not fall beneath the hand

Of him who wastes our native land.

For long, or e'er the war be o'er,

My hapless life will be no more.

Morandro. Joy of my soul, what hast thou said?

Lira.

That I am worn with hunger so,

That quickly will th' o'erpowering woe

For ever break my vital thread.

What bridal rapture dost thou dream

From one at such a sad extreme?

For

For trust me ere an hour be past
I fear I shall have breathed my last.
My brother fainted yesterday,
By wasting hunger overborne;
And then my mother, all outworn
By hunger, slowly sunk away.
And if my health can struggle yet
With hunger's cruel power, in truth
It is because my stronger youth
Its wasting force hath better met.
But now so many a day hath past,
Since aught I've had its powers to strengthen,
It can no more the conflict lengthen,
But it must faint and fail at last.

Morandro. Lira, dry thy weeping eyes;
But ah! let mine, my love, the more
Their overflowing rivers pour,
Wailing thy wretched agonies.
But though thou still art held in strife,
With hunger thus incessantly,
Of hunger still thou shalt not die
So long as I retain my life.
I offer here, from yon high wall,
To leap o'er ditch and battlement;
Thy death one instant to prevent,
I fear not on mine own to fall.
The bread, the Roman eateth now
I'll snatch away, and bear to thee;
For oh 'tis worse than death to see,
Lady, thy dreadful state of woe.

Lira. Thou speakest like a lover:—still,
Morandro, surely, 'twere not good,
That I should find a joy in food,
For which thy life-blood thou may'st spill.
But little will that succour be,
Whate'er of booty thou canst make,
While thou a surer way dost take
To lose thyself, than win for me.
Enjoy thou still thy youthful prime,
In fresh and blooming years elate:
My life is nothing to the State,
Thine every thing at such a time.
Its noblest bulwark thou canst be
Against the fierce and crafty foe;
What can the feeble prowess do
Of such a wretched maid as me?

* * * * *

Morandro. Vainly thou labourest for my stay,
Lira, in vain thou hold'st me still,

Thither,

Thither, like some glad sign, my will
 Invites and hurries me away.
 But thou the while with earnest prayer
 Beseech the Gods, to send me home
 With spoil, that may delay thy doom
 Of misery, and my despair.

Lira. My dearest friend, thou shalt not go,
 Morandro—lo even now before
 Mine eyes, ensanguin'd with thy gore
 I see the falchion of the foe.
 Seek not this desperate deed of war,
 Joy of my life, Morandro, stay;
 If peril waits thy onward way,
 Return will be more perilous far.
 Thy rashness could I but repress,
 I call the heavens to witness here
 That for the loss of thee I fear,
 I reckon not of mine own distress.
 But if, dear friend, it still must be,
 Thou still wilt run thy fatal race,
 Take as a pledge this fond embrace,
 And feel that I am still with thee.

Morandro. Be heaven thy close companion still,
 Lira!—behold Leoncio near.

Lira. Without the dreadful loss I fear,
 Mayst thou thy frantic wish fulfil! [*Exit.*

Leoncio. A fearful offer hast thou made, Morandro,
 And clearly hast thou shown, the enamour'd heart
 Knows not of cowardice:—though of thy virtue,
 And most rare valour there might well be hope,
 I fear the unhappy fates will still be jealous.
 Attentively I heard the sad extremity,
 To which thy Lira said she was reduced;
 Unworthy, truly, of her lofty worth:
 And heard thy noble promise to deliver her
 From her o'erpowering grief, and cast thyself
 With bold assault upon the Roman army;
 And I, good friend, would bear thee company,
 In thy so noble and perilous exploit,
 With all my feeble powers to succour thee.

Morandro. O my soul's half! oh most adventurous friendship,
 Still undivided even in toil and danger,
 As in most glad prosperity!—Leoncio,
 Do thou enjoy thy precious life, remain
 Within the city, for I will not be
 The murderer of thy green and tender years.
 Alone I am fix'd to go, alone I hope
 Here to return with spoil well merited
 By my inviolate faith and love sincere.

Leoncio.

- Leoncio.* Since thou hast known, Morandro, all my wishes
Blended with thine in good or evil fortune,
Thou knows't that fear of death will ne'er divide us,
Nor aught, if aught there be, more terrible.
With thee I am fix'd to go, and home with thee
Shall I return, if heaven hath not ordain'd
That I remain and perish, rescuing thee.
- Morandro.* Oh stay, my friend, and I will bless the hour;
For should I lose my life in this adventure
Of darkest peril, then wilt thou be able
To be a comfort to my woeful mother,
And to my spouse, so fervently beloved.
- Leoncio.* In truth, my friend, thou art most bountiful,
To think, when thou art dead, of my remaining
In such calm quiet and tranquillity,
That I should fill the place of comforter
To thy sad mother and most wretched wife.
Since that thy death most surely will be mine,
I am fix'd to follow thee at this dark time
Of doubt and peril—thus it must be, friend!
Morandro, speak no word of my remaining.
- Morandro.* Then, since I cannot shake thy stedfast purpose
Of sallying with me, at the dead dark night
We'll issue.

In the mean time the pyres are prepared in which the people are to destroy all their possessions and themselves. Citizens pass over the stage, bearing their furniture or their wealth. Among the rest a mother, with a child at the breast and another by her side, whose more than Ugolino suffering we are desirous, yet almost fear, to present to our reader.

- Mother.* Oh hard and irksome fate to live!
Oh fierce and terrible agony!
- Child.* Oh none, my mother, will there be,
For all that's here, some bread to give?
- Mother.* Nor bread, nor aught that's like it, child,
Not aught of food that we can eat—
- Child.* Then must I perish at thy feet
With cruel hunger raging wild.
A little bread but give to me,
Mother, I ne'er will ask again.
- Mother.* Ah, how, my child, thou giv'st me pain!
- Child.* And canst thou still unwilling be—
- Mother.* Unwilling! what am I to do.
For where to seek it, know I not—
- Child.* Mother, by you it may be bought,
Or let me buy it, if not you.

If any one would near us come,
 To soothe my pains that inly crave,
 I'd give him all that here we have,
 But for a scrap of bread, a crumb.

Mother. Still seek'st thou too, poor creature, food,
 Ah, feel'st thou not how I'm distrest?
 My infant, from my failing breast
 Thou drawest now for milk, pure blood.

* * * * *
 Alas! fierce hunger's dreadful doom,
 How dost thou close my wretched life!
 Ah war! thou sad and cruel strife,
 Only to slay me, art thou come.

Child. Oh mother! I am dying fast!
 Let's speed, and end the way we're going;
 It seems my hunger's keener growing
 With every step that we have past.

Morandro proceeds on his perilous exploit: while he struggles back with his spoil, he looks for his faithful friend; who, wounded to death, has been unable to follow him.—Lira meets him, he gives her the bread, wet with his blood, and expires at her feet. She turns with horror from the polluted food, when her brother, a child, enters with the intelligence that their father has expired, and that their mother is dying. 'My sister, thou hast some bread.' 'Oh bread!' he exclaims, 'thou art come too late,—hunger holds my throat so closed up, that if thou wert water, not a drop could find its way!' and falls dead at her feet. A soldier enters, executing a decree of the Numantine senate,—that all the women should be put to death; the beauty of Lira, in spite of her prayers for death, withholds his hand, and they depart with the bodies. In the fifth act the dreadful but heroic sacrifice is completed; the Romans scale the walls, and enter the city, where all is solitude, silence, and death: one human being survives, the boy Viriato, who has shut himself up in a tower; Scipio commands, entreats him to surrender, but the proud and fearless child replies, 'that the hatred and wrath of all Numancia is centered in his breast,' casts himself from the tower, and falls dead at the feet of the conqueror.

Thus closes the Numancia, which stands alone in the drama of Spain in its rude and austere simplicity; but it was not to a Sophocles that the Æschylus of Spain gave place. The florid and ornamented manner of Lope, wrought to its highest perfection by Pedro Calderon della Barca, gained undisputed possession of the stage. In order that our readers may clearly understand and correctly appreciate the merits of this author, some preliminary

preliminary information is requisite on the state of society and manners represented in his poetry. It is well known that the spirit of chivalry survived in Spain, after its days had been long past in other countries, and Calderon caught its last flame to animate his dramatic compositions. To its universal and predominant influence all propriety of costume, all diversity of character is sacrificed. Whatever his heroes, of whatever age or whatever country, whether Coriolan, Joven Galan or Judas Maccabeo, all are cast on the model of a preux chevalier. All are jealously punctilious, and ready to make any sacrifice to their wounded honour; while the same spotless purity is expected and rigidly exacted from their ladies. It would be in the highest degree indecorous in a female to condescend to the slightest notice of a lover who had not passed through a long ordeal of midnight watching under her balcony; the siege of what Suckling calls 'that foolish fort, a heart,' must be carried on by slow and regular approaches; after a decent period of stately contempt and coldness, it is incumbent on the lady, always provided that she has not previously surrendered to some more fortunate rival, to relax and soften; slight tokens of attachment are admitted, and at last an interview allowed, sometimes even in the chamber of the fair one, where, however, the rigid lover never thinks of violating the confidence reposed in him—the time is passed innocently enough in protestations, couched in a sort of ultra-Platonic language, in sonnetizing each other, till some unlucky interruption takes place. This secret correspondence is, however, an offence against the honour of the lady's family, which can only be washed away by the blood of the offender. Hence arise perpetual duels, the lover thinking it a duty to run through the body any one who even presumes to think upon the mistress of his affections; the relations being under the same obligation to put the midnight intruders to death without mercy. M. Sismondi animadverts with great justice on the utter contempt of human life which pervades the whole drama of Calderon: knocking out the brains of two or three Alguazils, or stabbing a rival or two, is not of sufficient importance to cause a moment's remorse, or to delay the progress of the plot for an instant.

This exalted principle of honour, and this extravagant notion of female purity predominate to a certain degree in all the four classes into which the copious drama of Calderon has been distributed—in the classical, the historical, the religious, and that which, for want of a better name, we must call the representation of common life. The poetry too is in the strictest unison with the high-wrought tone of the conception,—the universal hyperbole of character is expressed by a perpetual hyperbole of language.

language.—If the actions and feelings of the lovers may be supposed to be regulated by the strictest laws of the old ‘Parliaments of Love,’ so may their words be said to rival the metaphysical love-logic of the most subtle among the propounders of ‘Amorous Questions.’ The wildest flights of Biron and Romeo are tame to the heroes of Calderon; the Asiatic pomp of expression, the exuberance of metaphor, the perpetual recurrence of the same figures, which the poetry of Spain derived from its intercourse with the Arabic conquerors of the peninsula, are lavished by him in all their fulness. Every address of a lover to a mistress is thickly studded with stars and flowers; her locks are always nets of gold, her lips rubies, and her heart a rock which the rivers of his tears attempt in vain to melt. In short, the language of the heart is entirely abandoned for that of the fancy; the brilliant but false ‘conceitti’ which have infected the poetical literature of every country, and which have been universally exploded by pure taste, glitter in every page, and intrude into every speech.

M. Schlegel, however, is deeply enamoured, as it would seem, even of the defects of Calderon. This extravagant tone of sentiment, and this luxuriant language are to him the purest idealism; Calderon is his poet *par excellence*, and in a long and rapturous eulogy he dwells on his boundless imagination, and his high conceptions of unsullied honour among men and spotless chastity among women. As in this brilliant writer’s other criticisms, there is much which is at the same time profound and luminous, there is much also in which indistinct gleams of meaning elude the comprehension; an ostentation of philosophic depth flatters the indolent and unwary reader into an easy acquiescence in the truth of the whole, but is far from satisfying those who hesitate to subscribe to what they do not entirely understand: there is much labour to refer every thing to certain vague general principles, and to ascribe profound and philosophic views to an author who probably never dreamed of any such thing. In fact, M. Schlegel seems in general rather to aspire to the admiration than the conviction of his reader; he would rather hurry us away, transported by his eloquence, and kindled by his enthusiasm, than receive the colder homage of our sober and undazzled judgment. We fully assent to the high principle of honour with which all Calderon’s heroes are animated, but then this honour is so fantastic and capricious, that we are far more often moved to wonder by the unexpected and startling difficulties into which it plunges them, than to a loftier and more generous emotion;* we duly appreciate the purity

* See, for instance, *Los tres Afectos di Amor*.

of his females, but then they are so sadly addicted to intrigue, such ready accessories to

‘ All the subtle lime twigs laid,
By Machiavel, the waiting maid;’

with such an utter contempt for truth, that Old Brabantio’s natural suggestion, ‘ she hath deceived her father, and may thee,’ involuntarily and perpetually occurs to us. Even in the characters of a higher description there is much which is strange rather than sublime; the genius of Calderon is not like those stars in the poetical hemisphere, which shine with steady splendour, and move, as it were, in solid and indissoluble glory; he is an extravagant meteor, most lofty indeed in his course, but entirely extrinsic in his motions; most brilliant, but airy and unsubstantial.

In order, however, that we may not be supposed to have formed our opinion rashly, we shall in succession endeavour to make our readers acquainted with the character, I. Of the Plays of Common Life; II. Of the Historical; III. Of the Mythological; and IV. Of the religious Dramas, of this fertile writer. Those who are familiar with the comedy of ‘ the Wonder,’ may form some notion of the first class, of which the excellence consists in an elaborate intricacy of plot, in a perpetual recurrence of amusing mistakes: duels and escapes out of secret doors, ladies in masks and gentlemen in disguises, unlucky blunders of servants, and clever stratagems of maids, all carried on with the utmost rapidity, keep the curiosity perpetually on the stretch. Here the felicity and abundance of Calderon are unrivalled; his skill in contriving and disentangling difficulties, and the ease with which he always manages that the right person should start up at the right time, are inimitable. Three of the Comedies in the present Collection, the *Dama Duende* (the Fairy Lady), *Peor esta que estaba* (‘ Worse and Worse’), and the *Casa con dos Puertas mala es guardar*, (‘ ’tis hard to watch a House with Two Doors,’) are admirable in their way. No abstract, however, could give an adequate idea of their peculiar excellencies, the liveliness must necessarily evaporate, and the ingenuity appear laboured and artificial under so cold and tedious a process. We shall turn then to some plays which form a sort of intermediate link between these ‘ *Comedias de Capa y Espada*’ and the Historical Dramas, the characters being of a more elevated rank than those of the former, yet being fictitious can by no means be included among the latter. Here among fanciful kings and princes Calderon revels at will; imagining the wildest motives, forming upon them the most extravagant actions, and bringing about the strangest events from the most improbable causes; yet never flagging in his most capricious and irregular flights; animating his readers with a sort of feverish emotion, partly of surprise

prize at his strangeness, partly of curiosity to know the result, partly of admiration at his unfailing sprightliness of invention. His great delight is, as it were, in balancing a hero between two conflicting duties; the antithesis in the title of the drama extends through every scene and act. In the *Amado y Aborrecido* (loved and abhorred) poor Dante, the hero, is in a perpetual dilemma; the whole play is a succession of situations in which his love to one lady who hates him, and his gratitude to another who loves him, are at issue. They are both exposed to wild beasts; which is it his duty to save? They are both in danger of being burnt; to the succour of which should he fly? At last he finds himself at sea with them both; the ship is about to perish, and the unhappy Dante has to decide with which he shall swim to shore. The most ingenious, however, of these dramas, is one in which there is a triple collision of duties, friendship, love, and loyalty—it is called '*Amigo, Amante y Leal*.' Don Felix Colona arrives at midnight in Parma to pay his court to his mistress Aurora; no sooner, however, are the first transports of meeting over, than they are interrupted by Don Arias, the friend of Don Felix. Though Arias is himself in love with Aurora, he is only the forerunner of Alexander, Prince of Parma, who contrives to dismiss Arias, and begins to make love in the usual florid style to the lady. Felix, who had been concealed all the time, disturbs them by passing across the stage masked; his servant is also discovered by the jealous prince, but protests that he belongs to Aurora. We are then introduced to Estela, a jealous rival of Aurora in the favour of the Prince, and the two names give occasion, of course, to much brilliant play of words. Arias and Felix then meet, and as Arias is about to confide the secret of his passion to his friend, the Prince enters and anticipates him by declaring his own to Felix, and by commissioning the perplexed lover to detect for him the masked intruder (himself), whom he met in Aurora's house. The second act opens with a scene between Aurora and Estela, to whom the former confides her attachment to Felix, who, loyal to his sovereign, had, ever since the fatal interview, watched her door closely, but never entered it. She determines therefore to go herself in disguise and seek her lover, leaving her equipage, to conceal her motions, at the house of Estela. Estela meanwhile sets off, personating Aurora, with her servants and carriage, in hopes of falling in with her own lover, the enamoured Prince. Felix, who is on the watch for the Prince, hastens to inform him that Aurora (mistaking Estela for her) is gone to the Prado. The Prince declares to Felix his intention of gaining possession of her even by violence, and lays his commands on the unhappy lover to surprize her for him and carry her off. He re-

monstrates,

monstrates, but obeys. In the mean time Aurora has found her way to the lodgings of Felix, and while she is there, Felix, disguised as her coachman, enters with the false Aurora in his arms. Aurora in a jealous fit discovers them together, and an eclairsissement takes place. Arias, suspecting the design of the Prince, enters to make an offer of a fleet horse upon which Aurora might escape; the loyalty of Felix interferes with this plan; the Prince soon follows, in full conviction that the faithful Felix has succeeded in his stratagem and secured the person of Aurora, but the presence of Estela saves the unfortunate damsel from her danger. The confusion and difficulty thicken in the third act. Aurora deceives Felix, who still maintained his rigid rule of keeping aloof from her, into an interview; she throws herself on his generosity as a cavalier, to save her from a tyrant whom she abhors: the appeal is irresistible, and he promises to assist her in flying to her estate in the country that very night. Of course the Prince, as luck or the poet would have it, is in the way, and in the ingenious confusion which ensues, he discovers that Felix is his rival, while poor Aurora falls into the hands of Don Arias, who carries her off in order to entrust her to the care of his *dear friend* Don Felix. A quarrel ensues on their discovering themselves to be rivals; but the arrival of the Prince interrupts it. All then becomes known, the generous Prince acknowledges the loyalty of his subject; Felix, to prove himself a faithful friend, offers the fair Aurora to Arias, who, of course, scorns to be outdone; Felix therefore is rewarded with the hand of Aurora for his loyalty, his friendship, and his love.

II. The Historical Dramas are of all times and all countries. We have the 'Arms of Beauty,' of which Caius Marcius Coriolanus is the hero. The cause of his banishment is the violent abrogation of a certain sumptuary law against the dress and privileges of the ladies, with which his mistress Veturia is highly incensed. The mistress plays the part of the mother in history and Shakspeare, and peace is made, and all ends happily; the female freedom both of dress and speech being expressly stipulated. We have the great Zenobia, in which the characters of the boastful Aurelian and the noble Decius are supported with great spirit and animation. We have two very wild parts of Semiramis, La Hija del Ayre. We have the 'Schism of England,' of which Catherine of Arragon is of course the heroine, and in which Wolsey is painted in very dark colours. It contains also a splendid anticipation of the glories which are to distinguish the reign of the Infanta Mary.* We have the original of Corneille's Heraclius,

* It is curious to compare the defence of Catherine in Shakspeare and Calderon.

which Voltaire criticises with his usual flippant cleverness. There is much which is very striking in a play (*Amar despues de la Muerte*) founded on the subjugation of the Moors in the Alpujarras by Don John of Austria; and the *Aurora* in Capocabana introduces us to the conquerors of America, if indeed the conflict between Idolatria and the Virgin Mary do not entitle this to be classed among the religious dramas. Dryden, whose *Mock Astrologer* is the *Astrologo Fingido* of Calderon, derived some assistance from this play also in his *Indian Queen*, and *Indian Emperor*. But that which in our judgment most strongly excites the high and generous emotions, the noblest representation of unbending honour struggling with ignominy and pain, is the *Constant Prince*. Fernando, Infante of Portugal, in a descent on the coast of Morocco, after having, with his own hand, taken prisoner, Muley, the great champion of the Moors, and released him on being made acquainted with his passion for the Princess Fenix, is himself surrounded and made captive. The Moorish King sends back his brother Enrique, with a demand of Ceuta as a ransom for his prisoner. Enrique returns with the news of the death of Duarte (Edward) King of Portugal, and his dying request for the surrender of Ceuta in exchange for Fernando: but the indignant prince interrupts him as uttering not merely what is unworthy of an Infante of Portugal, or a master in the faith, but of a barbarian unenlightened by the religion of Christ. He expatiates eloquently on the disgrace of abandoning a city which cost so much blood, which first raised the standard of Portugal, and in which the catholic religion is professed, for its churches to be turned into stables, its altars into mangers, or, still worse, into mosques. Its catholic inhabitants might even be led to deny their faith, and their children might be brought up in Mahometism.

‘ Wer’t well so many souls should die
In miserable captivity
For one whose life is little worth?—
Why! what am I? one man, no more;
But if, my estimate to swell,
Thou sayst I am the Infante, well;
A prisoner also am not I?
And slaves have no uobility.
A slave I am—then erreth he
Who still th’ Infante calleth me.
And if I am, who talks of freeing
A slave’s life, at so great a price?—
To die, is’t not to lose our being?
That, warring ’gainst my enemies,
I lost; my being lost, I died—
I died—then surely ’twere not wise,

Of many living to decide
The death, for one already dead.'

The Moor is frantic with indignation, and condemns Fernando to hard labour, in chains, and to a dark and damp dungeon. Under these miseries however he is comforted, in some degree, by the honour paid him by his brethren in captivity, and by the generous offer of Muley to furnish him with the means of escape. The king, however, suspects their intercourse, and entrusts the prisoner to the fidelity of Muley, who consults Fernando how he ought to act, whether as a friend or a loyal subject; Fernando decides against himself. In the third act, Muley makes an eloquent appeal to the pity of the king; he recounts the dreadful privations and miseries to which Fernando is exposed, and the princess assists him in pleading the cause of the captive. But Muley is himself doomed not only to experience the scornful rejection of his petition, but to endure the presence of Tarudante, Prince of Fez, to whom the hand of the princess is promised; Alfonso of Portugal arrives at the same time to receive Fernando, or to denounce war against the Moor. The wretched and dying prisoner is then brought forward, like Milton's Samson, to enjoy the warm sunshine, for which he blesses God. The king enters, and Fernando addresses him with a luxuriant and gorgeous harangue, about the royal lion, and the royal eagle, and the royal dolphin, and all the other sovereigns of the material world; concluding, however, with a noble defiance of his utmost power, and a stern profession of unshaken faith. The king is still relentless; and, after witnessing the fidelity of his faithful attendant, who has risked his own life to obtain him food, he demands his religious habit, as grand master of his order, and is led off to die. His ghost however appears, to promise victory, and to conduct the army of his brother Alphonso, with a torch in his hand, to the walls of the city. Alphonso has taken the princess and Tarudante, and the king agrees to exchange the sacred body of Fernando for his daughter, stipulating that her hand is to be given to the generous Muley.

III. The mythological and classical plays bear a remarkable resemblance to our masques. There is the same wild neglect of propriety, the same exuberance of imagination, the same dazzling brilliancy of language, and the same want of interest. Probably our previous familiarity with the stories, renders us deaf to that spell, which Calderon elsewhere never uses in vain. Though he casts a new enchantment over the ground, we follow him somewhat tardily and with unwillingness over our old haunts. Indeed, as with us, much of the success of these pieces must have depended on the richness and variety of the scenery; the Spaniards

must have needed an Inigo Jones to fulfil the rich conceptions of their dramatist ; who, after all, is far from reaching the elaborate and harmonious felicity of Ben Jonson, in his masques and interludes, and will bear no comparison with the tranquil solemnity, the richness, and the purity of the unrivalled Comus.

IV. It is on the religious plays, however, of Calderon, that his great admirer has poured forth all the splendour of his eulogy. Having lighted the fire of his enthusiasm at the same altar, that of the Roman Catholic faith, he blazes out with all the ardour of a proselyte :*

‘ Mais c’est dans les compositions religieuses que les sentimens de Calderon se déploient avec le plus d’abandon et d’énergie. Il n’a peint l’amour terrestre que sous des traits vagues et généraux. Il n’a parlé que la langue poétique de cette passion. La religion est son amour véritable ; l’ame de son ame. Ce n’est que pour elle qu’il pénètre jusqu’au fond de nos cœurs, et l’on croiroit qu’il a tenu en réserve, pour cet objet unique, nos plus intimes émotions. Ce mortel favorisé s’est échappé de l’obscur labyrinthe du doute, et a trouvé un refuge dans l’asile élevé de la foi. C’est de là qu’au sein d’une paix inaltérable, il contemple et dépeint le cours orageux de la vie. Eclairé de la lumière religieuse, il pénètre tous les mystères de la destinée humaine ; le but même de la douleur n’est plus une énigme pour lui, et chaque larme de l’infortune lui paroît semblable à la rosée des fleurs, dont la moindre goutte réfléchit le ciel. Quelque soit le sujet de sa poésie, elle est une hymne de réjouissance sur la beauté de la création ; et il célèbre, avec une joie toujours nouvelle, les merveilles de la nature et celles de l’art, comme si elles lui apparaissoient tout à coup, dans leur jeunesse primitive et dans leur plus éclatante splendeur. A la fraîcheur des images, à la vivacité des sentimens, on croiroit que c’est le premier réveil de l’homme sortant des mains du Créateur : mais une éloquence choisie, une étonnante souplesse de langage, et surtout la connoissance intime des rapports les plus cachés dans la nature, trahissent un esprit très cultivé, une ame à la fois inspirée et contemplative qui s’est enrichie par les plus profondes réflexions. Quand il rapproche les extrêmes, qu’il oppose les astres aux fleurs, ce qu’il y a de plus petit à ce qu’il y a de plus grand, ses métaphores ont toujours trait à la relation mutuelle qu’une commune origine établit entre tous les êtres, et cette harmonie ravissante, cette concorde dans l’univers, ne paroît elle-même qu’un réflêt de l’amour Eternel qui embrasse la création toute entière.’

We are not dead to the beauty of many of the images and expressions contained in this rhapsodical eulogy ; but to stoop again to plain and homely English, all that we can gather from it is, that Calderon implicitly believed, not merely the great truths of Christianity, but all the wild legends and mystic theology of his church. He dramatized the Bible and the Hagiography, and in

* We quote from the French translation of M. Schlegel’s work. Few of our readers probably are familiar with German, and we do not wish to risk a translation of what we fairly confess is, in many respects, beyond our comprehension.

his autos (pièces represented on the day of the Sacrament) he brought forward as strange a group of personages as ever were assembled in any of our old Mysteries. Sin and Faith, and Doubt, and Judaism and Gentilism, and the Church; the Devil; the Apostles, and even more holy beings, who discourse in all the florid metaphor and brilliant imagery and false taste which never forsake Calderon. We must confess, however, that we were soon fatigued with his impersonations of all the subtle distinctions of the scholastic divinity, where the author's familiarity with Aquinas was forced upon our notice at least as often as his knowledge of external nature, or of the human soul: we shall therefore dismiss the autos entirely from our consideration. But neither in his other religious dramas did the mind of Calderon emancipate itself from the dark and credulous spirit of his age. Sismondi calls him the poet of the Inquisition; and indeed he seems to dwell at least as fondly on those real or fictitious characters which none but the most ignorant age of Christianity would have made objects of admiration and worship, as on those primitive teachers and genuine martyrs whom the Christian church so deservedly holds in honour. We should rather say, that his poetry is a constant hymn, not to the great Father of all worlds, but to the thousand deities which the church of Rome has enshrined in the place of the one God and one Mediator. The relic of some saint, or the image of the Virgin, is evidently more ardently sought after than the praise of the Creator and the Redeemer. When the good and evil Genius contend for the 'great Prince of Fez,' it is not the Scripture but the life of Loyola which is to convert him, and from which the evil Genius endeavours to avert his attention. Even in those religious dramas which we should select as offering the greatest beauties, *Las Cadenas del Demonio*, which relates the legend of St. Bartholomew propagating the Gospel in Armenia; *Los dos Amantes del Cielo*, a legend of martyrdom; and, above all, the *Exaltacion de la Cruz*; the supernatural intervention appears to us wanting in dignity. The devils have not sufficient grandeur to produce awe, nor the angels sufficient grace and majesty to inspire us with a belief in their ethereal nature.

The prime favourite, however, of the Germans, which is mentioned with great praise by Bouterwek, and by the writer of a Latin dissertation on Calderon, printed at Copenhagen, and which, probably in deference to their authority, has been published in the present selection, is the '*Devocion de la Cruz*.' Of this 'sublime of Roman Catholic antinomianism,' as we have heard it called, our readers will have some notion, when they are informed that the hero, Eusebio, having been found, an infant, at the foot of a cross, the cross becomes as it were the sign of his destiny. Wherever a

cross appears, it produces some good, or averts some evil from him. He becomes a robber and a murderer; he forces his way into a convent in order to violate his mistress, but the mysterious cross appears upon her bosom, and he is saved from the actual guilt of incest; he at length expires at the foot of the cross, his spirit is therefore allowed to return to the body to confess and be absolved; Julia, his sister and mistress, embraces the cross near his grave, and *flies away*, the remaining spectators exclaiming, 'A miracle!' Surely M. Sismondi's expression of 'frightful morality,' *moralité affreuse*, is not too strong. Ludovico Enio, in the Purgatory of St. Patrick, is almost as atrocious a criminal, and is converted by entering the cave of St. Patrick's purgatory. Both these pieces are indeed curious, as records of the popular religion of Spain: the audience which could listen with delight to such views of Christianity must indeed have been worthy subjects of that darkest of bigots, Philip II. The most extravagant tales of puritanical or methodistic conversion are harmless in comparison with such lessons of 'sinning in order that grace may abound;' their wildest absurdities are light, and truth, and wisdom, when opposed to the darkness and the ignorance of real religion, implied in these representations. It is not in this manner that we would wish to see the spirit of Christianity allied with poetry. It may be, and it has been powerfully introduced, to awaken the conscience of the murderer, and to appal him during his crime, so that the 'Amen' should stick in his throat; it has darkened the horror round the death-bed of the proud and obdurate man, 'who died and made no sign;' it may be represented as pouring its dews upon the wounded spirit; as strengthening the fortitude of the suffering saint, and encircling the brow of the martyr with a brighter halo.

We should not do perfect justice to Calderon, if we omitted to acknowledge his great comic powers. Intrusive, and often misplaced as they are, there is a vivacity and readiness in his *Graciosos*; a broad and humorous vein about his more vulgar characters, which, though sometimes, from their speaking in a strange dialect, obscure and almost unintelligible, is frequently irresistible. There is a most amusing mistake in the '*Senora y la Criada*,' in which a vulgar country wench is carried off by a lover instead of her high-bred mistress. We were much diverted in a classical play on Ulysses and Circe, by being reminded of our old friends Stephano and Trinculo, with their monster. One of the *graciosos* has been transformed into a monkey, the other has caught him, and is estimating how much he shall make by his prize on his return home; the poor monkey labouring all the time to get back into a man. Indeed the *graciosos* seem to enjoy a perpetual Saturnalia; no misfortunes of their masters are sacred against
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their burlesque; all their most courtly language is parodied, though sometimes the poor wit pays the penalty of his joke, by enduring all the ill-humour and resentment of his disappointed lord. The Spaniards take great delight in little humorous tales, with which the jester of the piece is always ready; in the '*Dicha y Desdicha del Nombre*,' there is a conflict of '*petites contes*' between the prolific lacquey and unwearied chambermaid; of this species of wit, the lamentation of the unfortunate valet may serve as a specimen, who relates that he once went to consult a witch about some charm, to procure him the affections of his mistress. The cunning woman commands him to obtain a lock of his fair one's hair, assuring him that having that in his possession, the owner shall come to him at midnight. He accordingly rifles his Belinda of this treasure—and the real owner does indeed visit him, but unfortunately it is a ghost—some of whose hair had been adopted by his deceitful charmer.

Of our author's tragic powers, confining the term to the poetical expression of human suffering, we do not think so highly. He is too fond of representing rather acute bodily pain, than the anguish of the mind. He moves us by putting his characters to the torture. We shudder at cruelty, rather than sympathise with distress; and he often surprises us with a violent and terrible catastrophe when we are not in the least prepared for it. In '*El Medico di su honra*,' a jealous husband bleeds his wife to death; and his only punishment is being obliged to take a second, whom he had before wronged: and, though no one will question either the moral or poetical justice which condemns the hero, in the '*Tres Justicias en uno*,' to the hangman, yet his crimes have not been related with that seriousness and solemnity, which would induce us to expect so dreadful a doom. '*El Pintor di su Deshonra*' is another of these tales of hatred and undisguised horror; in which the husband shoots his wife: while in the '*A secreto Agravio secreta Venganza*,' there is a dreadful disproportion between the offence and the manner in which it is visited. The base and extravagant cruelty of Gomez Arias, on the other hand, revolting as it is, we are almost inclined to forgive, on account of its bringing out the touching and tender character of the deserted Dorotea, who, we must confess, betrayed us into an emotion, to which, in all our knowledge of Calderon's works, we had been almost entirely strangers. El Alcaide di Zalamea also deserves very high praise, for its picture of homely and severe country justice; there is an untainted simplicity of manner, and an inflexible firmness of character, above all an appearance of truth and nature in the whole drama, which make it appear among the works of Calderon like a chaste and unpresuming, yet substantial country dwelling

dwelling among his crowds of fairy palaces and fantastic temples, overlaid with all the richness of Arabesque and Gothic ornament, and capriciously heaped together in wild but splendid confusion.

On the whole, then, the reader will have perceived that our estimate of Calderon approaches much nearer to that of Sismondi than that of Schlegel. His boundless and inexhaustible fertility of invention; his quick power of seizing and presenting every thing with dramatic effect; the unfailing animal spirits of his dramas, if we may venture on the expression; the general loftiness and the purity of his sentiments; the rich facility of his verse; the abundance of his language, and the clearness and precision with which he embodies his thoughts in words and figures, entitle him to a high rank, as to the imagination and creative faculty of a poet: but we cannot consent to enrol him among 'the mighty masters of the human breast.' Though there are few of his plays which are not read with unremitting interest, there are none to which we recur, and dwell upon with deep and increasing delight; he has neither profoundness of thought nor intenseness of feeling; he places us indeed in another world, and that world is gay and animated, and perpetually excites our wonder: but we feel a want of kindred sympathy with its inhabitants—their language is not our language; their feelings are not our feelings; their hearts not our hearts. Of the golden keys, which are the inheritance of the true poet, Calderon has received but one; he can unclothe to us the gates of joy; he amuses us without ceasing; but within that of horror and thrilling fear, he cannot admit us, and the sacred source of sympathetic tears flows not at his command. In the great poet, there must be a harmony of truth and fiction; Calderon has only the latter: his grandeur and strength must be governed and regulated by propriety; Calderon riots without restraint or control. But while we recognize the genuine principle of heroic tragedy, that fatal rock upon which Dryden foundered, in the Spanish stage; while we acknowledge the Almanzors and Maximins of his day, the lineal descendants and inheritors of their forefathers' extravagance, and thus convey our opinions as to the characters represented, with tolerable accuracy; we can compare the style of Calderon to nothing more appropriately than a Chinese paper, on which flowers, and trees and birds, and all that is glowing and brilliant in nature, are profusely scattered, but with little either of order or meaning. Calderon therefore may create an ardent burst of enthusiasm; but it will soon burn itself away: he will have many admirers, but few lovers of his poetry. He will have appeared before us like a splendid procession, which we should lament not to have seen, but which, when the novelty is passed and curiosity satiated, we shall scarcely wish to pass again before us.

ART.

ART. II.—1. *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa, in the years 1818, 19, and 20; accompanied by Geographical Notices of Soudan, and of the Course of the Niger. With a Chart of the Route, and a variety of Coloured Plates illustrative of the Costumes of the several Natives of Northern Africa.* By Captain G. F. Lyon, R. N. companion of the late Mr. Ritchie. 4to. pp. 382. London. 1821.

2. *A Dissertation showing the Identity of the Rivers Niger and Nile; chiefly from the Authority of the Ancients.*—By John Dudley, M. A. Vicar of Humberston and Sileby, in the county of Leicester; and sometime Fellow and Tutor of Clare Hall, Cambridge. 12mo. London. 1821.

‘THE world,’ said Doctor Johnson fifty years ago, ‘is *now* not contented to be merely entertained by a traveller’s narrative; they want to learn something.’ The world, we suspect, is somewhat more fastidious at present than when the good Doctor made his observation; and yet, though the ‘Narrative’ before us has no claim to merit as a literary composition, no pretensions whatever to abstract science, antiquarian research, or discoveries in natural history; though it frequently returns on itself, and sets all arrangement at defiance; yet, with all these defects, we are not afraid to hazard an opinion, that it will not only be read, but be found to afford both ‘entertainment’ and ‘instruction.’ There is so much natural and unaffected simplicity in relating the incidents, so much good feeling apparent in the statements, and withal so much information scattered over its desultory pages, that the reader is irresistibly carried on to the conclusion, and rises with a wish that the details had been more expanded, and particularly those relating to the personal sufferings and adventures of our countrymen; which, severe and perilous as they were, appear to have always been borne with uncomplaining resignation. The manners are well described, the traits of character are lively and amusing, and the costume of the several natives is illustrated by a number of interesting prints. A neat chart of the routes explains at the same time the nature of the surface in different parts of the country.

Our author was serving as one of the lieutenants of the Albion, bearing the flag of Sir Charles Penrose, when the late Mr. Ritchie arrived at Malta. Weary of a life of inactivity, and anxious to visit new countries, he volunteered his services to accompany that gentleman, then proceeding on his mission into the interior of Northern Africa from Tripoli; as did also John Belford, a carpenter of the dockyard at Malta. On assembling at Tripoli, in November, 1818, they found there the Bey of Fezzan, who was about to proceed to Mourzouk, the capital of that country, (which
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may be considered as a province of Tripoli;) and under whose protection our travellers, by order of the Bashaw, were to commence their arduous expedition. As, however, a very considerable delay was likely to occur in the preparations of Mukni, (so the Bey was named,) Mr. Ritchie thought a short excursion to Beniioleed, by the way of the Gharian mountains, might tend to habituate them to the mode of travelling and the manners of the Arabs, as well as enable them to gain some information of the state of the interior of the Tripolitan dominions.

Captain Lyon gives some details, which this journey furnished, respecting the domestic economy of the Arabs; but as they differ not materially from the accounts already before the public, we shall only notice his description of the subterranean villages, or nests of caves, inhabited by the tribes of the Gharian. On reaching the summit of these mountains, through narrow, rugged and intricate passes, a table-land opened upon the travellers, apparently in a high state of cultivation; extensive fields of corn and saffron, mingled with olive, apple, and almond trees, formed a lively contrast with the arid deserts on all sides beneath:—but no human dwelling was visible, all the habitations lying below the surface. A hole of about twelve yards square is dug in the limestone rock, to the depth of twenty-five or thirty feet. At the bottom of this, excavations are made into the perpendicular faces of the rock according to the number and size of the families they are to lodge. The only access to this area is through a sloping passage, the entrance of which is at the distance of 90 or 100 feet. It is rudely arched with stone, and secured by a ponderous door. Through this their cattle are driven, and securely shut up within the square during the night.

A few years ago the present Bashaw of Tripoli made war upon these mountaineers. For some time they defended their passes with great bravery, and destroyed numbers of the Tripoline army; they were at length forced back on their subterranean abodes, when the Bashaw's people collected heaps of straw, set them on fire, threw them blazing into the areas, suffocated the inhabitants, men, women and children, and returned in triumph to Tripoli, with twelve camel-loads of heads! Notwithstanding this, the Bashaw, we are told, is considered as a mighty good sort of man for a Turk, and much less bloodthirsty than his brother despots of Tunis and Algiers: and, in fact, though in his younger days he openly rebelled against his father, and murdered his elder brother in presence of their mother, as related in the interesting letters of Mrs. Tully, (Vol. XV.) he is unquestionably the most liberal of all the sovereigns who have wielded the blood-stained sceptre of Tripoli.

Before he made this excursion, however, Captain Lyon, who had assumed the dress of the country, and duly qualified himself for
passing

passing as a good Musselman, ventured into the streets of Tripoli, (on occasion of a solemn procession, at which time no Christian or Jew can with safety show himself,) to witness the tricks of a set of vagabonds known by the name of Marāboots, who, under pretence of superior sanctity, like the faquirs of India, practise all manner of juggling and imposture; take up snakes and scorpions; lacerate their bodies; and, in short, make themselves appear as odious and as disgusting as their ingenuity can devise, by tearing their hair, smearing their faces, whirling rapidly round, and working themselves into an apparent state of frenzy.

‘One of these mad and mischievous maniacs had a large nail run through both cheeks; and all had bitten their tongues in so violent a manner, as to cause blood and saliva to flow copiously. They were half naked, at intervals uttering short groans and howls; and as they proceeded (sometimes three or four abreast, leaning on each other), they threw their heads backwards and forwards with a quick motion, which caused the blood to rise in their faces, and their eyes to project from the sockets to a frightful degree. Their long black hair, which grew from the crown of the head (the other parts being closely shaven), was continually waving to and fro, owing to the motion of the head. One or two, who were the most furious, and who continually attempted to run at the crowd, were held by a man on each side, by means of a rope, or a handkerchief tied round the middle. As we passed through one of the streets, a party of Maltese and other Christians were discovered on a terrace, and were instantly assailed by showers of stones. I observed that whenever the Marāboots passed the house of a Christian, they affected to be unmanageable, and endeavoured to get near it, pretending they made the discovery by smelling out Unbelievers.’—p. 10.

It was not till the 22d March, 1819, that Mukni was ready to take his departure for Mourzouk. The *cofflé* (or caravan) consisted of about 200 men, and as many camels. To these were added several small parties of liberated negroes, joyful at the idea of returning once more to their native land, though with slender means of subsistence, and several of the women with young children at their backs: many of them had the prospect of a journey of two thousand miles, the greater part of the way over stony or sandy deserts. As a contrast to the appearance of these poor creatures, Mukni joined them on the 26th, preceded by flags and music, and attended by about fifty horsemen dressed in the most superb and gaudy apparel.

It was market day when they reached Beniroleed, on which account the caravan halted; and here Captain Lyon was introduced to the wife of Sheik Barood, the chief manager of Mukni's affairs. He had heard that she was the most beautiful creature ever seen, and (the very acme of female perfection in Africa) so fat that she could scarcely walk. The following is his account of the interview.

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‘On my entrance she so veiled herself as to exhibit to advantage her arm, with all its gay ornaments, and on my requesting to be favoured with a view of her face, she, with very little reluctance, gratified me. Her chin, the tip of her nose, and the space between her eyebrows, were marked with black lines; she was much rouged; her neck, arms, and legs, were covered with tattooed flowers, open hands, circles, the names of God, and of her numerous male friends. She had a multitude of gold ear-rings and ornaments, set with very bad and counterfeit jewels, and weighing all together, I should think, two or three pounds. Her shirt was of striped silk; and she had a rich purple silk barracan, or mantle, gracefully thrown round her, and fastened at the breast by a gold pin, with ornaments of the same metal suspended from it: all the other articles of finery which she possessed were displayed round the tent, whilst a multitude of poor thin wretches, resembling witches, sat round her in astonishment, never having in their lives seen such a paragon of perfection. Like all other Arabs, they touched whatever pleased them most, one admiring this object, another something near it, so that our poor belle was sometimes poked by a dozen fingers at once; all, however, agreeing on one point, that she was beautifully and excessively fat, and I must say I never before beheld such a monstrous mass of human flesh. One of her legs, of enormous size, was uncovered as high as the calf, and every one pressed it, admiring its solidity, and praising God for blessing them with such a sight. I was received most graciously, and invited to sit close to her, when one of the first questions she asked me was, if in my country the ladies were as fat and handsome as herself? For the plumpness of my countrywomen, I owned, with shame, that I never had seen one possessed of half such an admirable rotundity, which she took as a great compliment; but I did not attempt to carry the comparison farther, though she was really very handsome in face and features. She amused herself while speaking with playing on a kind of drum made of clay, called *Derbooka*, by beating with one hand, and playing with the fingers of the other; and perceiving that I was amused by it, she ordered an old man to get up and dance. The females sang and clapped their hands in good time, and the dancer went through a variety of figures, all equally indelicate. A woman then succeeded him, and in this respect quite threw him in the shade; but as I knew it to be the general mode of dancing in this part of Barbary, I of course applauded it. Lilla Fatma herself then thought proper to honour us with a few graceful attitudes in the same style; but Mr. Ritchie’s entrance into the tent soon put a stop to the exhibition, and the ceremony of veiling took place in the same manner as before.’—p. 62.

The farther the party advanced, the more dreary the country became; the surface was unenlivened by a single tint of verdure, except by the sickly leaves of a few stunted bushes, and now and then by the appearance of a *wadey*, or valley, with a little patch of cultivated ground. On the 6th April they reached the northern frontier of Fezzan, at a place called Bonjem, marked by a well, and
a Roman

a Roman castle in ruins. They now entered upon a stony plain entirely destitute of food and water for the camels; here they experienced one of those dreadful storms known by the name of Sirocco, which blow from the east or south-east across the deserts of Africa, sweeping before them such clouds of sand as to make it impossible to move, or even to open the eyes. 'In addition to the excessive heat and dryness of these winds,' says Captain Lyon, 'they are so impregnated with sand, that the air is darkened by it, the sky appears of a dusky yellow, and the sun is barely perceptible. The eyes become red, swelled and inflamed, the lips and skin parched and chapped, while severe pain in the chest is very generally felt, in consequence of the quantities of sand unavoidably inhaled.'

The following day, the wind having abated, they reached Sockna; when the attendants of Mukni dressed themselves in their best clothes; and with music and dancing, and firing of muskets, and accompanied by seven or eight hundred of the inhabitants, they entered, or rather rushed into the town in a sort of irregular procession.

'Sockna stands on an immense plain of gravel; bounded to the south by the Soudah mountains, at about fifteen miles; by the mountains of Wadan about thirty miles to the eastward; a distant range to the west; and those I have already mentioned on passing through to the north. The town is walled, and may contain 2000 persons; more than half the people we saw this day were from Hoon and Wadan. There are small projections from the walls, having loop-holes for musketry. It has seven gates, only one of which will admit a loaded camel. The streets are very narrow, and the houses are built of mud and small stones mixed, many of them having a story above the ground floor. A small court is open in the centre; and the windows, or more properly the doors, which open from this area, give the only light which the rooms receive. The water of Sockna is almost all brackish or bitter. There are 200,000 date trees in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, which pay duty: also an equal number, not yet come into bearing, which are exempt. These dates grow in a belt of sand, at about two or three miles distant from the town, and are of a quality far superior to any produced in the north of Africa. Owing to their excellence, they are sold at a very high price at Tripoli. The adjoining country is entirely destitute of shrubs, or any kind of food for camels, which are therefore sent to graze about five miles off; while in the town all animals are fed on dates.'—p. 72.

The dress of the men is described as neat, and the women are said to be handsome, many of them being as fair as Europeans; but all of profligate manners. The language is not Arabic, but similar to that of the Tuarick, who inhabit various parts of the southern desert, and is considered as a dialect of the original Brebers.

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At the distance of ten miles easterly from Sockna lies the town of Hoon, and twelve miles farther that of Wadan, to both of which Mr. Ritchie and Captain Lyon proceeded, in company with Yussuf, the son of Mukni, a boy about eight years old, who was sent by his father, with a proper escort, to collect the taxes. Hoon is a walled town, smaller than Sockna, but built in the same manner. About three hundred armed men came out with music and dancing-women to welcome Yussuf, in the same boisterous manner as his father had been received at Sockna. Hoon has three gates, three mosques, and a large mud building dignified with the name of a castle. The gardens and palm plantations are near the walls. Wadan is not walled, and is in all respects inferior to the other two. It is the custom at all these towns to keep tame ostriches, for the sake of their feathers.

On the 22d April the caravan left Sockna, and the same day entered the passes of the Soudah, or Black Mountains; the basalt of which they are composed is thus described by Professor Buckland of Oxford.

‘Basalt, nearly black, much impregnated throughout with carbonate of lime; and interspersed with small circular cells, that are partly or wholly filled with common or with magnesian carbonate of lime. The decomposition of this rock forms small spherical fragments of considerable hardness, the surface of which, by long exposure, has acquired a kind of polish or glossy aspect, and is irregularly pitted or indented all over with small cavities of various depths, from the destruction of the calcareous matter that originally filled them.’ He adds, ‘The chain of the Soudah or Black Mountains appears to be composed of this basalt; they rise to an elevation of about 1500 feet, being situated at a short distance on the south from Sockna, and extending about 100 miles in breadth from north to south, and in length as far as the eye can reach from east to west; they are perfectly barren, of irregular form, occasionally broken into detached masses, and sometimes rising into cones. Their elevated plains are in some parts covered with the small spherical shining fragments above described. The latitude of this chain is from 28.40. to 27.30. north.’—p. 362.

Having cleared the Soudah mountains, the caravan passed over a plain covered with small white gravel.

‘We did not see any where the least appearance of vegetation; but observed many skeletons of animals, which had died of fatigue on the Desert, and occasionally the grave of some human being. All these bodies were so dried by the extreme heat of the sun, that putrefaction did not appear to have taken place after death. In recently expired animals I could not perceive the slightest offensive smell; and in those long dead, the skin, with the hair on it, remained unbroken and perfect, although so brittle as to break with a slight blow. The sand-winds never

never cause these carcasses to change their places, as in a short time a slight mound is formed round them, and they become stationary.'—p. 83.

This plain presented so perfect an horizon all round, that, as Captain Lyon says, an astronomical observation might have been taken as at sea; and such was the dryness of the air, that the horses' tails in beating off the flies, the blankets, barracans, and other clothing, emitted electric sparks, and crackled on being rubbed. Beyond this was a ridge of sand-hills, which they crossed, and after that a rough rocky country, till, on the 26th, they arrived at Zeighan, a walled village, containing a population of about 500 white people, and situated in the midst of a large forest of palm trees.

At Sebha, surrounded by groves of palms in the midst of a dreary desert, all the male population came out to salute the Sultan; for such, we should have observed, is the title which Mukni takes on entering Fezzan. Here Captain Lyon observed the colour of the people to be changed to that of mulattoes. From this place, another stony plain, utterly barren, followed by one of sand in many places encrusted with salt, brought them to a miserable mud village about three hours from Mourzouk, where the caravan halted to make preparations for a public entry on the following day; which accordingly took place, with the same turbulence and confusion, but with increased numbers, as on former occasions of the same kind.

The country of Fezzan, itself a vast desert with numerous oases scattered over its surface, is surrounded on all sides by still more barren deserts. It extends from about the latitude $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to 24° N. and from long. 13° to 20° E. being about 450 by 370 miles. The population scattered over this wide waste is stated by Horneman to amount only to 70 or 75,000 souls, of which, according to Lyon, Mourzouk contains about 2,500. It was hereditary in a black family of shreefs for more than five centuries, but tributary to the Bashaw of Tripoli. This tribute was collected by Mukni the present sultan of Fezzan, who contrived to get the government of the country into his own hands, by promising the Bashaw to triple the amount of the annual tribute. For this purpose, in the year 1811, he came upon Mourzouk by surprise, caused the sultan, his brother, and the principal Mameluke to be strangled, and by his oppressions of the people, but chiefly by the wars which he waged, and still continues to wage with his defenceless neighbours, for the sake of procuring slaves, he has hitherto managed to fulfil his promise, and retain his government. While, however, our travellers were at Mourzouk, reports were circulated that another sultan was on his way from Tripoli to supersede him.

'These reports, corroborated by one or two private letters, very much

much alarmed the Sultan, and caused him to fall sick and take to his bed. He began, for the first time in his life, to pray at the regular hour ordered by the law; he ceased to swear, talked much of Paradise, and of the superiority of the other world to this. Mr. Ritchie was at this time very weak, and began again to be indisposed, but he constantly visited Mukni, and at last succeeded in restoring him to health; thus returning by kindness the ill treatment we had received from him. We both went frequently to the Castle, and learnt by degrees that some expressions of Mukni's had come to the ears of the Bashaw, whose emissaries he expected would be sent to strangle him, and take all his wealth. Never was a haughty tyrant so completely humbled by his fears as this man: he sat constantly in a dark room, would receive only one or two visitors, and was nursed by negresses day and night; always speaking in a low voice, and, in his terror, betraying all his secrets.'—p. 164.

He determined however to try what bribes and promises would do; and with this view dispatched his principal man of business to Tripoli with presents of civet and other articles, ten fine slave girls for the Bashaw, and handsome negresses for the bey his son, for his brothers, and for the principal people about the court; making at the same time secret preparations for flight, such as getting all his horses shod by night, and all his women employed in grinding corn. For this time, however, his agent succeeded in diverting the storm.

The general appearance of the men of Fezzan is plain, and their complexion black; the women are ugly in the extreme; neither sex is remarkable for figure, height, strength, vigour or activity. They have high cheek bones, noses rather prominent, small eyes, wide mouths, and woolly hair, but not so much frizzled as that of the negroes. Captain Lyon represents them as a cheerful people, fond of music and dancing, and civil to each other; at the same time he tells us they are dull and indifferent, and their affections cold and interested; that they have none of that hospitality which so eminently distinguishes the Arab tribes, but on the contrary, that they always shut their doors at meals, in order that the stranger may not partake, as their religion enjoins. This character is at variance with that given by Lucas, whose communications in general are very accurate. After stating that the shreef and the plebeian, the master and the man eat and drink together, Lucas adds, 'generous and eminently hospitable, the Fezzanner, let his fare be scanty or abundant, is ever desirous that others should partake of his meal; and if twenty people should unexpectedly visit his dwelling, they must all participate as far as it will go.' And this, it appears from Captain Lyon, is still the case with the people of Zuela, who are removed from the immediate influence of Mukni; so that the change of character has been effected by the jealous
and

and rapacious conduct of this tyrant. Such are the different effects produced on a people, by a legitimate and hereditary government, and the precarious rule of an usurper.

The lower classes and the slaves are generally employed in drawing water for household use, and for irrigation; in labouring in the fields and gardens, making mats and baskets, weaving coarse barracans, and working in leather, metal and in wood, which they do with considerable skill, and with very indifferent tools. Most of them can read and write a little, and some of them exercise their invention in composing songs, which the women sing very prettily, while employed in grinding corn, and other household labours. All classes are, as may be supposed, extremely superstitious; and a belief in the evil eye, devils, gholes, genii and spirits, is universal: the general preventive of mischief is the wearing of charms, and the fasting till sunset.

As rain and dews are equally unknown, grain and esculent vegetables are raised with great labour, especially in watering the grounds, which are rarely of greater extent than an acre in one spot, and frequently not above fifty or sixty feet square. The chief produce is wheat, barley, Indian corn, two or three species of the dhoura of Egypt, and beans. The principal fruits are dates, grapes, figs and pomegranates; the vegetables, pumpkins of two or three kinds, onions, garlic, radishes, tomatas and capsicum. There is not a river or even a rill in all Fezzan; and the water from the wells and stagnant pools is, universally, more or less salt or bitter. Asses for labour, camels for travelling, sheep and goats for subsistence, are the principal animals of Fezzan: of the latter few are bred in the country; they are brought across the deserts from Benioleed and the neighbourhood of the Syrtes. Almost all their animals are fed on dates; horses and asses eat the fruit; camels, sheep and goats, the stones, the crushing of which is the employment of the women.

The revenues of the sultan of Fezzan are derived from slaves, merchandize and dates. For every slave brought into his kingdom he exacts two Spanish dollars; this produces him on an average about 4000 dollars; on the sale of each a dollar and a half, which gives 3000 more. Every 200 date trees pay one dollar; this gives him about 10,000 dollars. Each load of dates sold to the Arabs pays one dollar; the number sold in Mourzouk alone is about 3000 loads. Every camel load of merchandize imported or exported pays a certain number of dollars, according to its value. Besides these,—

‘ Every garden pays a tenth of the corn produced; presents of slaves are frequently made, and fines levied; each town pays a certain sum, which is small, but as the towns are numerous, may be averaged to

produce 4000 dollars. Add to this, his annual excursions for slaves, sometimes bringing 1000 or 1500, of which one-fourth are his, as well as the same proportion of camels. He alone can sell horses; which he buys for five or six dollars, when half starved, from the Arabs, who come to trade and cannot maintain them; and makes a great profit by obtaining slaves in exchange for them. All his people are fed by the public, and he has no money to pay but to the Bashaw, which, until the recent quarrel, was 15,000 dollars per annum. I have enumerated his general income, but there are various other ways in which he extorts money. If a man dies childless, the Sultan inherits great part of his property; and if he thinks it necessary to kill a man, he becomes his entire heir! All his people are on an allowance from him, out of what he takes from others, at about the rate of two Kail, or above two gallons, of corn, and four of dates, per month. His negroes are also allowed in corn, dates, oil, &c. according to their size and age.—p. 188.

In the government of the province of Fezzan, Mukni is completely absolute; his opinion is the only law, and the infraction or contravention of that opinion is punished with the utmost severity. Capital offences, which are what the sultan is pleased to deem so, are generally punished by strangulation. The military force, besides his own immediate guards, consists chiefly of Arabs, and may on an emergency be extended to 5000 men. The Fezzanners, either from their pusillanimity or the sultan's policy, are never sent on military excursions; but they are made to support those who are.

We are told by Hornemann, that Fezzan contains one hundred and one towns and villages, of which Mourzouk is the capital. Its latitude is 25° 54' N., longitude 15° 52' E. It is surrounded by walls of mud, about fifteen feet in height, having round buttresses, with loop-holes for musketry, rudely constructed. There are seven gates, four of which are built up in order to prevent the people from escaping when required to pay their taxes; and the other three are guarded. The houses are mostly of one story; and those of the poorer classes have no other light than they receive from the doors, which are so low as to require stooping nearly double to enter them. The streets are narrow; but there are many open spaces. The castle, compared with the other buildings, may be called immense, rising to the height of eighty or ninety feet, with battlements on the walls, which at the foundation are fifty or sixty feet in thickness. The rooms are small and mean; the best of them are occupied by the women, of whom the number may be from fifty to sixty, half a dozen of which are considered superior to the rest. They are watched by five eunuchs, who have the privilege of beating them, if necessary, to support their authority.

The burying-places are without the walls; but many of the graves are so little below the surface that in a strong wind the
sand

sand is dispersed, and the bodies exposed; such, however, is the dryness of the air, that no bad smell or putridity ensues. Within the town are sixteen mosques; some of them, however, are very small. The Cadi is the head of the whole, but each has its own imaum; he is supposed also to preside over the judicial department; but in this he is kindly relieved by Mukni!

The men dress as in Tripoli; the costume of the ladies Captain Lyon shall describe.

'The dress of the women here differs materially from that of the Moorish females, and their appearance and smell are far from being agreeable: they plait their hair in thick bobbins, which hang over their foreheads, nearly as low down as the eyebrows, and are there joined at the bottom, as far round to each side as the temples.

'The hair is so profusely oiled, that it drops down over the face and clothes; this is dried up by sprinkling it with plenty of a preparation made of a plant resembling wild lavender, cloves, and one or two more species, pounded into powder and called *Atrîa*; it forms a brown, dirty looking paste, and, combined with perspiration and the flying sand, becomes in a few days far from savoury in appearance or odour. The back hair is less disgusting, as it is plaited into a long tress on each side, and is brought to hang over the shoulders; from these tresses ornaments of silver or coral are suspended. Black wool is frequently worked in with these back locks, to make them appear longer. In the centre of the forehead, an ornament of coral or beads is placed, hanging down to the depth of an inch or two. A woollen handkerchief is fastened on the back of the head; it falls over behind, and is tied by a leather strap under the chin. Each ear is perforated for as many rings as the woman possesses, some wear even six on one side; the largest, which is about five inches in diameter, hanging lowest, supported by a string from the head. Round the neck, a tight flat collar of beads, arranged in fancy patterns, is worn with coral necklaces, and sometimes a broad gold plate immediately in front. A large blue shirt is generally worn, the collar and breast ornamented with needle-work: the women also wear white shirts, and striped silk ones called *Shâmi*, which are brought from Egypt;—a Jereed and red slippers complete their dress.'—p. 170, 171.

The people of Mourzouk have their booza-houses similar to those of Nubia, at which singing and dancing-women constantly attend; 'their songs,' Captain Lyon says, 'are pretty and plaintive, and generally in the Soudan language, which is very musical.' He heard the song mentioned by Horneman; and, 'what was singular enough,' he adds, 'I discovered that it was sung by the same woman who performed it before him at the Castle.'

'Some of these songs abound with poetical images;—for example, a lover will compare his mistress to a young date just ripened; the jetty hue of her skin, to the wing of a raven; her teeth to pearls; her eyes to the sun; and her breath to the attar of roses; her words to

musk; her voice to the erbab; and her kisses to honey, or the sugar brought from Egypt. The Arab songs are also very pretty, and generally in the same style. A young man once took much pains to teach me one; composed, as he said, by a relation of his own. He sang it, as is the Arab custom, in a voice low and monotonous, though far from disagreeable. The hero of the piece is one of the Waled Suliman; he is riding to see a girl whom he admires, but who belongs to another tribe.—As nearly as I can recollect, the words ran thus:

“Here I am, well mounted, on a horse whose ears are like pens, who runs like an antelope, and knows none but his master. My new red cap becomes me well; my sword is sharp, my pistols well cleaned, and my belt shines in the sun. As the heart of a pigeon beats when she finds she is robbed of her young, so will my love’s heart beat when she sees me. She will not allow the dog to bark, and she will leave the tent as if in search of wood. Should her kinsmen see her with me, she shall not fall under their displeasure. I will lift her on my horse, and fly with her; for my steed has ears like pens, he runs like an antelope, and knows none but his master. My new tagaia becomes me well; my sword is sharp, my pistols clean, and my belt shines in the sun.”—p. 173, 174.

Of this song we have been favoured with the following beautiful versification,—we need scarcely say by whom.

SONG.

“Behold me,” sung Hassan the fearless and free,
 “On the steed which obeys not a master but me,
 Who points like the quills of the eagle his ears,
 And whose bound o’er the desert is light as the deer’s.
 Behold me with sabre well sharpened and bright,
 And with pistols new flinted and burnished for fight,
 My cap with fresh scarlet so gaily be-done,
 And my baldrick of silver which gleams in the sun.
 When my true love espies me, the heart in her breast
 Shall beat quick as the pigeon’s, when robbed of her nest;
 She will hush the hoarse watch-dog, and hie to the grove,
 That the eyes of her kindred espy not her Love;
 Yet, let them descry me—their wrath I defy,
 And why should she tremble when Hassan is nigh?
 Like the hawk from the covey, selecting his prey,
 From the midst of her tribe I would bear her away.
 I would mount her behind me,” sung Hassan the free,
 “On the steed which obeys not a rider but me;
 Who points like the eagle’s sharp feathers his ears,
 And whose bound o’er the desert is light as the deer’s;
 For I come with my sabre, &c.”

From specimens of rock collected by Captain Lyon in various parts of his journey, Professor Buckland has been able to determine the geological structure of Tripoli and Fezzan; all of which may be referred to the three formations, 1. Basalt; 2. Tertiary limestone,

limestone, of about the same age with the *calcaire grossier* of Paris; 3. New red sandstone. The Soudah or Black Mountains, as we have already stated, are of basaltic formation; their direction is east and west, and they extend probably across the continent, Horneman having crossed them nearly two hundred miles to the south-eastward of Lyon, where they take the name of the Black Harutsch. Some basalt also appears in the Gharian mountains; but this ridge, which runs probably to the borders of Egypt, is composed apparently of trap and calcareous rocks—the tertiary limestone above-mentioned. The rocks contain marine shells, particularly two species of *cardium*, in a state of delicate preservation. Indeed most of the limestone formation, in every part of Northern Africa, appear to be loaded with fragments of organic remains, the most distinct of which, brought away by Captain Lyon, may be referred to the genera *ostrea* and *pecton*. We are informed by Horneman, that the ruins of the temple of Siwah are limestone, containing petrifications of shells and small marine animals; and from this place, westerly, the face of the rocky chain rising abruptly from the sandy desert was so crowded and filled with marine animals and shells and white detached mounds as it were wholly composed of shells, that when taken in connexion with the ‘sea-sand’ which covers the desert, this vast tract of country, he concludes, must have been flooded at a period later than the great deluge. Farther south and close to the Black Harutsch, the calcareous hills, rising steep from the level desert, are so friable, that ‘petrified conchs, snail-shells, fish and other marine substances,’ may be taken out by the hand. ‘I found heads of fish,’ says Horneman, ‘that would be a full burthen for one man to carry.’

The third and last formation appears under its usual form of loose red sand, accompanied by rock salt and gypsum, associated with beds of a calcareous breccia, cemented by magnesian limestone, and of compact dolomite. The drift-sand is composed of extremely minute grains of red semi-transparent quartz. Mr. Buckland observes, that the frequent occurrence of salt springs and of rock salt and gypsum goes far to identify this sand of the deserts with the new red sandstone in the south of England. In this also are ferruginous concretions, forming *ætites* or *geodes*; the broken fragments of which are compact, sonorous, and of a dark liver colour, having a shining polished surface; they are abundantly found among the sand. A narrow bed entirely composed of tubular concretions of iron of similar origin near the pass of Kenair, threw out irregular ramifications through the sand like the roots of trees, and presented at first sight the resemblance of lava. Most of the plains are strewn with magnesian limestone or dolomite

split into small laminated fragments, which break and rattle under the feet like pottery. Many other varieties of magnesian limestone and carbonates of lime are associated with the sand and sandstone of the hills and plains of this barren and miserable country.

We must now advert to the situation of our travellers in Mourzouk. The habitation assigned to them was one of the best in the town; and as all the large houses are said to be on the same plan, we shall give Captain Lyon's description of it.

'A large door, sufficiently high to admit a camel, opened into a broad passage, or Skeefa; on one side of which was a tolerable stable for five horses; and close to it a small room for the slaves, whose duty it might be to attend the house. A door opposite to that of the stable opened into the Kowdi, or large square room, the roof of which, at the height of eighteen feet, was supported by four palm-trees as pillars. In the centre of the roofing was a large open space, about twelve feet by nine; from this the house and rooms receive light (not to mention dust), and excessive heat in the afternoon. At the end of the room, facing the door, a large seat of mud was raised, about eighteen inches high, and twelve feet in length. Heaps of this description, though higher, are found at the doors of most houses, and are covered with loungers in the cool of the morning and evening. Our large room was fifty feet by thirty-nine. From the sides, doors opened into smaller ones, which might be used as sleeping or store-rooms, but were generally preferred for their coolness. Their only light was received from the door. Ascending a few steps, there was a kind of gallery over the side rooms, and in it were two small apartments, but so very hot as to be almost useless. From the large room was a passage leading to a yard, having also small houses attached to it in the same manner, and a well of comparatively good water. The floors were of sand, and the walls of mud roughly plastered, and showing every where the marks of the only trowel used in the country—the fingers of the right hand. There are no windows to any of the houses; but some rooms have a small hole in the ceiling, or high up in the wall.'—p. 96.

With this dwelling and with the sultan's flattering promises and professions of friendship, they had, at first, no fault to find: but they soon discovered how little the latter were to be depended on. They were robbed by their own servants, and could procure no redress; a spy from Mukni watched all their actions; and he not only refused to advance them any money, but prohibited his subjects from purchasing their merchandize; and it shortly became too apparent, that he wished them all to perish; in which case he would have appropriated their effects to his own use. Destitute of money and provisions, and suffering severely by sickness, Mr. Ritchie, who attended, in his medical capacity, the whole family of Mukni, once ventured to ask him for a small supply; to this request

quest he replied, in the most friendly and soothing terms, (taking Allah to witness,) that all he had in the world was at his service; but that the Bashaw had not left him a single dollar;—leaning at the same time against a chest which was known to be full of them.

They were not however wholly abandoned. Even in this horrible country, where humanity is a jest, a neighbour of theirs, a Mameluke, came into their house one day, and finding them sitting pensively on their mats, thus addressed Mr. Ritchie: ‘Yussuf, you, and Saïd (Lyon) are my friends; Mukni has behaved to you as he has done to us; and hopes you may die, that he may secure to himself all your goods. You seem very melancholy and never speak; answer me one question, do you want money?’ Mr. Ritchie having acknowledged that they did, Yussuf rejoined, ‘I do not myself possess any, but I will go and borrow some for you: how much do you require?’ Mr. Ritchie mentioned twenty dollars, and this kind-hearted man went out and returned with thirty.

They had been but a short time in Mourzouk when Mr. Lyon fell ill of the dysentery, which confined him to his bed twenty-two days; and from that moment it rarely happened that some of the party were not laid up. Ritchie was seized with bilious fever attended with delirium; Belford became so emaciated as to be unable to walk; and our author had constant attacks of the liver and enlargement of the spleen.

‘My situation (he says) was such as to create the most gloomy apprehensions; for I reflected that, if my two companions were to die, which there was every reason to apprehend, I had no money with which to bury them, or to support myself; and must in that case have actually perished from want, in a land of comparative plenty. My naturally sanguine mind, however, and above all, my firm reliance in that Power which had so mercifully protected me on so many trying occasions, prevented my giving way to despondency; and Belford beginning to rally a little, we united, and took turns in nursing and attending on our poor companion. At this time, having no servant, we performed for Mr. Ritchie and for ourselves the most menial offices, Mr. Ritchie being wholly unable to assist himself.’—p. 101.

Poor Ritchie however (after being confined to his bed fifty-eight days) rallied a little; but on the 28th September he relapsed, became delirious at intervals, and, on the 20th of November, expired without a pang or groan.

‘Belford and myself, in our weak state, looked at each other, expecting that in a few days it might probably be our lot to follow our lamented companion, whose sad remains we watched during the remainder of the night. And now, for the first time in all our distresses, my hopes did indeed fail me. At daylight I went out and informed our kind friends, Yussuf and Hadje Mahmoud, of our misfortunes; at which they were much affected, and offered us all the assist-

ance in their power. Belford, as well as he was able, hastened to form a rough coffin out of our chests; and a sad and painful task it was. The washers of the dead came to us to perform their melancholy office, and Mr. Ritchie's body was washed, perfumed, and rubbed with camphor; and I procured some fine linen, with which the grave-clothes were made. During our preparations for the burial, the women, who are always hired to cry at the death of persons whose friends are able to pay them, proposed to perform that disgusting office in our house; but I would not allow it, and very unceremoniously shut the door against them. While I was out of sight, either our servant or some of our officious visitors stole several of our effects, and I clearly saw that we were now considered as lawful plunder. The coffin being completed, I hired men to carry it with ropes, but one of them having suddenly gone away, poor Belford was obliged to take his place; when, attended by our small party of Mamlukes, we proceeded at a quick pace to the grave, at about ten o'clock. The clay below the sand was white, which was considered as a good omen; and Belford and myself threw the first earth into the grave. During the night we had, unknown to the people, read our protestant burial-service over the body: and now publicly recited the first chapter of the Koran, which the most serious Christian would consider as a beautiful and applicable prayer on such an occasion.

'Having thus performed the last sad duties to our unfortunate friend, we returned home to pass a day of misery. It was necessary to distribute food to the poor who surrounded our door in great numbers, and we had no money even to purchase a morsel for ourselves; Yusuf's kindness again having supplied our wants, I succeeded in getting the house a little more quiet. Within an hour after the funeral had taken place, a courier arrived from Tripoli bringing a truly welcome letter, announcing that a further allowance of £ 1000 had been made by our Government towards the expense of the mission. Had this letter reached us a little sooner, many of our troubles and distresses would have been prevented.'—p. 192, 193.

Captain Lyon speaks cautiously and reservedly of Mr. Ritchie; but the impression left on the mind of the reader is not altogether favourable to his qualifications as an African traveller. We are the more surprized at this, as from personal knowledge, from the character he bore while in Tripoli, and indeed from his own reports, (the substance of which we gave in No. XXXVI. p. 375.) we had conceived him to be every way qualified for the undertaking, apprehensive only of constitutional weakness; but this idea he treated lightly, observing to us that, being brought up in the profession, he knew how to take care of himself. It appears, however, from this account, that he was extremely close; never communicated his intentions; refused to mix with the natives; seemed to take no interest in the country or people: made very few notes; and even when well, was generally shut up in his own room, studying mathematics.

thematics. The different light in which the natives considered the two travellers was strongly marked on the occasion described by Captain Lyon, when the beautiful fat wife of Mukni's factotum displayed her legs and arms, and even her face, and moved a minuet before him; but sat down and veiled herself the moment that Mr. Ritchie entered the tent. The allowance made to him by government of £2000 for expenses would appear to have been most injudiciously laid out. Thus, we are told that, among much useless luggage, were 600lbs. of lead; as many corks for preserving insects as a camel could carry; as much brown paper as loaded two camels; five hundred weight of books, and two chests of instruments, with other articles, which required eight camels more; so that he had thirteen camels to buy and feed. This more than accounts for the want of money; which might have been prevented, had Mr. Ritchie drawn for his salary in Tripoli, or made arrangements, as he might have done, with the consul, Mr. Warrington, who is as liberal, as he is zealous, in the cause of discovery. The fact seems to be, that Mr. Ritchie's mind was too much turned to the minutiae of scientific researches, to allow him to become the rough pioneer, whose business is to clear the way through an untrodden country, and make it passable for future travellers: want of health, however, will, as we conceive, go a great way in explaining his want of energy.

It was very unfortunate that our travellers did not start a month sooner from Tripoli, and that they stopped at all at Mourzouk, the worst country and the worst climate in all Africa; the thermometer standing at 2 p.m. from 106° to 133° for six or seven months together. Had they set out earlier, and made the best of their way to Bornou, they would have got within the limits of the tropical rains, which cool the air and render it pleasant, producing at the same time abundance of food: the road to Bernie, the capital, is said to be as open and safe as that from London to Edinburgh. This, as far as to the most southerly limits of Fezzan, was subsequently confirmed by Captain Lyon, who, with Belford, on recovering a little from their illness, set out with the Sultan's Taskera, or order, on a journey to the southward. They passed through Traghan and Zuela to the eastward. The springs at the former place, Captain Lyon says, are 'the pride of Fezzan.' They consisted of four ponds of brackish water, each thirty or forty feet in diameter, covered with a green crust, and swarming with frogs. There were also here some ruins of an Arab fortress, but not so extraordinary as Horneman seems to have thought them. They appear to be the remains of a large mosque, and some tombs erected by the shreefs at an early period of their settlement in this country.

Beyond

Beyond Zuela, at a miserable mud village 'where the people looked like skeletons,' Captain Lyon observed a blacksmith burning the side of a patient with a red hot iron for the cure of the liver. On the 30th December, our travellers reached Gatrone, or, as it is elsewhere called, Kattron, inhabited chiefly by black Fezzanners. On the 2d January, they arrived at Tegerry, which has a ruined castle of mud; round it were several pools of stagnant water. Captain Lyon describes the inhabitants as little better than savages; the language is that of Bornou. Its latitude is $24^{\circ} 4' N$. Being situated on the borders of the Great Desert, it is a sort of resting place for all the *coffés* from Soudan, Bornou and Waday; and was once, in consequence, a flourishing spot: but the exactions of Mukni, and the little compassion shown by the Arabs quartered upon the people by his orders, have reduced this and almost all the towns of the neighbourhood to a state of extreme poverty. In short, little was to be procured at Tegerry but dates, which were plentiful and good.

From this place, our travellers, in consequence of illness, thought it prudent to return. On halting one evening, Belford was missing; he had fallen from his camel from excessive weakness and dizziness, and the animal came up to the caravan without him. Fortunately one of the party, who was behind, found him extended and helpless on the desert, where he must soon have perished. On reaching Gatrone, the approach of the *Grazzie*, or slave-hunters of Mukni, was announced by the sound of the *tubbel*, or large drum, by which the inhabitants are called together to hear the will of the Sultan; and which was, on this occasion, that every family should furnish a certain supply of food and fodder for the *Grazzie*—'The poor people,' says Captain Lyon, 'consider this kind of sound as not very agreeable, for they never hear the music without paying the piper.'

The slave-hunters, with Mukni's eldest son at their head, consisted of 100 horsemen, and 400 Arabs on foot; their booty was about 800 miserable looking wretches, mostly cripples, from two to three thousand maherries (a variety of the camel), and five hundred asses. Nearly 1000 camels, and a great number of captives, had either died on the road, or, unable to travel, been left to perish. To grace the entry of these marauders into Mourzouk, a public procession was sent out to meet them, with flags, and drums and bagpipes, and dancing-women, which, says Captain Lyon, would have been amusing enough, but for the poor dejected captives, whose 'swelled and sore feet, and emaciated bodies, formed such a sad contrast to the finery and ostentation of the conquerors,' as to give rise to the most painful feelings.

Independently of Mukni's predatory excursions, *coffés* are constantly

stantly arriving from Soudan and Bornou, conducted by Arabs and Tripolines, and natives of the two above-mentioned countries. One of these entered Mourzouk with 1400 slaves, the greater part females. Here they remain for some time to be fattened, when they are sent off for Tripoli, Benghazi, and Egypt; thus these unfortunate creatures are marched about for 1800 or 2000 miles before they can be settled, frequently passing through the hands of eight or ten masters, most of whom refuse to consider them as human beings, and treat them precisely as they treat their asses and camels. Yet, says Captain Lyon,

‘In justice to the poor unenlightened creatures whom they make their prey, I must say that I never witnessed such innocence, tenderness, and mildness as most of them evince when brought to Morzouk, particularly at the death of any of their companions in adversity. On these occasions they do not, like their persecutors, scream and make an insincere wailing; but sit silent and in tears, and often refuse to take their little allowance of food. Should one of the females fall sick, the others nurse, feed, comfort, and very often give up the whole of their scanty meal to the sufferer. I speak merely of the women, for the men are not blessed with very kind hearts; and it would be considered by them as disgraceful to betray any soft and tender feeling. Should a woman have an infant belonging to her, each of her companions in turn will carry and endeavour to amuse it. The women very seldom become sullen, and are lively without being at all boisterous or noisy; they are clean in their persons, very fond of ornaments, tractable, and easily taught; but in acquiring knowledge they unfortunately lose much of their native simplicity.’—p. 140.

Captain Lyon describes the young Tibboo girls as of light and elegant forms, with expressive eyes, aquiline noses, fine teeth, and lips like those of Europeans: the colour of their skin is of the brightest black; their gait graceful and elegant; their feet and ankles are delicately formed, and ornamented generally with copper or silver anklets and neat red slippers. Their hair is plaited in a peculiar manner, and decorated with gold, silver, coral, agates, cowries, &c. according to the taste and ability of the wearer. They are fond of dancing, and sing and keep time remarkably well; some of their dances are not unlike those of the ancient Greeks.

The men have intelligent countenances; they are very active, but too slight in their make to be much esteemed as slaves, being unable to perform hard labour. The females, on the contrary, are in great request, for their elegance of form and beauty of face. These people are distributed over Bornou, Waday, Borgoo, and Bhagarnie, and many of them live in a free state in the southern parts of Fezzan. Those to the eastward have numerous camels, horned cattle, asses, sheep, and goats.

Various natives of Africa, who frequent Mourzouk, with slaves and

and other articles of traffic, are described by our author with his pencil as well as his pen. Among these are the Tuarick, who inhabit Kashna, Agades, Ghadamis, Graat, and other oases of the Great Desert; a very fine race of men, 'tall, straight, and handsome, with a certain air of independence and pride, which is very imposing.' Their complexion is browned by the sun, but their bodies are as white as those of many Europeans. Their dress is splendid, and they cover their faces as high as the eyes, like the women on the coast. They always go armed with daggers and spears, frequently with swords and match-locks. Their language is supposed to be that of the ancient Brebers, from whom they are no doubt descended. They never kiss the hand, as the Arabs in general do, not even that of the Sultan, but advancing and taking the hand, they shake it, and then retire, standing erect, and looking the person full in the face. They cross the Desert on maherries, which they manage with great dexterity, fighting while mounted, and firing at marks when on full speed. The maherry will travel for many hours together at the rate of nine miles an hour.

From the various natives of Northern Africa who frequented Mourzouk, and those whom he met with in the southern parts of Fezzan, Captain Lyon procured many notices respecting the countries to the southward and the eastward; and though the information thus acquired differed in some few points, yet, on the whole, it agreed in a very remarkable manner with that collected by Burckhardt, Horneman, and other travellers. It is, indeed, quite surprising with how little variation, a story, whether true or false, is here handed down for ages by oral tradition. We are told, for instance, by Ibn-al-Vardi, who wrote in the fourteenth century, that the people who live on the banks of a great river, which loses itself in the sands of the Desert, place their gold on one side of a line, and the merchants trading with them, their goods on the other side; and thus effect an exchange without further communication. Bakui, about a century afterwards, and Cadamosto, a century after that, repeat the same thing, both adding, that no one has ever seen these men of gold; and though, says Cadamosto, 'it appears a hard thing to believe, I certify having had this information from many merchants, Arabs and Azanaghi, and other persons worthy of credit.' Now our traveller, who, we will venture to assert, never read a line in any of these writers, was told that to the southward of Timbuctoo dwells an invisible nation, who carry on a traffic by night with strangers. 'Those who come for their gold lay their merchandize in heaps and retire. In the morning, they find a certain quantity of gold dust placed against every heap; if they think it sufficient, they leave the goods; if not, they let both remain until more of the precious ore is added.' Whatever may be thought of this

this improbable story; we know, at least, that there was a time, and not very distant, when our South Sea whalers carried on with the Spaniards of South America a contraband trade very much in the same manner.

Thus also there is a wonderful similarity, we might almost say unanimity, among the natives of every part of Northern Africa with regard to the identity of the Niger and the Nile of Egypt. Having already detailed the information collected by Mr. Ritchie, which is in fact to the same effect as that of Captain Lyon, it is unnecessary to repeat it. It is summed up in the following paragraph:—

‘The Nil, Goulbi, Joliba or Kattagum, runs from Tembuctoo, through Melli in the country of the Fellata; thence to Kebbi, which is three days north of Nooffy: past this place or country, it runs to Yaowri, which is seven days east; from thence to Fendah, a Fellata country S.W. of Kashna, which latter kingdom it passes at thirteen days south of the capital. It again makes its appearance at Kattagum, four days W.S.W. of the capital of Bornou, where it runs into a lake, called the Tsaad. Beyond this lake, a large river runs through Baghermee, and is called the Gambarro and Kamadakoo; the word Nil being also used for the same stream.—Thus far are we able to trace the Nil, and all other accounts are merely conjectural. All agree, however, that, by one route or other, these waters join the great Nile of Egypt, to the southward of Dongola.’—p. 148.

If this be compared with the following paragraph of Horneman’s letter, and the information which he received from an Egyptian traveller, that the river of Timbuctoo and the Bahr-el-Abiad are the same, it must, we think, be admitted, that these and other testimonies to the same effect, have a concurrence almost sufficient to establish a fact, which has nothing physically impossible in it, in the mind of the most incredulous. ‘The river,’ says Horneman, ‘you call Niger, in Soudan, Gulbi or Gaora, in Burnu, Zad, is a very large river, into which fall more than twelve other rivers. It comes from Tombuctoo, as I am told, runs to the south of Houssa (or Soudan), in the empire of Burnu; here it takes a more northerly direction, and falls (at least I could not find a single man who said to the contrary) south of Darfour into the Nile.’

We have derived considerable amusement, if not instruction, from the brief but learned pamphlet of the Rev. John Dudley, Vicar of Humberstone and Sileby, the object of which is to prove the identity of the Niger and the Nile from ancient authorities. We feel the more disposed to notice this little work, independently of its intrinsic merits, on account of the laudable motive which is stated to have produced it, namely, the prevention of random expeditions, the saving of time and expense, and the preserving of many valuable lives. These, it must be owned, are no mean pretensions: and,

and, to the author's own satisfaction at least, he has fully established what he proposes, by having shown, as he thinks he has done, that every ancient writer, from Homer downwards, whether poet, historian, or geographer, is in favour of the identity of these two rivers. As 'fellow and sometime tutor of Clare Hall,' Mr. Dudley is undoubtedly entitled to be considered as an able and accomplished scholar; but it appears to us, that he is better versed in ancient literature, than in modern geography, or the knowledge of men and things.

It would lead to a discussion in which our limits forbid us to engage, were we to examine his arguments and authorities at length; and we shall, therefore, as a specimen of the mode in which he arrives at the proof of identity, content ourselves with selecting that which is deduced from the Argonautics of Apollonius of Rhodes: and we take this part of his case in preference, as being more laboured than the rest, and considered, we have no doubt, as our author's strongest ground. We must protest, however, in the outset, against the doctrine that 'it is a question of little moment, whether that voyage was an enterprize really performed, and historically true; or, whether it was a *mythos* or fable.' Surely, where geographical positions are to be fixed, and their accuracy established or disproved, an actual voyage performed is preferable to the mere fancy of the poet. If, indeed, it were true, what, however, we most strenuously deny, that 'experience has been found to confirm the accuracy of the statements concerning the seas over which the Argonauts are said to have sailed, the islands on which they landed, the shores along which they coasted, the promontories at which they touched, and the ports and rivers into which they entered;'—if this, we say, were the fact, we might, perhaps, concede a little to Mr. Dudley's position; but the contrary is notoriously the case. Among other difficulties arising out of the absurdities of the fable, we could wish he had explained how the Argo got out of the Euxine; because all the ancient writers on the subject (and they are not a few) give a different account of this exploit, each more improbable than the other: but, according to all, the ship must have travelled over land some hundreds, or even thousands of miles, to regain the Mediterranean; some sending her to the Baltic, some to the Indian Ocean, others again to the Atlantic, and others to the Adriatic. Mr. Dudley, however, though silent on this part of the voyage, finds no difficulty in reconciling to himself a second land-navigation which he does notice: for, having brought the Argo safely to the northern coast of Africa,—we beg pardon, not safely, for she was stranded on the shallows and quicksands of the greater Syrtis,—her intrepid navigators, unable to extricate themselves from the difficulties of their situation, by regaining the sea, hoisted the ship on their shoulders, and,

and, after a journey of twelve days, reached the lake Tritonis, situate in Lybia, in central Africa; and having launched her once more, they sailed down a stream which led them into the Mediterranean sea, through one of the mouths of the Egyptian Nile! so says the poet; and so Mr. Dudley undertakes to prove.

The first great point to be settled is the position of this lake Tritonis; and in doing this, a variety of ancient testimonies is referred to; and after some ingenious conjectures and comparisons with modern authorities, it is finally decided to be no other than Wangara (of which, by the way, neither Burckhardt, nor Ritchie, nor Lyon, could learn any thing decisive).^{*} The whole argument, however, turns upon Tritonis being Wangara, and Wangara the Nou, and Nou the sea of Soudan. 'Adopting this exposition,' says our learned author, 'the Argonauts lifted the vessel from the sands of Syrtis, and with effort more than human, but such as was usually believed to be easy to *heroes*, they bore it on their shoulders, for twelve days and nights without a rest, across the Sahara, or Great Desert, which being in most places about eight hundred miles broad, they must have travelled at the rate of about seventy-two miles in each solar day, a space nearly quadruple of a day's journey in the present day:' much more, we say; for as Bornou or Birnie, situate on the north side of the lake, is in lat. 16°, and the bottom of the Syrtis is 31°, these heroes must have travelled, with the ship on their shoulders, at the rate nearly of ninety miles a day; as the one however is just as probable as the other, we shall not dispute the point of a few miles more or less. Be this as it may, they reached the Bahr-el-Soudan, and launched the Argo on it. Here, it seems, some difficulty occurred in finding their way through the numerous shallows of the lake; but guided by the darkness and tranquillity of the deep channels, and by that good fortune which always attends heroes and demigods, they at length succeeded in reaching the Nile of Egypt, by taking advantage of 'the first rush of the water from the lake, when the inundation of the Niger approached towards its greatest height.'

Though the aid of an inundation was not necessary for *heroes* to get over the swamps and shallows, yet, as Pliny has asserted that *part* of the waters of the Nile (which part is *assumed* to be the Niger) arrive at Egypt by subterraneous currents, it might have been inconvenient, even for heroes, to navigate the Argo, as Sinbad did his boat, under ground,—and hence the rush of

^{*} Wangara is a place of which we cannot obtain any decided account. One person states it to be twenty days to the southward of Timbuctoo; another places it south of Kashna; and many even assert that it is beyond Waday: but it is quite impossible, from the various accounts given of it, to form any idea of its actual situation, or even existence.—*Lyon*, p. 148.

waters. But this inundation of the Niger answers another and a very important purpose. 'The grasses and aquatic plants, on the retreat of the waters, will clothe the greater part of the country with a most abundant vegetable harvest;' and this harvest being again immersed in water on the return of the rains, in such a state and in such a climate, must 'quickly become putrescent, and thereby render the waters of the lake *one vast flood of inky fluid.*' This vast flood, which is calculated to spread over an extent of 70,000 square miles, flowing onwards, gives to the Nile of Egypt that remarkable '*blue blackness*, which has affixed in all ages names of such an import to both the river and the country over which the inundation flows.' If we admit this ingenious explanation, we have at once a satisfactory solution of a difficulty which the Argonauts unexpectedly encountered, (and which, we confess, has often staggered us,) after being fairly afloat on the lake of Tritonis—their unaccountable distress for want of water.

'They sought a fountain, for fell thirst enhanced
Their miseries and pains.'

It might, indeed, have occurred to us, had we been aware of the fact, that 'heroes and personages half divine' could not make use of 'such foul potations' as the 'inky fluid' of the lake; they were accordingly 'relieved by the benevolence of the nymphs Hesperides, whose sacred abodes, or gardens, appear to have been not far distant from the borders of the lake.' This position of the celebrated gardens of these nymphs amidst the swamps of Wangara, to find which had puzzled so many authors and commentators, ancient and modern, seems quite a new discovery, the merit of which, we believe, is entirely due to Mr. Dudley. The seculent matter, engendered by the decayed vegetables of the Wangara, and carried down the Niger, offers likewise, in Mr. Dudley's mind, a satisfactory explanation of the black sediment deposited by the inundations of the Nile. We pass over the 'decisive argument' in proof of this, which Mr. Dudley draws from a chemical analysis of the slime of the Nile, because we would not be thought to speak slightly of his logical deductions; which, however, amount precisely to this—that,

The black mud of the Nile contains clay and silex:

But clay and silex are found in the plants of Wangara;

Therefore, the black mud of the Nile is composed of the plants of Wangara.

And, by the same process of ratiocination, we cannot see why the Himalaya mountains and the Andes may not be proved to be composed of the plants of Wangara. This argument, however, 'most decisive' as it may appear to our author, will carry him but

a very

a very little way; for, by his own showing, or Pliny's, the 'inky fluid,' penetrating through the sands, would necessarily leave the black feculæ behind, and, thus filtered, the water would join the Nile as clear as crystal.

We looked with some degree of anxiety for the spot where these waters of the Niger, whether black or white, were to form their junction with the Nile; but we looked in vain. Bruce, it seems, found but very little sediment at Sennaar; and not much more at the junction of the Nile and Astabaras, where the water was whiter, and the greatest part of the sediment, sand; at Syené, however, where the Nile enters Egypt, the sediment was amazingly increased; but unluckily, only a trifling part of it was black, the rest being sand. Hence it follows that the junction must be below the Astabaras; and in this case, it is somewhat singular, that neither Poncet nor Bruce, nor Burckhardt, nor Brown, nor Banks, Belmore, Belzoni and a host of travellers, some of whom traversed both banks, and others of whom navigated the river, should have discovered this 'rush of waters,' which would hardly have escaped such scrutinizing eyes, even if not more remarkable than the junction of Fleet-ditch with the Thames.

But though Mr. Dudley does not inform us where it is that the Niger joins the Nile, he tells us where it does not, namely, by the channel of the Bahr-el-Abiad; and this for two reasons—first, 'because the details of Pliny strongly contradict it, and render somewhat improbable the idea of the Niger approaching the Nile in a *'sluggish stream;'* and secondly, because it seems almost impossible 'that a river uniformly designated by names implying *blackness*, should, for a short part of its course, be called *white*;' these are deemed so conclusive by Mr. Dudley, that he thinks they may 'incline the Inquirer' (referring to the Quarterly Review) 'to reject the opinion that the Niger and Nile may be the White River.'

With every possible respect for Mr. Dudley's course of reading, and willing to accord with him, that there can be no 'better application of learning, than that whereby the experience of past ages is rendered subservient to purposes of useful knowledge,' we cannot bring ourselves to reject the universal testimony in favour of a fact, on which, however, we have not declared any opinion:—though we feel no hesitation in stating that an overweening confidence in the vague statements of ancient authors, and an overstraining of those statements to answer particular purposes, have betrayed our learned author into strange and inconsistent conclusions. We give him full credit for the benevolent intentions which he manifests, 'of saving the valuable lives of many Europeans,' and of 'preventing only one injudicious expedition;' but we cannot

flatter him with the least hope of such important results from his present lucubrations. Pliny knew nothing of the Abiad; and he furnishes no details either to contradict or confirm the statement of Bruce, who saw it, and pronounced it 'a dead running river.' But this is nothing; and, seriously speaking, there are blunders in Mr. Dudley's pamphlet which grieve and astonish us. How he could suppose the name of Niger to be derived from the *blackness* of the water, instead of (as we thought every body knew) the *blackness* of the people inhabiting the country through which it flows, and to which they have given the name of *Soudan*, or (translated) *Nigritia*, is quite inconceivable. The fact of 'two different names being given to two different parts' of what is supposed to be the same river, when it is considered that they were given by two different people—Romans and Arabs, has nothing to surprize us; but we confess it does appear a little extraordinary to us, that it should not have occurred to Mr. Dudley, that the names of rivers, as well as of seas, are frequently the offspring of caprice or accident, and rarely appropriate to the nature of their waters, though occasionally so to that of their banks: thus we have the *Black* Sea and the *White* Sea, the *Yellow* Sea and the *Red* Sea, the waters of all which, we have no doubt, are *green* to the eye, and *colourless* in a glass.

On this interesting question we have recorded from time to time the opinions of modern travellers and of the Arab and Negro natives, and endeavoured to try their validity as far as regards the possibility of each; from these we have unquestionably imbibed a particular leaning; but we have not pretended to decide the question. If called upon, however, to pronounce an opinion, we should not hesitate to take the Abiad against all the rest as the outlet of the Niger, notwithstanding the incongruity of the 'milky whiteness' of the one with the 'inky fluid' of the other, which, as well as we can understand, appears to form the only point of difference in the conclusions drawn by us and the Vicar of Humberstone, though we come to those conclusions from very different premises. Experience has, we conceive, clearly ascertained that the Niger can have no other channel of communication with the Nile than the Abiad; and, as we consider it to have been satisfactorily traced to the southward of Bhagerni, it must of necessity either fall into that channel, or be lost in the sands.

ART. III.—*The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* Fourth Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1821.

THIS is one of the best samples which we have yet seen of American literature; for though it is, as indeed it professes to

to be, of a light and unpretending character, it is good of its kind; full of imagination, and embellished with a delicacy of feeling, and a refinement of taste, that do not often belong to our trans-Atlantic descendants.

The age of fine writing will always come late in the annals of a nation; and there is nothing in the history of the rise or progress of America to make her an exception to the general rule. The genius of her people, as might be expected from their origin and their pursuits, is rather directed to what is useful and mechanical; and indeed while they have still so much uncultivated land, we can scarcely expect that any great encouragement should be given to the cultivation of mind. Accordingly, we find that, while she would gladly rival our broad-cloths and our cutlery, she is content to import our poetry, our romance, our philosophy and our criticism.

Though it may be difficult, perhaps, to decide what political circumstances are most favourable to the developement of the literary taste of a nation, it is easy to see what state of things must necessarily be the most adverse to it. In a newly peopled country the provision of the means of living must for some time be the care of all: after these are secured, the pursuit of wealth, and the accumulation of property, will long continue to be the favourite objects. Thus in America, agriculture, commerce, politics,—concerns which come home to the business and bosoms of men,—engross the attention of all, employing the best hands and the best heads; and it is the fulness of time alone which can bring into existence that distinct class of men, who form the literary reputation of a nation.

At present, too, America is rioting in the first delicious intoxication of national vanity, and reveling in extravagant speculations of future greatness. The late war lasted just long enough to give her an appetite for the pomps and vanities of military glory, and not long enough to make her feel the inevitable consequences which must ensue, if this appetite should grow into a confirmed taste. The creation of a navy is now the darling object of her care; and the spirit which displays itself at the launch of every ship gives a sufficient indication of the confidence with which she looks forward to the realization of her ambitious day-dreams. *Time and the hour* may, perhaps, sober this calenture of the national brain; and when she shall have bought wisdom at the usual price of experience, by passing through the ordinary career of hope and disappointment, she will perhaps subside into a state of mind more propitious to the growth of good taste, and the advancement of literature.

The author of the work before us, under the assumed title of

Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. devotes the first chapter of his *Sketch-Book* to an account of himself, and of his early propensity to travelling; which broke out, in the first years of childhood, in tours of discovery through the foreign parts of his native city, to the frequent alarm of his parents, and the emolument of the town-crier.

‘It has been (says he) either my good or evil lot to have my roving passion gratified. I have wandered through different countries, and witnessed many of the shifting scenes of life. I cannot say that I have studied them with the eye of a philosopher, but rather with the sauntering gaze with which humble lovers of the picturesque stroll from the window of one shop to another; caught sometimes by the delineations of beauty, sometimes by the distortions of caricature, and sometimes by the loveliness of landscape. As it is the fashion for modern tourists to travel pencil in hand, and bring home their port-folios filled with sketches; I am disposed to get up a few for the entertainment of my friends. When I look over, however, the hints and memorandums I have taken down for the purpose, my heart almost fails me at finding how my idle humour has led me aside from the great objects studied by every regular traveller who would make a book.’—p. 8.

Having thus explained to the reader the nature of his work, he proceeds to give the story of his ‘Voyage’ to England. This story is very beautifully told; and it is a decisive proof of the talent and taste of the author, that he has been able to confer an air of novelty on so hacknied a subject:—but natural feelings expressed in the language of nature and good sense must always be contemplated with interest and pleasure. He lands at Liverpool, and, in the first fervour of a traveller’s enthusiasm, (breaking loose after the confinement of a tedious voyage,) indites a long chapter upon Mr. Roscoe! The name of Roscoe will always maintain a certain place in the calendar of literature; but is it not a little hyperbolical to talk of him ‘as one of those men whose voices have gone forth to the ends of the earth,’—‘who pass before our imaginations like superior beings radiant with the emanations of their own genius, and surrounded with a halo of literary glory.’? We know not how it may be at the ‘ends of the earth;’ but we suspect that there are a great many worthy people on this side of ‘the Land’s End’ who never heard of the historian of Leo and the Medici; and who are only acquainted with Mr. Roscoe as the weakest of all political writers and speakers, and the unsuccessful candidate for Liverpool.

The next chapter, entitled ‘The Wife,’ is pretty; but we doubt whether it is natural, and are sure it is not English nature. There is an affectation in the sentiment, and an artificial smartness in the getting up of the incidents, which would almost lead us to suppose

pose it was a translation from the French. We like 'Rip Van Winkle' much better; in this there is a spirit, and an originality that occasionally remind us of the great Northern Enchanter.

Van Winkle is followed by a long chapter, which has for its title '*English Writers on America*,' written for the most part in a spirit of good sense and moderation which could scarcely be expected from an American,—even when intended for publication on this side of the water. There are some traits of national obliquity; but there is much that is praiseworthy and excellent; and we think the perusal of it may be of great service on both sides of the Atlantic.

For ourselves, we wish well and have always wished well to America, though we have not condescended to flatter, or assisted to spoil her. We sincerely hope she may become wiser as she grows older; but, as a first step towards improvement, we have always thought it indispensable that she should learn to divest herself of that overweening self-conceit, which has filled her with such exaggerated ideas of her own importance in the scale of nations, by seducing her into a belief that she might enter the lists with England. What may happen many centuries hence, it is not for us to divine. The page of history may teach us that nations, like individuals, are subject to disease and decay:—but we leave the claims of America in the maturity of her age, and England in the days of her decrepitude, if such days (which Heaven avert!) must ever come, to the arbitration of posterity, while we content ourselves with asserting the present superiority of our country; and rejoice not only in its undiminished vigour, but in its growing strength and greatness.

The good-will which we bear towards America is felt, and must ever continue to be felt by England, unless the feelings of nature are stifled and destroyed. In the case of nations the relation of parent and child may be called metaphorical only; yet there is a spice of nature in the sensation, which makes it more than nominal or figurative. We believe the disposition of England is strongly inclined to bury in oblivion all that has happened to disturb the harmony which ought to subsist between America and herself; and to cultivate and improve those kindly feelings, which would redound equally to the credit and advantage of both countries. It was surely not too much to suppose that a reciprocal feeling would naturally be entertained by the descendant-state: but whatever be the cause,—whether she was weaned too soon; whether from her early connection with France, when 'the weaned child put its hand on the cockatrice's den,' or from the natural frowardness belonging to her relationship,—so it is, that America has constantly evinced in her conduct towards England

a spiteful and insulting spirit. What is done here, is not looked to as a model of imitation and example in the generous spirit of emulation;—but there is an ill-natured disposition animating all her efforts to equal us, which seems to seek success less for the sake of the object, than for the gratification to be derived from the boast of surpassing England. It is in this temper that the Americans are for ever obtruding upon us the pretended excellence of their constitution. The spirit of liberty, which is the soul and substance of it, they derived from us; the form, which is of less importance, is their own. If a republican form of government suit the character and habits of their country, let them enjoy it peaceably and quietly; but let them also grant to other nations the same freedom of choice which they claim for themselves.

But Liberty is a word of universal import, which is made to mean any thing and every thing, according to the different tastes of its different commentators. There is no doctrine in which, unless the zeal of its apostles be guided by knowledge, excess is more dangerous; or to which the Greek line might be applied with more truth:—

Νῆπιοι, καὶ ἰσασιν ὅσα πλεονήμῃσι παύτος.

We have not yet been favoured with the American interpretation of the word, but we may judge of its orthodoxy from the sanction given by their legislature, to the abominable traffic in human flesh, which affords these liberty-loving republicans the edifying spectacle of some thousands of their fellow-creatures doomed, like the helots of Sparta, to hopeless slavery, and subjected like brute beasts, to the whip of their driver;—and this, too, in a Christian country! and this, too, under the daily view of a people who yet presume to insult the common sense of mankind by boasting of the super-eminent excellence of their *free* constitution!

Let America learn from us, that we shook off the chains of slavery with the other relics of barbarism; that the very respiration of the air of England is sufficient to loosen these degrading bonds; and that even with respect to her colonies, in spite of every temptation arising from pecuniary interest, England took the lead among nations in abolishing this sinful system; and, not content with setting the example, exerted all the energies of her purse and her power to persuade the old world to concur with her in condemning and renouncing for ever that detestable traffic which had been so long a disgraceful blot in the history of humanity, and a foul reproach upon the character of Christendom. We leave to America the task of reconciling this contradiction between her practice and her principles; and conclude what we have to say on this chapter, in the concluding words of the chapter itself: sincerely hoping that the Americans will listen to such suggestions;

gestions ; which, proceeding as they do from a well-informed and enlightened traveller of their own country, will perhaps come with additional weight :

‘ The members of a republic, above all other men, should be candid and dispassionate. They are, individually, portions of the sovereign mind and sovereign will, and should be enabled to come to all questions of national concern with calm and unbiassed judgments. From the peculiar nature of our relations with England, we must have more frequent questions of a difficult and delicate character with her than with any other nation ; questions that excite the most acute and excitable feelings ; and as, in the adjusting of these, our national measures must ultimately be determined by popular sentiment, we cannot be too anxiously attentive to purify it from all latent passion or prepossession.

* * * *

But, above all, let us not be influenced by any angry feelings, so far as to shut our eyes to the perception of what is really excellent and amiable in the English character. We are a young people, necessarily an imitative one, and must take our examples and models, in a great degree, from the existing nations of Europe. There is no country more worthy of our study than England. The spirit of her Constitution is most analogous to ours. The manners of her people, their intellectual activity, their freedom of opinion, their habits of thinking on those subjects which concern the dearest interests and most sacred charities of private life, are all congenial to the American character ; and, in fact, are all intrinsically excellent ; for it is in the moral feeling of the people that the deep foundations of British prosperity are laid ; and however the superstructure may be time-worn or over-run with abuses, there must be something solid in the basis, admirable in the materials, and stable in the structure of the edifice, that so long has towered unshaken amidst the tempests of the world.

‘ Let it be the pride of our writers, therefore, discarding all feelings of irritation, and disdaining to retaliate the illiberality of British authors, to speak of the English nation without prejudice, and with determined candour. While they rebuke the indiscriminating bigotry with which some of our countrymen admire and imitate every thing English, merely because it is English, let them frankly point out what is really worthy of approbation. We may thus place England before us as a perpetual volume of reference, wherein are recorded sound deductions from ages of experience : and while we avoid the errors and absurdities which may have crept into the page, we may draw thence golden maxims of practical wisdom, wherewith to strengthen and embellish our national character.’—p. 116.

The ‘ Broken Heart’ is very affecting ; and ‘ the Boar’s Head’ is very dull. We should have been glad to see more of English society and English manners in the ‘ Sketch Book.’ Almost the only attempt of this kind in the first volume is in ‘ The Country Church ;’ and here, though the original sketch might have been from nature, yet the finishing of the picture, and the grouping of the

the figures, is, we suspect, entirely from the author's own imagination; (this, indeed, we know to be the case in some of his other representations;) the idea of blazoning the nobleman's arms on the door of the pew seems to be borrowed from Hogarth's whimsical representation of the gouty old peer in *Marriage à la Mode* displaying his coronet on his crutch. The scene however is well imagined, and the contrast between the real unaffected dignity of the nobleman, and the bustling, vulgar parade of the rich citizen, though carried a little too far in the minuteness of the details, is humorously managed.

In the chapter upon 'Rural Funerals' the author has collected a variety of pretty poetical fragments in illustration of the very old custom of planting graves with flowers. Some observances of this kind have been practised in all ages. Shakspeare, in the passage quoted by the author, when he says of Ophelia,

'Lay her i' the earth:—
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring!'

is only translating from the Latin, though perhaps unconsciously,

————— 'è tumulo fortunatâque favillâ
Nascentur violæ.'

In some remote corners of this island, particularly in Wales, the repositories of mortality are not only strewed with flowers as fit emblems of the quickly-fading bloom of human life, but the ornaments of the garden, which are at the same time the useful condiments of the kitchen, are still actually planted in the soil which covers the last relics of the dead.

The conclusion affords proof of the facility with which the author can pass from 'gay to grave,' and will furnish a fair specimen of his style:

'I have dwelt upon this beautiful rural custom, because, as it is one of the last, so it is one of the holiest offices of love. The grave is the ordeal of true affection. It is there that the divine passion of the soul manifests its superiority to the instinctive impulse of mere animal attachment. The latter must be continually refreshed and kept alive by the presence of its object; but the love that is seated in the soul can live on long remembrance. The mere inclinations of sense, languish and decline, with the charms which excited them, and turn with disgust from the dismal precincts of the tomb; but it is thence that truly spiritual affection rises purified from every sensual desire, and returns, like a holy flame, to illumine and sanctify the heart of the survivor.

'The sorrow for the dead is the only sorrow from which we refuse to be divorced. Every other wound we seek to heal—every other affliction to forget; but this wound we consider it as a duty to keep open—this affliction we cherish and brood over in solitude. Where is the mother who would willingly forget the infant that perished like a blossom

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som from her arms, though every recollection is a pang? Where is the child that would willingly forget the most tender of parents, though to remember be but to lament? Who, even in the hour of agony, would forget the friend over whom he mourns? Who, even when the tomb is closing upon the remains of her he most loved; when he feels his heart, as it were, crushed in the closing of its portal; would accept of the consolation that must be bought by forgetfulness?—No, the love which survives the tomb is one of the noblest attributes of the soul. If it has its woes, it has likewise its delights; and when the overwhelming burst of grief is calmed into the gentle tear of recollection; when the sudden anguish and the convulsive agony over the present ruins of all that we most loved, is softened away into pensive meditation on all that it was in the days of its loveliness—who would root out such a sorrow from the heart? Though it may sometimes throw a passing cloud over the brightest hour of gaiety; or spread a deeper sadness over the hour of gloom; yet who would exchange it even for the song of pleasure, or the burst of revelry? No, there is a voice from the tomb sweeter than song. There is a remembrance of the dead to which we turn even from the charms of the living. Oh the grave!—the grave!—it buries every error—covers every defect—extinguishes every resentment! From its peaceful bosom spring none but fond regrets and tender recollections. Who can look down upon the grave even of an enemy, and not feel a compunctious throb, that he should ever have warred with the poor handful of earth that lies mouldering before him!—p. 305.

This is powerfully written; but the winding up is still better, where he contemplates the grave of those we loved as a place for meditation.

‘Aye! go to the grave of buried love, and there meditate! There settle the account with thy conscience for every past endearment unregarded, of that departed being, who can never—never—never return to be soothed by thy contrition!

‘If thou art a child, and hast ever added a sorrow to the soul, or a furrow to the silvered brow of an affectionate parent—if thou art a husband, and hast ever caused the fond bosom that ventured its happiness in thy arms, to doubt one moment of thy kindness or thy truth—if thou art a friend, and hast ever wronged in thought, word, or deed, the spirit that generously confided in thee—if thou art a lover, and hast ever given one unmerited pang to that true heart which now lies cold and still beneath thy feet;—then be sure that every unkind look, every ungracious word, every ungentle action, will come thronging back upon thy memory and knocking dolefully at thy soul—then be sure that thou wilt lie down sorrowing and repentant on the grave, and utter the unheard groan, and pour the unavailing tear; more deep, more bitter, because unheard and unavailing.

‘Then weave thy chaplet of flowers, and strew the beauties of nature about the grave; console thy broken spirit, if thou canst, with these tender, yet futile tributes of regret;—but take warning by the bitterness

ness of this thy contrite affliction over the dead, and henceforth be more faithful and affectionate in the discharge of thy duties to the living.'—p. 307.

The last, and perhaps the best, chapter in the first volume is the *Spectre Bridegroom*, a romantic tale, which the author, in a pleasant introduction, represents as the narration of an old Swiss traveller at the fireside of an Inn Kitchen in the Low Countries. Our author, we think, succeeds best in his narrative pieces, which are written in a style at once playful and picturesque, and we should be glad to see a whole series of *Tales of the Inn Kitchen* executed in the same lively manner.

The second volume is not inferior to the first, and this is saying a great deal when the first is so good. 'Westminster Abbey,' however, reminds us too strongly of the Spectator's visit to the same place; it has, besides, certain fictions to which the writer ought not to have stooped; and the Christmas article, which is confessedly rather a compilation from the histories of former times than the result of actual observation, is spun out beyond all bounds. The dinner in particular is *overdone*, and we are fairly wearied out with the subsequent gambols; for, as the judicious Menelaus observed long ago,

Πάντων μὲν κόρος ἴστί, — — — —
Μολπής τι γλυκερῆς, καὶ ἀμύμονες ἐρχημοῖο.

The following just and beautiful reflections will awaken the sympathy of every reader.

'There is something in the very season of the year that gives a charm to the festivity of Christmas. At other times we derive a great portion of our pleasures from the mere beauties of nature. Our feelings sally forth and dissipate themselves over the sunny landscape, and we "live abroad and every where." But in the depth of winter, when nature lies despoiled of every charm, and wrapt in her shroud of sheeted snow, we turn for our gratifications to moral sources. The dreariness and desolation of the landscape, the short gloomy days and darksome nights, while they circumscribe our wanderings, shut in our feelings also from wandering abroad, and make us more keenly disposed for the pleasures of the social circle. Heart calleth to heart, and we draw our pleasures from the deep wells of living kindness, which lie in the quiet recesses of our bosoms, and which when resorted to furnish forth the pure element of domestic felicity.'—vol. ii. p. 33.

'Little Britain' is tiresome enough, and we could willingly have dispensed with 'Philip of Pokanoket'; but—*quot homines tot sententiæ*: there may be persons in the world who will prefer these, with the articles 'Book Making' and the 'Mutability of Literature' in the first volume, to any other parts of his work, and therefore we acknowledge the force of Mr. Crayon's reasons for serving up a variety of dishes to please a variety of tastes.

He

He is generally very happy in what is called *sentimental* description—in that lively transmission of sensations and impressions which not only places before the eyes of the reader an animated picture of the scene described, but imparts at the same time the *feelings* which it is calculated to inspire. A familiar example taken from the beginning of the chapter on ‘Stratford on Avon,’ may serve to illustrate our meaning.

‘To a homeless man, who has no spot on this wide world which he can truly call his own, there is a momentary feeling of something like independence and territorial consequence when, after a weary day’s travel, he kicks off his boots, thrusts his feet into his slippers, and stretches himself before an inn fire. Let the world without go as it may; let kingdoms rise or fall, so long as he has wherewithal to pay his bill, he is for the time being the very monarch of all he surveys. The arm-chair is his throne, the poker his sceptre, and the little parlour of some twelve feet square his undisputed empire.—“Shall I not take mine ease in mine inn?” thought I as I gave the fire a stir, lolled back in my elbow chair, and cast a complaisant look about the little parlour of the Red Horse at Stratford on Avon.’—vol. ii. p. 174.

‘John Bull’ is a clever allegory, and if we do not acknowledge it to be a faithful portrait, we must at least allow that it is a spirited caricature, abounding in lively and laughable strokes of satire. But an allegory cannot be continued through a long chapter without becoming tedious; and we pass on to the ‘Legend of Sleepy Hollow.’ The scene of this pleasant tale is laid in the neighbourhood of a village situated on the banks of the Hudson, where, it seems, there is a little valley, or rather ‘lap of land,’ among high hills which has long been known by the name of SLEEPY HOLLOW. The air of this sequestered glen has a kind of magical influence, disposing the mind to dream dreams and see apparitions, and accordingly the superstition of the inhabitants has peopled it with a fearful race of imps and hobgoblins. The head—we beg pardon—the ringleader of the apparitions, however, is a Hessian trooper, whose head has been carried away by a cannon-ball during the revolutionary war; and the belief of the neighbourhood is, that (the body of the trooper being buried in the churchyard) the ghost rides forth to the scene of battle in nightly quest of his head, and that the speed with which he is often seen to rush along the Hollow in his way back is owing to his being ‘belated,’ and in a hurry to reach the churchyard before daybreak.

‘In this by-place of nature there abode, in a remote period of American history, that is to say some thirty years since, a worthy wight of the name of Ichabod Crane, who sojourned, or, as he expressed it, “tarried,” in Sleepy Hollow for the purpose of instructing the children of the vicinity. He was a native of Connecticut, a state which supplies the Union with pioneers for the mind as well as for the forests, and
sends

sends forth yearly its legions of frontier woodmen and country schoolmasters. The cognomen of Crane was not inapplicable to his person. He was tall but exceedingly lank, with narrow shoulders, long arms and legs, hands that dangled a mile out of his sleeves, feet that might have served for shovels, and his whole frame most loosely put together. His head was small and flat at top, with huge ears, large green glass eyes, and a long snipe nose, so that it looked like a weathercock, perched upon his spindle neck, to tell which way the wind blew. To see him striding along the profile of a hill on a windy day, with his clothes bagging and fluttering about him, one might have mistaken him for the genius of famine descending upon the earth, or some scarecrow eloped from a corn-field.—vol. ii. p. 352.

In addition to his duties as schoolmaster of the village, Mr. Crane also makes himself useful to the farmers in the lighter labours of husbandry, and is a most important personage in the female circle of his rural neighbourhood, assisting at their tea-tables, and displaying taste and accomplishments very superior to the rough swains of the country.

‘Another of his sources of fearful pleasure was to pass long evenings with the old Dutch wives as they sat spinning by the fire, with a row of apples roasting and sputtering along the hearth, and listen to their marvellous tales of ghosts and goblins, and haunted fields, and haunted brooks, and haunted bridges, and haunted houses, and particularly of the headless horseman, or galloping Hessian of the Hollow, as they sometimes called him.

‘But if there was a pleasure in all this, while snugly cuddling in the chimney corner of a chamber that was all of a ruddy glow from the crackling wood fire, and where of course no spectre dared to show its face, it was dearly purchased by the terrors of his subsequent walk homewards. What fearful shapes and shadows beset his path amidst the dim and ghastly glare of a snowy night!—With what wistful look did he eye every trembling ray of light streaming across the waste fields from some distant window!—How often did he shrink with curdling awe at the sound of his own steps on the frosty crust beneath his feet, and dread to look over his shoulder lest he should behold some uncouth being tramping close behind him!—and how often was he thrown into complete dismay by some rushing blast howling among the trees, in the idea that it was the galloping Hessian on one of his nightly scourings!

‘All these, however, were mere terrors of the night, phantoms of the mind that walk in darkness; and though he had seen many spectres in his time, and been more than once beset by Satan in diverse shapes in his lonely perambulations, yet day-light put an end to all these evils, and he would have passed a pleasant life of it in despite of the devil and all his works, if his path had not been crossed by a being that causes more perplexity to mortal man, than ghosts, goblins, and the whole race of witches put together, and that was—a woman.’—vol. ii. p. 363.

This

This fair enemy to the peace of Ichabod Crane was one of his own pupils in psalmody, Katrina Van Tassel, a-blooming lass of eighteen, the daughter of old Baltus Van Tassel, a substantial Dutch farmer, whose residence is thus described.

‘ His strong hold was situated on the banks of the Hudson, in one of those green, sheltered, fertile nooks in which the Dutch farmers are so fond of nestling. A great elm spread its broad branches over it, at the foot of which bubbled up a spring of the softest and sweetest water, in a little well formed of a barrel, and then stole sparkling away through the grass to a neighbouring brook that bubbled along among elders [alders] and dwarf willows. Hard by the farm-house was a vast barn, that might have served for a church; every window and crevice of which seemed bursting forth with the treasures of the farm: the flail was busily resounding within it from morning to night; swallows and martins skimmed twittering about the eaves; and rows of pigeons, some with one eye turned up as if watching the weather, some with their heads under their wings or buried in their bosoms, and others swelling, and cooing, and bowing about their dames, were enjoying the sunshine on the roof.’—vol. ii. p. 366.

The inside of the house answers to the outside, and we add the description as furnishing an interesting picture of an American farm, copied from nature by so accurate an observer.

‘ When he entered the house the conquest of his heart was complete. It was one of those spacious farm-houses with high-ridged but lowly sloping roofs, built in the style handed down from the first Dutch settlers. The low projecting eaves formed a piazza along the front capable of being closed up in bad weather. Under this were hung flails, harness, various utensils of husbandry, and nets for fishing in the river. Benches were built along the sides for the summer use; and a great spinning wheel at one end, and a churn at the other, showed the various uses to which this important porch might be devoted. From this piazza the wondering Ichabod entered the hall, which formed the centre of the mansion, and the place of usual residence. Here rows of resplendent pewter, ranged on a long dresser, dazzled his eyes. In one corner stood a huge bag of wool ready to be spun; in another a quantity of linsey-woolsey just from the loom; ears of Indian corn, and strings of dried apples and peaches, hung in gay festoons along the walls, mingled with the gaud of red peppers; and a door left ajar gave him a peep into the best parlour, where the claw-footed chairs and dark mahogany tables shone like mirrors; andirons, with their accompanying shovel and tongs, glistened from their covert of asparagus tops; mock oranges and conch shells decorated the mantelpiece; strings of various coloured birds’ eggs were suspended above it; a great ostrich egg was hung from the centre of the room, and a corner cup-board, knowingly left open, displayed immense treasures of old silver and well-mended china.’—vol. ii. p. 369.

But we must hasten to the conclusion of the story. Ichabod
has

has many rivals in his views upon the fair Katrina. The most formidable of these is one Bruin Van Brunt, a roaring roystering blade, who, from his Herculean frame and great powers of limb, had received the nick name of **BROM BONES**. A deadly feud arises between these two rival heroes as they continue to carry on their suit. Bones, who has frightened away all other candidates from interfering with his amours, in vain endeavours to get rid of Crane, or to provoke him to a decision of their pretensions by single combat. Ichabod, too conscious of his adversary's superior strength to enter the lists against him, adheres obstinately to a pacific system, in spite of all the practical jokes which Bones and his boon companions play off upon him; and, under cover of his character of singing-master, makes his advances in a quiet and insinuating manner by sapping and mining, which seems to promise the best hopes of success; for Bones's pony is no longer seen on Sunday nights tied to the palings of Katrina's farmyard. Things are in this state when Ichabod, one autumnal evening, receives an invitation to attend a merry-making or 'quilting frolic' at Mynheer Van Tassel's.

'That he might make his appearance in the true style of a cavalier he borrowed a horse from the farmer with whom he was domiciliated, a choleric old Dutchman of the name of Hans Van Ripper, and thus gallantly mounted, issued forth like a knight-errant in quest of adventures. But it is meet I should, in the true spirit of romantic story, give some account of the looks and equipments of my hero and his steed. The animal he bestrode was a broken-down plough horse that had outlived every thing but his viciousness. He was gaunt and shagged, with a ewe neck, and a head like a hammer; his rusty mane and tail were tangled and knotted with burrs; one eye had lost its pupil, and was glaring and spectral, but the other had a gleam of the genuine devil in it. Still he must have had fire and mettle in his day if we may judge from his name, which was Gunpowder. He had in fact been a favourite steed of his master's, the choleric Van Ripper, who was a furious rider, and had infused, very probably, some of his own spirit into the animal, for old and broken down as he looked, there was more lurking devilry in him than in any young filly in the country.

'Ichabod was a suitable old figure for such a steed. He rode with short stirrups, which brought his knees nearly up to the pommel of the saddle; his sharp elbows stuck out like grasshoppers; he carried his whip perpendicularly in his hand, like a sceptre, and as the horse jogged on, the motion of his arms was not unlike the flapping of a pair of wings. A small wool hat rested on the top of his nose, for so his scanty strip of forehead might be called, and the skirts of his black coat fluttered out almost to the horse's tail. Such was the appearance of Ichabod and his steed as they shambled out of the gate of Hans Van Ripper, and it was altogether such an apparition as is seldom to be met with in broad day-light.'—vol. ii. p. 381.

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He finds all the world, that is all the neighbourhood within four miles round, assembled at the house of the wealthy Dutchman, and, among the rest, his rival Brom Bones. Revelry and dancing are the order of the evening, and the schoolmaster is in all his glory.

‘Ichabod prided himself upon his dancing as much as upon his vocal powers. Not a limb, not a fibre about him was idle; and to have seen his loosely hung frame in full motion and clattering about the room, you would have thought that St. Vitus himself was figuring before you in propria persona. He was the admiration of all the negroes, who having gathered, of all ages and sizes, from the farm and the neighbourhood, stood forming a pyramid of shining black faces at every door and window, gazing with delight at the scene, rolling their white eye-balls, and showing grinning rows of ivory from ear to ear. How could the flogger of urchins be otherwise than animated and joyous? the lady of his heart was his companion in the dance, and smiled graciously in reply to all his amorous oglings, while Brom Bones, sorely smitten with love and jealousy, sat brooding by himself in one corner.’—vol. ii. p. 389.

The remainder of the evening is passed in gossiping over old times, and telling fearful tales of the spectres of Sleepy Hollow. In these stories Brom Bones takes the lead, and relates some marvellous adventures which he and his horse Dare Devil had lately achieved with the headless Hessian horseman. At last the company breaks up.

‘Ichabod only lingered behind, according to the custom of country lovers, to have a *tête-à-tête* with the heiress, fully convinced that he was now on the high road to success. What passed at this interview I do not know. Something, however, must have gone wrong, for he sallied forth after no very great interval, with an air quite desolate and chap-fallen. Oh these women! these women! Could that girl have been playing off any of her coquettish tricks? Was her encouragement of the poor pedagogue all a sham to secure her conquest of his rival?—Heaven only knows, not I!—Let it suffice to say, Ichabod stole forth with the air of one who had been sacking a henroost rather than a lady’s heart.’

It was already the witching time of night, when Ichabod, lonely and dismal, led Gunpowder from the stable, to pursue his road homewards, through the very places where the scene of many of the ghost stories had been laid, the recollection of which still haunted his fancy. In this frame of mind he passes through various gradations of alarm, occasioned by his own horrible imaginings, till his fears are wound up to the highest pitch by the appearance of a dark and mysterious something, which rises up suddenly before him, as it were to intercept his passage.

‘The hair of the affrighted pedagogue rose upon his head with terror. What was to be done? To turn and fly was now too late; and besides,

besides, what chance was there of escaping ghost or goblin, if such it was, which could ride upon the wings of the wind? Summoning up, therefore, a show of courage, he demanded in stammering accents "Who are you?" He received no reply. He repeated his demand in a still more agitated voice. Still there was no answer. Once more he cudgelled the sides of the inflexible Gunpowder, and, shutting his eyes, broke forth with involuntary fervour into a psalm tune. Just then the shadowy object of alarm put itself in motion, and, with a scramble and a bound, stood at once in the middle of the road. Though the night was dark and dismal, yet the form of the unknown might now, in some degree, be ascertained. He appeared to be a horseman of large dimensions, and mounted upon a black horse of powerful frame. He made no offer of molestation or sociability, but kept aloof on one side of the road, jogging along on the blind side of Gunpowder, who had now got over his fright and waywardness.

'Ichabod, who had no relish for this strange midnight companion, and bethought himself of the adventure of Brom Bones with the Galloping Hessian, now quickened his steed, in hopes of leaving him behind. The stranger, however, quickened his horse to an equal pace. Ichabod pulled up, and fell into a walk, thinking to lag behind—the other did the same. His heart began to sink within him; he endeavoured to resume his psalm tune, but his parched tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, and he could not utter a stave. There was something in the moody and dogged silence of this pertinacious companion that was mysterious and appalling. It was soon fearfully accounted for. On mounting a rising ground which brought the figure of his fellow traveller in relief against the sky, gigantic in height, and muffled in a cloak, Ichabod was horror-struck on perceiving that he was headless!—but his horror was still more increased on observing that the head, which should have rested on his shoulders, was carried before him on the pommel of the saddle! His terror rose to desperation; he rained a shower of kicks and blows upon Gunpowder, hoping, by a sudden movement, to give his companion the slip—but the spectre started with him. Away then they dashed through thick and thin; stones flying, and sparks flashing at every bound. Ichabod's flimsy garments fluttered in the air as he stretched his long lank body far away over his horse's head in the eagerness of his flight.'—vol. ii. p. 404.

Gunpowder becomes as much alarmed as his master; and instead of taking the right road home, pursues the very track leading to the bridge, where the goblin was in the habit of exhibiting his worst freaks.

'As yet the panic of the steed had given his unskilful rider an apparent advantage in the chase; but just as he had got half way through the hollow, the girths of the saddle gave way, and he felt it slipping from under him. He seized it by the pommel, and endeavoured to hold it firm, but in vain; and had just time to save himself by clasping Gunpowder round the neck, when the saddle fell to the earth, and he heard it trampled under foot by his pursuer. For a moment the
terror

terror of Hans Van Ripper's wrath passed across his mind—for it was his Sunday's saddle; but this was no time for petty fears: the goblin was hard on his haunches, and (unskilful rider that he was) he had much ado to maintain his seat; sometimes slipping on one side, sometimes on another, and sometimes jolted on the high ridge of the horse's back bone, with a violence that he verily feared would cleave him asunder.

'An opening in the trees now cheered him with the hopes that the church bridge was at hand. The wavering reflection of a silver star in the bosom of the brook told him that he was not mistaken. He saw the walls of the church dimly glaring under the trees beyond. He recollected where Brom Bones's ghostly competitor had disappeared. "If I can but reach that bridge," thought Ichabod, "I am safe." Just then he heard the black steed panting and blowing close behind him; he even fancied that he felt his hot breath. Another convulsive kick in the ribs, and old Gunpowder sprung upon the bridge; he thundered over the resounding planks; he gained the opposite side; and now Ichabod cast a look behind to see if his pursuer should vanish, according to rule, in fire and brimstone. Just then he saw the goblin rising in his stirrups, and in the very act of hurling his head at him. Ichabod endeavoured to dodge the horrible missile, but too late. It encountered his cranium with a tremendous crash—he was tumbled headlong into the dust, and Gunpowder, the black steed, and the Goblin Rider passed by like a whirlwind.

'The next morning the old horse was found without his saddle, and with the bridle under his feet, soberly cropping the grass at his master's gate. Ichabod did not make his appearance at breakfast—dinner hour came, but no Ichabod. The boys assembled at the school-house, and strolled idly about the banks of the brook, but no schoolmaster. Hans Van Ripper now began to feel some uneasiness about the fate of poor Ichabod and his saddle. An inquiry was set on foot, and after diligent investigation they came upon his traces. In one part of the road leading to the church, was found the saddle trampled in the dirt; the tracks of horses' hoofs deeply dented in the road, and evidently at furious speed, were traced to the bridge, beyond which, on the bank of a broad part of the brook, where the water ran deep and black, was found the hat of the unfortunate Ichabod, and close beside it a shattered pumpkin.'—vol. ii. p. 407.

All search for Ichabod proves fruitless;

————— 'moons roll on moons away,

And Conrad comes not, came not, from that day;'

he never is seen again; though, after some years, rumours are spread of his being yet living in a distant part of the country; and some light is thrown on the cause of his disappearance by the sequel of the story. Brom Bones leads the blooming Katrina to the altar; and is observed to look very knowing whenever the story of Ichabod is related, always bursting into a hearty laugh at the mention of the pumpkin.

Such is the Legend of Sleepy Hollow, which with 'Rip Van Winkle' and the 'Spectre Bridegroom,' will, we think, be more read and admired than any other parts of the book. There is in the author's sketches of this kind a force and facility of touch, that bespeak the hand of a master. His style is in general remarkable for sprightliness and elegance;—though where he has not the care and conduct of a story to keep his pen within bounds, he is too apt to fall into a habit of stringing pretty sentences together in an artificial style of composition, in which the constant attempt to be sweet is carried almost to cloying; apparently, not aware that

————— 'the sweetest honey
Is loathsome in its own deliciousness.'

And, when in this mood, there is so sempiternal a sameness of sentiment and expression, that as soon as we have read the first opening words, we seem to know exactly how the period will end. We had marked down a few phrases as Americanisms, but upon referring to our dictionary, we find many of them might be defended by authority, though there are certainly some words, such as 'deviltry,' 'bedroofed,' 'umbratile,' and others of the same school, that have rather an outlandish air. The Americans, we believe, pique themselves upon the superior correctness with which they speak and write *our* language, and we remember to have heard a travelling friend express the surprize he felt on arriving in America at being complimented upon 'speaking such very good English.' It may be true that the *general* language of the United States is more uniform than in the mother-country; or, to speak more correctly, that it is less deformed with those peculiarities of tone and expression which distinguish the different counties in England,—for in America there is but one dialect. But to hear this dialect likened, and even preferred, to the pure language of England, reminds us of the critical judges in the fable, who decided that the squeaking imitation of the pig was more natural than the real squeak of piggy himself!

It will require more docility than we fear can be expected from American writers in general, to preserve the unity of the language of the mother-country and their own, which must otherwise diverge to an indefinite distance from each other. It behoves those also who lead the public taste of our own nation to pay a due attention to this point on their part. If the writers of this and the last century have brought our language nearly to the highest summit of perfection, those of the present and succeeding times should endeavour as much as possible to fix the *ενα πτεροεντα*, and prevent them from taking that flight down the steep to which they have a natural tendency. But, however stationary
language

language may be here, such signs of alienation have already appeared in the publications of our transatlantic brethren, that without continued care, the writings of Johnson and Burke will, in a few centuries, be as unintelligible to the inhabitants of Columbia, as our own Alfred's translation of Boethius would now be to a circle of fair Blue-stockings in the metropolis of England.

The author before us is the best writer of English, in our estimation of that term, that America has produced since the era of her independence. He seems to have studied our language—where alone it can be studied in all its strength and perfection—in the writings of our old sterling authors; and in working these precious mines of literature, he has refined for himself the ore which there so richly abounds. His work, too, is exclusively English, and is not indebted for any of its charms to the common aid of classical allusion or quotation;—of which we do not recollect a single instance in either of his volumes. We take leave of him with the highest respect for his talents, and a warm feeling of regard for those amiable and benevolent qualities of heart and mind which beam through every page of his book.

ART. IV. — *Voyages dans La Grande Bretagne, entrepris relativement aux Services Publics de la Guerre, de la Marine, et des Ponts et Chaussées, en 1816—1819.* Par Charles Dupin, Membre de l'Institut de France, &c. &c. Première Partie, Force Militaire. 2 vol. 4to. Paris, 1820.

'IL est triste,' says a celebrated French writer on tactics, 'd'imaginer que le premier art qu'aient inventé les hommes, ait été celui de se nuire:' but the mind is somewhat relieved by the reflection, that, in proportion to the improvement of that art, the miseries attendant upon a rude state of warfare have been mitigated. From the moment that war becomes a science, the soldier steps into the pale of intellectual existence; and, actuated and incited by the spirit of honour and patriotism, acquires an interest in our eyes beyond that of most other ranks in society. What has occurred in our own times presents no exception to this position. We have indeed seen a nation eminent in the military art, render themselves, by twenty years of blood and rapine, the scourge and terror of the continent; but we have also seen their pride levelled with the dust, by warriors who, with the same attention to the profession of arms, have turned their courage and their skill to the noblest of objects, the defence of their country, and the security and peace of the world. The splendid honours which the British troops gained for themselves in the gigantic contest must swell with honest exultation every heart not perverted by faction; and excite a lively cu-

riosity towards every thing connected with a profession, holding such influence over the destinies of mankind. It may not be wholly uninteresting, therefore, previously to our speaking of the work before us, to take a rapid view of the history of the art of war, and to trace its progress from antiquity to the times in which we live.

Although it is evident from Homer, that, at the period of the siege of Troy, the Asiatics were not at all inferior to the Greeks in military knowledge; and equally clear from the extent of the Persian empire afterwards, that considerable advances must have been made in the science among that people before their invasion of Greece, we are yet almost entirely without information on the state of the Persian armies; and it is impossible not to wish, with Mr. Mitford, that we possessed their own histories of events, for which Herodotus, a stranger to their country and manners, is our only authority.—With our defective means of judging what the Persians were in the best days of their empire, we can only assert positively, that their monarchs were the first who maintained a regular and disciplined force.

The republics of Greece, after they had baffled the Persian power, became in the arts of war, no less than in those of peace, the general school of the world. The various causes which conspired to make Athens and Lacedemon the heads of the two conflicting interests of their common nation, as well as their different characters and geographical position, gave a particular bias to the military genius of each people. Athens, after the Piræus became a part of the city, was in effect a seaport; all her allies and dependents were maritime, and she could rely upon these connections alone for the sinews of war. Sparta, trusting wholly to her peculiar institutions for the acquirement of dominion, and being moreover chief of a continental confederacy, could have no dependence but on her armies. It naturally followed, therefore, that the Athenians became most eminent at sea, the Spartans by land; and though necessity obliged the former to maintain a military force, and the latter were ultimately driven by the events of the Peloponnesian war to direct their views to the establishment of a navy, there still remained to both states a prejudice in favour of what they respectively imagined to be their proper sphere of action. The Athenians were accordingly not very much esteemed as soldiers when compared with the Lacedemonians; and we find all the great authorities among the ancients constantly referring to the Spartan tactics as the standard of excellence in the Grecian school of warfare. The strict subordination which prevailed in the Lacedemonian armies, the attention to the clothing, equipment and comfort of their men, the precision of movement and evolution of their phalanx,

lanx, and the measured cadence of their step, call for the acknowledgment, that, while their courage was invincible, they were not inferior to modern troops in those points of which we make our boast. The Spartan cavalry were, comparatively with their infantry, of smaller numbers than may appear to be advantageous; but they placed all confidence in an infantry indissolubly firm; and here we would remark, that the importance of infantry has been felt exactly in proportion to the scientific progress of war; while, in tumultuary Asiatic armies, and in the no less tumultuary contests of the middle ages, the cavalry formed the prominent arm.

The Grecian and Macedonian tactics may be viewed as very nearly of the same school: except that the Spartan phalanx was eight deep, and the Macedonian sixteen, there was no point of much apparent difference. Even in this instance each had its merits. A body of pikes eight deep must have possessed sufficient impetus for any purpose; and if sixteen ranks produced a weightier shock, the power of forming twice the extent of line with the same numbers appears a full balance to that advantage. Our opinion of the spirit of enterprize which could lead Alexander to attempt the conquest of Asia with 30,000 men, and of the patient valour evinced in the retreat of the Ten Thousand, must always remain the same; but if we remember what immense superiority the smaller numbers possessed in their excellent discipline, and that without such quality large assemblages of men are full as dangerous to themselves as to their enemies, we shall lose much of our wonder at the results.

While Alexander was conquering the eastern world, and while his generals were afterwards quarrelling over the spoil, another power was silently growing up to reap the fruits of their labours—a people differing from the Grecians as much in their principles of warfare, as in a barbarian contempt for those arts which the latter so dearly prized that they were content rather to sacrifice liberty than to tear themselves from exclusive devotion to them.

The situation of Italy, when Rome began to extend her conquests beyond the narrow limits of the neighbouring states, afforded much more favourable opportunities for purposes of ambition than the most powerful states of Greece possessed in their most prosperous days. In Greece, where the arts of policy were better understood, the commencement of hostilities between two neighbouring cities was generally sufficient to embroil the whole nation; but, from the more barbarous condition of Italy, Rome found leisure to oppress every commonwealth singly, until the whole were brought under her yoke from the Alps to Calabria. Her armies gradually rose in experience and discipline; and were never injured by the necessity, which exists in combating against an equal

or more powerful force, of filling the ranks with all who offer.—Having acquired strength and confidence from continued exertion, they were attacked by Pyrrhus at that fortunate moment of their vigour, when they could both resist him successfully, and derive instruction from the contest. Their more arduous struggles with Hannibal left them nothing to learn. When, after encountering these two famous captains, the Romans were to prove in Greece itself whether the laurel should remain with the legion or the phalanx, the question had been in effect already decided. Pyrrhus was no contemptible specimen of the Grecian or Macedonian school, and Carthage had frequently the military of those countries in her pay. The victory of Xantippus over Regulus, and the reform which the Spartan introduced into the Carthaginian troops before he led them against their enemy, must have been alone sufficient to make the Grecian discipline their rule and guide. When, therefore, both Pyrrhus and Hannibal found it requisite to discard the phalangic order, and to adopt that of the legion as the only method of successful resistance to the Roman army, a full confession was implied of the inferiority of Grecian tactics.

In comparing the Roman and Grecian order of battle, the first impression would be, that when, as was always the case in ancient warfare, the event must necessarily be decided by the actual contact of the combatants, the advantage would rest entirely with the latter; and that, with the ordinary courage inspired by discipline, it must be impossible for the open order and short sword of the Romans to withstand the charge of the deep closed ranks of the phalanx, where the pike, from sixteen to twenty feet long, was the weapon. The Greek occupied but a front of three feet; he was covered not only by his own pike, but by those of the four ranks behind him, which projected in advance of him in succession from twelve to four feet.* The Roman legionary required a front of six feet for the free use of his sword and buckler, and derived no benefit from his rear ranks; he was thus singly exposed to two men in front and to ten pikes of the phalanx. As long, therefore, as the latter body was covered in flank, and able to preserve its compact order, it was unquestionably irresistible; this, however, would happen but seldom,

* A length corresponding to nearly twenty English feet for the Grecian and Macedonian pike seems almost incredible, yet all the classical tacticians agree in the statement. *Ælian*, in his *Tactics*, addressed to the Emperor *Adrian*, says, that in the old phalanx it had been twenty-one feet in length, but was much shortened when he wrote; *Polybius*, a better authority, states, that though the pike had been originally above twenty feet long, it was early reduced to about eighteen, and that the soldiers held it, at the charge, about five feet from the blunt end as a poise to its weight in front. This would make a projection before the front rank of about twelve feet. The whole length of the modern pike was not more than this.

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and wherever it could be attacked otherwise than in front, wherever the ground was abrupt or uneven, the phalanx was deficient; even after the first success in breaking the front line of the enemy, pursuit itself was generally fatal to it. The Roman array, on the contrary, was admirably adapted to almost every species of encounter, and particularly well calculated to oppose the phalanx. The ten cohorts or battalions of the legion were formed in two lines, each eight men deep, the first with intervals between the cohorts equal to the length of one of them; the second formed in the same way, but with every cohort opposite to the interval in the first line; and a third line, composed of the *Triarii*, in loose files, was destined for the support of the two first, as occasion required. As the lines moved to the encounter, the rear ranks of the first threw themselves out as skirmishers, annoyed the enemy with their missiles, and on their near approach found their place again in the cohorts, without disturbing the order of the ranks. With such dispositions the phalanx would have, first, to receive the javelins of the skirmishers in flank, then to charge the front line, and when, if successful, their order was broken more or less by the advance, to meet in that state the attack of the second line, supported by the *Triarii*. The Roman prowess was in its zenith, the Grecian courage had declined, before the systems were opposed to each other; but had the circumstances been reversed, had the phalanx and the legion met when Greece was at the best, Rome would still have proved the superiority of her tactics.

There are some inexplicable circumstances in the wars of antiquity. In modern warfare, notwithstanding our greater facility of raising food, from the superior state of all the arts of cultivation, the operations of an army of even moderate numbers are in the most fruitful countries constantly shackled and controuled by the difficulty of provisioning the troops; and large armies can never take the field without an immense train of magazines for their support: yet embarrassment in subsisting the most numerous force seems rarely to have been experienced by the ancients, much less to have imperiously influenced the movements of their armies. We observe, indeed, frequent mention in Cæsar of the subject of provisions, but we never read that the Romans or Grecians either outmarched or fell back upon their stores—constant occurrences in modern campaigns. Another curious and surprizing circumstance is, that notwithstanding the advances which the ancients had made in the military art, they seem to have had little idea of moving through a country before an enemy in parallel columns. The Roman order of march, as described by Livy, Cæsar, Polybius, and others, (and it was not confined to this people,) was usually in one column

with an advanced and rear-guard. The custom of entrenching themselves after every day's march, we should scarcely have thought necessary. The time requisite to put on their armour, if suddenly attacked during the night, might have occasioned the habit, but it is certain, from Xenophon, that the Grecians of his age, who were as heavily armed as the Romans, did not resort to the same practice. In these days, the soldier who bivouacs on his arms needs no preparation to resist a night-attack.

In the early part of the middle ages there could be no system of warfare that deserved the name of tactics, because the genius of chivalry was personal. As a vassal was compelled to be in the field only a few days in the year, there was no time for the formation and execution of a series of manœuvres; and the science of war continued totally unknown, though the practice of arms was the sole employment of the turbulent nobles. The crusades were the first field where the great nations of Europe assembled in arms after the fall of the Western Empire; and in those holy wars, as at the siege of Troy, the personal prowess of the leaders commonly decided the fate of the day. There was a high-mindedness, a spirit of generous devotion in the warriors of chivalry, that threw a lustre round their exploits; and we still gaze with ardent admiration at the achievements of the Black Prince, Du Guesclin, Chandos, Talbot, and Dunois:—true knights, faithful, brave, and loyal they undoubtedly were, but no masters in the art of war.

It was not until the French monarchs had united the great fiefs to their crown, and that Spain had consolidated her power by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, that military science arose. The Italian wars were the first school; the Swiss and German mercenary infantry and the Condottieri, the first regular professors. The hardy natives of the cantons were early led to the establishment of bodies of infantry, as much by the peculiar circumstances of their political condition, as by the mountainous character of their country. After the defeat of Charles the Bold, the Swiss infantry grew into high estimation; and the readiness with which they entered any service for pay afforded them many brilliant occasions of extending their military renown. Those of the German states who resembled the Swiss in poverty followed their example; and from the opening of the sixteenth century, the Lansquenets, or German foot soldiery, engaged as mercenaries in every war of the times. Such was the origin of the modern European infantry; and before these various bands, and their steady countenance in the field, the splendid but powerless array of the old chivalry recoiled. The cavalier could make no impression on the modern phalanx of pikes, which became once more the weapon of the foot soldier, and his

his armour was no protection against the arquebuss* or matchlock. Nations learned again to put their main trust in infantry, and have never since departed from this principle.

The invention of gunpowder made a complete alteration in tactics; but to effect that change required full three centuries. The field-artillery was long so unwieldy in movement, and so tardy in action, that it had little or no influence on the issue of a battle. Small arms came later into general practice, and were still less efficacious; as a proof of which it may be observed, that the long-bow was used by the British so late as the expedition to the Isle of Ré in 1627. The heavy matchlock was extremely liable to accidents, could be fired but slowly, and formed the weapon of a very confined portion of the infantry. The soldiers who bore it were unable at the same time to use the pike, and were therefore mingled with pikemen in the ranks of the same battalion. There was scarcely a difference in this order and in the formation of the Roman line; substituting only the awkward fire-arm for the bow or the sling. The ranks were still six, eight, or ten deep; and the physical momentum of the column was still relied upon for victory. The military genius of Gustavus Adolphus wrought the first great change which followed the rise of the modern science of war. Observing the inconvenience of an order of battle which admitted of no variation of position, the Swedish monarch introduced an entirely different principle of formation. The separate bands were consolidated into battalions of six or seven hundred men, four of which constituted a brigade; and these brigades, being independent in their movements, were calculated for combined attack, or defensive support, precisely as at present. Gustavus reaped the full advantage of his improvement, which was afterwards adopted by other nations. The Spanish infantry, however, who were disciplined upon the Swiss and German model, still adhered to the phalanx, and were destined to afford a fatal illustration of its defects on the plains of Rocroi. In one body, without second line or reserve, they long and obstinately repelled every front attack of the French, until Condé, separating his troops into small columns, surrounded them, and by a simultaneous assault from different points succeeded in penetrating the phalanx. The troops who composed it

* Montluc, one of the worthies of Henry the Second of France, expresses his detestation of the arquebuss. 'Que pleust à Dieu que ce malheureux instrument n'eust jamais été inventé; je n'en porterois les marques les quelles encore aujourd'hui me rendent languissant; et tant de braves et vaillants hommes ne fussent morts de la main le plus souvent des plus poltrons et plus lâches qui n'oseroient regarder au visage celui qui de loin ils renversent de leur malheureuses balles; mais ces sont artifices du diable pour nous faire entretenir.' There is something touching in this lament of expiring chivalry. Even the brave and generous Bayard is said to have invariably denied quarter to the arquebussier as a ruffian who violated the laws of honourable warfare.

were deemed the best in the world, and their desperate resistance ceased not until they were annihilated.

Even with the progress of tactics under Gustavus, fire-arms continued of secondary importance, until the middle of the seventeenth century, when a rapid improvement appears to have taken place. The foundry of cannon, for which England was, even at that period, much celebrated, began to be better attended to; as artillery advanced in excellence, it was employed in the field in more numerous trains, and the deep formation of infantry gave way before it. As the manufacture of small-arms kept pace with that of cannon, and an expedient was found, after the matchlock had given place to the musket, of fastening the bayonet to its muzzle, and thus uniting the advantages of the pike and fire-arms, the infantry were provided with this tremendous weapon. Puysegur, a marshal in the French armies, who lived just at that interesting period when warfare was assuming a new and more scientific form, could remember, that in the last three wars before the peace of Ryswick, the proportion of pikemen in the infantry had been gradually lessened, until the whole were armed solely with the musket and bayonet. He was an able tactician, and saw the advantage of this alteration;* but unable altogether to quit the prejudices of his youth, he still insisted on the necessity of a depth of six ranks for the foot, and declaimed against the enormous proportion of artillery with which, he says, armies began to be incumbered.

The wars which the ambition of Louis XIV. occasioned gave ample encouragement for the display of military talents in France; and the genius of Vauban, so eminent in one branch of the profession, was called forth in his service. Prior to the system of fortifying places, which this great engineer introduced, the use of artillery had scarcely given rise to one new principle in the construction of works for defence. The obstinate sieges which the old castles and country houses of the royalist gentry of England sustained in the Civil Wars are a sufficient evidence how imperfect the exercise of artillery must have been at this late period of history; but in the rapid improvement of ordnance to which we have alluded, the attack of fortresses had acquired such overwhelming superiority over defence, that to afford more than a momentary resistance, a new method of fortification was absolutely requisite. Vauban first put

* A lingering preference of the pike, as the weapon of the foot-soldier, was however still prevalent in Europe. The celebrated Montecuculi has somewhere styled it 'the queen of arms for the infantry;' and, one hundred years later, and long after the bayonetted musket had attained its present form of utility, another great master of the military art doubted whether the pike had been wisely discarded. (*Saxe's Reveries.*) The study of the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, so fruitful in interest to the military reader, has contributed to prolong the prejudice, in some measure, even to our own age.

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his ideas into practice for the security of the towns which his master had conquered in the Low Countries. When there were no such powerful engines of destruction as heavy cannon to dread, the more lofty the ramparts of a place, the greater the security for the garrison;—provided they were built with corresponding solidity, and the flanking of the walls by towers was skilfully arranged.

The ancients appear to have well understood the employment of battering engines; but their operation was exceedingly slow, and the manual labour and waste of life in every siege must have been tremendous, notwithstanding the precaution of blinds, pent-houses, wooden turrets, and other expedients. The sieges undertaken by the Crusaders were carried on exactly in the same manner, but with less skill in execution; and if the fortified places of Europe were not precisely as the feudal times had left them, when Vauban invented his system, they were at least so opposite to what he saw ought to be their construction for resisting artillery, that he may fairly be considered the father of the most beautiful and scientific branch of the art of war.* Since Vauban's time, a few changes have been introduced by Cormontaigne: who, about the year 1740, published his improved method of fortifying upon the system of the former; and there the science rests. It has, perhaps, reached all the excellence of which it is capable; yet so impossible is it to oppose a permanent resistance to the judicious attack of artillery, when employed with a sufficient command of men and materiel, that the fall of the best constructed fortress, if it has not the advantage of such natural strength of situation as Gibraltar, can only be protracted for a limited period.

We may date the establishment of the present school of European tactics at the war of the Succession. The 'prodigious armies' maintained by Louis the XIVth for the execution of his plans of conquest, obliged the other powers of Europe to support corresponding forces, and the continent became (as we have seen it in our days) one great garrison. A number of eminent men arose with the necessities of the times; and the art of war was never

* Attempts have been made to deprive Vauban of the merit of originality, but without foundation; for though the seventeenth century abounded in systems of fortification, they were all inapplicable to their desired object. Marchi, one of the earliest projectors, (for he published his scheme in the first year of that century,) has been particularly instanced as the author of the method afterwards employed by Vauban; but it may be sufficient to remark, that he was ignorant of the elementary principles upon which the systems of the latter were formed. The French engineer could, therefore, have found nothing to imitate in the ideas of Marchi; and an examination of all the other plans suggested for fortifying places, before Vauban's appearance, will lead to the same conclusion, that he had little in common with any of his predecessors in the art.

more studied, or better understood.* The practices of those great commanders grew into immutable laws for their feeblér successors; and the science was shackled and embarrassed by a ridiculous adherence to rule, without regard to circumstances. It was thus that military operations were conducted in Europe, from the war of the Succession to that of the French revolution. Frederic of Prussia was almost the only man who dared to judge between the general rule and particular exceptions; and his success showed the soundness of his discernment. He frankly acknowledges, in his instructions to his officers, that his campaigns were (we use his own language) a series of blunders; but they were mistakes for which he well knew the remedy. With troops, whose imperfect courage frequently marred their leader's plans, badly clothed, worse fed, and scarcely paid at all, his genius enabled him to appear superior, even after defeat, to opponents who had every natural advantage in the quality of their soldiers, and who were abundantly supplied with the means of support. The immediate fall of the Prussian armies after his death clearly showed that they owed all their successes to the masterly hand which had directed their operations.

When the French revolution burst upon the world, neither the declining spirit of the Prussian military, nor the slow systematic movement of the Austrian armies, was calculated to oppose with effect the rapid and desperate assault of the French column. The generals who sprang up in the revolutionary school, partially or not at all acquainted with the science of the profession, naturally embraced the most simple tactics. A German or Russian army, if its line were pierced at any one point, held itself beaten on principle, and gave up all for lost. The French, therefore, constantly availed themselves of this species of military infatuation; and column after column was impelled on particular points of the adversary's order of battle;—no matter whether swept off by artillery, or crushed by a charge, there were still others to replace them;—their leaders, prodigal of blood, persisted until the small portion of the enemy's lines which they had chosen to assault, wearied, and weakened by repeated attacks, gave way, and with them the rest of the army. Such was the system through which the French established a belief of their invincibility among the terrified nations of the continent! it was the happy destiny of the warriors of Great Bri-

* Such was the superiority in tactics and discipline of the French during the last half of the seventeenth century, that, from the battle of Rocroi to that of Blenheim, their military career was unchecked by a single defeat in the field. It is a coincidence alike curious, and honourable to Britain, that, at the opening of two successive centuries, it should have been reserved for her armies to destroy the illusion of French invincibility, and to wrest the laurel from the oppressors of Europe.

tain to dispel the illusion, and to teach them that the oppressors of the world were not unconquerable.

There are circumstances of peculiar satisfaction in considering the share which the British troops had in the great struggle. The nature of the contest gave, for the first time for nearly a hundred years, an opportunity for a fair display of all their mental and physical qualities. It is true, that the glorious days of Dettingen and Minden were partly won by British troops; but in both, and in the other successful actions of the continental wars of George II. there was something not altogether satisfactory to military genius; the event was either insignificant, or marred by misconduct; in most cases, the number of British troops was small, and in none was the struggle purely national: there were battles, sieges, and camps of observation; and the whole scene of solemn trifling was concluded by a march into winter-quarters, where the generals prepared themselves for a repetition of the same game of indecisive war, in the following year.

If the results were more decisive in other parts of the globe, in Canada and in India, the happy termination was preceded, in one instance, by a long train of blunders and miscarriage; and in the other, the enemy was so deficient in courage and tactics, that the conqueror enjoyed only half the usual honours of victory. The military history of the American war, we may be spared from detailing. However deplorable might have been the imbecility of the leaders, it was hardly to be expected that the troops should not share the disgrace of failure; and accordingly after this disastrous and inglorious squabble, nothing was so low in estimation in England as the name of a soldier.

We may look upon the peace which followed, and which ended in the opening of the French revolutionary war, as the period at which the British army was most depressed; and we believe every military man, who knew the service at that time, will agree with us that there was a lamentable deficiency in every point of soldiership, except the mere personal courage which belongs to our soil. It will therefore be no less interesting in itself, than gratifying to national pride, to take a brief view of the state of the army in 1793; to mark its course of improvement, and finally to consider its character at this day.

It has been asserted, that the Prussian system of tactics, which the late Sir David Dundas collected and modified, had been originally derived from Marlborough's practice with the British infantry: but if this tradition (and it is nothing more) be true, though we may claim the honour of having been the original masters, we had lost the art before the next generation. Prior to the French revolution, so completely destitute of all union in method was the
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discipline in our service, that if three or four regiments were to be reviewed together, it became necessary for the commanding officers of battalions to meet, in a sort of council of war; in order that, by previous understanding, the different corps might be able, not to perform a series of complicated manœuvres, for of these they knew nothing, but to move before the reviewing general without such dissimilarity as would create confusion. This pitch of excellence, however, could not be attained in a moment; the troops were to be exercised together for the occasion; and when the awful day arrived, if they succeeded in marching quietly round their camp-colours; if the musket barrels shone in dazzling splendour on the spectator's eyes; if the pouches were clean, and the men's hair powdered and larded agreeably to the strictness of official order, the field was well and gloriously fought; the officers reposed after their illustrious fatigues, and a good mess-dinner closed the triumphant scene. There are curious stories told of our modes of soldiership in those days; at which the veterans who began their career in them, and have since seen affairs conducted in a very different manner, are themselves the first to smile. No idea was then entertained of moving a force, whatever might be its numbers, otherwise than by files; even the obvious maxim, that the order of march of a battalion should never exceed the extent of its front when in line, was unknown or disregarded. In the American war, more than one instance might be adduced where the head of a column of attack reached its destination several hours before the rear could close up. The formation and deployment of columns and squares to resist cavalry, the change of position by echellon and otherwise, the march of contiguous columns of brigades or battalions, all the evolutions, in short, which constitute the science of tactics, no more engaged the thoughts, or disturbed the repose of a soldier, than if all his duties had been comprized in wearing regimentals, and in his readiness to put life to the hazard, without bringing to the aid of his courage one particle of military skill.

If the discipline of movement was so totally devoid of method, the clothing and equipment of the troops were not much more appropriate. On this subject, it is difficult to speak with truth and with seriousness at the same time. Cocked hats, perched upon the summit of a pomatumed head, and tied under the chin; long coats, reaching to the knees, and meeting across the breast at one point; waistcoats, breeches, and long gaiters, all kept white by the perpetual application of pipe clay,—such was the general costume of the army, at the breaking out of the revolutionary war!—and with officers and men thus ignorant and unexperienced, what could reasonably

reasonably have been anticipated but a series of errors terminating in total defeat?

The force (if it deserved the name) of the British in Flanders, in 1793, where they first came into contact with the enemy recent from victory and confident in their numbers, was composed of raw battalions of three hundred men, half of whom were laid up on the first long march; cavalry whose horses, from being pampered in hot stables, were ineffective after a few days of fatigue; and of officers, of whom scarcely a score had ever witnessed a battle or a siege. Instead, therefore, of wondering at our want of success in the first campaigns, we might more justly be surprized that there was not a heavier accumulation of disasters. The army naturally suffered much from fatigue and privation; and the young prince at its head was accused of faults which should rather have been charged on the system. Two years of disaster, however, laid the foundation of our subsequent successes. The illustrious individual to whom we have alluded applied himself with unwearied diligence to correct the numerous defects and abuses; the army seconded his zeal, and it is pleasing to reflect that both have found their reward, in the exalted character which our troops have acquired by the union of perfect discipline with native valour.

In the improvement so evidently necessary, the first step was wisely seen to be the qualifications of the officers. It is notorious that, during the period when Lord Amherst was Commander-in-Chief, practices existed, which, though they excited little observation in those pure times, would, in our degenerate days, be deemed monstrous in the extreme. Commissions were given to children, to infants at the breast; and it thus happened that young men joined their regiments—sometimes as commanders, very commonly as field-officers—who, not many moons before, might have been under the wholesome discipline of the birch. Things were now to take another direction; and one simple regulation laid the axe to the root of this glaring abuse. No youth was thenceforward to receive a commission under sixteen years of age; and this is the rule still adhered to. It had formerly been the practice, where an officer possessed good interest, to run him through the different gradations of rank in successive gazettes, until the man had the happiness to find himself a lieutenant-colonel in less time than it takes a grub to become a butterfly; another regulation that every officer must serve three years as a subaltern, and five before he could become a field-officer, destroyed this abuse also. Since these rules have obtained, there has seldom been cause for complaint on the head of unfair promotion. That the young nobility of a country should appear in its armies is desirable for more reasons than merely because they are the representatives of the gallant

gallant chivalry of the middle ages. From their rank in life, the senate and the camp offer almost the only situations which befit them; no one, therefore, will regret to see them in the armies of a free state, so long as they are not suffered to usurp more than their due proportion of military honours and commands; and this has been the principle acted upon. We have seen the hero of our age and country encircled by a constellation of the young noblemen of England during all the privations and dangers of the Peninsular war: they were thus serving long enough in subordinate ranks to acquire a knowledge of their duties in a rough school; and if, when this point was gained, they moved up somewhat more rapidly than others, no soldier of fortune would murmur at the reasonable extension of favour to a particular order, whose presence gave lustre to a profession already honourable.

To correct the abuses in promotion was the first step, as their existence constituted the greatest impediment to the formation of a body of efficient officers. The next measure was, the foundation of a school for military instruction, through which it was well known, by the example of antiquity,* and by the experience of other states, that the science of war could alone be obtained, although the practice must be acquired in the field. As backward in this respect as in her discipline, England was the last kingdom in Europe to found establishments of the kind. Every other profession had its course of education, but the knowledge of that of arms (not the least difficult or scientific) could only be acquired among foreigners. We consider the academy at Woolwich as presenting no exception to this assertion, because its object was merely the formation of officers for one particular branch of the service. Two colleges were therefore instituted at Wycombe and Marlow; the first to correct as much as possible actual deficiencies arising from the absence of military education, by affording it to officers already in the service; the other to anticipate future wants by the early instruction of youths intended for the army. This last was also made subservient to the

* The importance attached by the Grecians to a systematic military education is everywhere visible in the works of their historians, and particularly in those of Xenophon, who in himself united, in a remarkable degree, a perfect knowledge of the theory with valuable experience in the practice of war. In his eulogy of Proxenes, one of the colonels of the Ten Thousand, he observes that his fellow-soldier had been careful to qualify himself for command by early becoming the pupil of Gorgias the Leontine, a name of celebrity among the professors of tactics, who, in that age, were to be found in every Grecian city.

Nor were the Romans less attentive to the early instruction in arms of the youth of their republic, though their system was rather one of operation upon the physical than the mental powers of the military tyro. Vegetius, who, in the degenerate age of Valentinian, appears to have retained a spark of the old Roman fire, and whose treatise on ancient tactics is deservedly esteemed, has strongly marked the importance of the educated soldier; 'Nihil enim neque firmitus, neque felicitus, neque laudabilis republica, in qua abundant milites eruditi.'—*Veget. lib. i. cap. xi.*

noblest of national purposes, the support of the orphans of officers who had fallen in their country's cause. The good effects of these establishments have been strongly felt. The college at Marlow was removed in 1812 to Sandhurst, where a noble building had been erected for its seat, and where both institutions are now concentrated. The continuance of such an establishment during peace has furnished a fruitful subject of declamation for the orators of opposition, who, amidst their agonizing fears, have overlooked, perhaps, the striking fact, that in the United States, 'the hallowed retreat of liberty,' there is a military school for 'young Janissaries' in vigorous existence at this moment.

We have already remarked the want of one general rule of movement in the different British corps prior to the French revolution: this deficiency was not overlooked, when the army began to rise in character under better government. Sir David Dundas, an active and zealous soldier, was employed to frame, somewhat upon the model of the Great Frederic's plan, a series of manœuvres for general use in the service: one firelock exercise for the whole of the infantry was likewise introduced; and the benefits derived from these arrangements soon became evident. It is generally known that the manœuvres of Dundas were so well calculated for their object, that it has scarcely been found necessary to modify them. They are a medium between the rapidity and looseness of French tactical movement, and the slower and more precise system of the old German school: they approach not perhaps quite as near to the former as they might with advantage; there is however a smoothness and absence of military pomp in the British method, admirably suited to the actual manœuvring before an enemy. This circumstance has not escaped the observation of discerning foreigners. At the reviews of the allied troops in France, after the peace of 1815, the long steady step of the British infantry formed a remarkable contrast to the capering pace and stamp of the foot of the Prussians and Russians, fatiguing to the men, and clearing less ground with greater exertion. It attracted the notice of the monarchs present, and occasioned the declaration of their intention to adopt our mode of marching.

But in nothing was improvement more visible in the army, than in the change of dress. Philosophers may smile at our seriousness, but, in truth, when we speak of soldiers, and of ladies, dress is no unimportant matter. The cocked hat and long coat of the infantry were exchanged, first with the men, and afterwards with the officers, for the cap and jacket; then came the warm grey trousers in lieu of white breeches and long gaiters; and instead of holiday soldiers, the army were now 'warriors for the working-day,' less splendid in appearance certainly, but infinitely better calculated for

service. Whoever has compared the external show of the continental and British soldiery, must have been struck by the superior military air of the former. Their dress is arranged to impose upon the eye. The man is stuffed and padded to represent a sculptor's notion of muscular vigour. On close inspection, however, it will be found, that the English soldier is far more conveniently, and, what is of no little moment, far more *comfortably* clothed. We use the last expression with pride and energy, for it is as much our military as our domestic distinction. The comfort of the soldier is attended to in no service except the British.

By the gradual course of improvement which we have detailed, the army began, even in the Egyptian campaign, to show that a great change had been wrought upon it: eight years of reform had effected wonders; but it was at the commencement of the Peninsular war that the troops proved themselves to be all that good theoretical training and stubborn natural bravery could make them. Hard-earned experience in the field they had yet to acquire; and there was at their head a master-genius to direct them to this. It was impossible that a finer body of men could exist than the troops who debarked in Mondego Bay in 1808; the several reinforcements which followed were of the same description, the battalions well disciplined, the men, individually, young, active, in their prime of strength and high in spirits. In the operations, however, in Spain, which followed the Convention of Cintra, good as their intrinsic qualities were, it soon became observable that something was yet wanting to make them perfect as troops. We have, God knows, no desire to depreciate the exertions of the army which had so unequal a contest to maintain after the fall of Madrid, or to make light of the fatigues and privation endured in that disastrous retreat; but an army whose courage at last stood so high, that, notwithstanding their losses and hardships, they were able to inflict a signal defeat upon their enemy, ought, had they possessed also that patience under disaster which is one of the best qualities of the soldier; had their staff and commissariat arrived at the perfection which they afterwards attained; to have made their retreat without half the disorders into which they fell. No other troops in the world, after retiring in the severity of winter through bad roads, harassed by unceasing attacks, in a state of almost total disorganization, would, we are confident, have shown the invincible courage which animated the British on the glorious day of Corunna; but a Prussian or an Austrian army would have effected, up to that day, a far more orderly retreat, and their sufferings would not have been so dreadful.

After the embarkation at Corunna, the constancy under difficulties, and perseverance in the noble cause, by which the conduct of the government

government of this country was distinguished, opened a happier career for our arms. Portugal was still to be defended; and never, from the talents of the general, and the necessity for the full exertion of his powerful genius, was there a finer military school than the four successive campaigns; never was the science of war more beautifully exemplified than in the expulsion of Soult from Portugal in 1809—the defence of the country from that time until the autumn of 1810, and the retreat of the British army, after a series of the most masterly movements, to the lines at Torres Vedras. The Parmeno of Buonaparte recoiled with astonishment at the sight of the barrier which opposed his progress, in majestic and inexpugnable strength, where he least expected opposition;—for it is well known, that as our army retired upon their lines, Massena conceived the final evacuation of Portugal to be the only object in view;—and his numerous veteran army crumbled to pieces before them. When the war (in 1811) was carried again to the frontier, several circumstances evinced the steadiness and good discipline of our troops in the field; the surprise of the French quarters at Arroya de Molinas, and the firm countenance of two battalions of the infantry, when charged by the whole French cavalry, were among them. The particulars of this last affair, not much known, except to military men, deserve description, for they illustrate several peculiar features in the character of the English soldier. When Marshal Marmont advanced with a large force to raise the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, it was found expedient to retreat, rather than risk a battle; in retiring, a movement of the French cavalry endangered the safety of some Portuguese field-pieces, which had been employed in checking the enemy:—a body of their dragoons possessed themselves of these guns by a charge, when the commander of a British battalion, posted a little in the rear for their protection, advanced in his turn, and presented the extraordinary spectacle of infantry charging upon cavalry; the enemy fled, and the guns were recovered: but the British regiment found itself, together with another by which it was supported, cut off from the army, and surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, who had advanced during the struggle. Two or three squadrons of our light cavalry endeavoured to cover the retreat of these two battalions, which did not together muster 800 men, but they were compelled to leave them to a fate that seemed inevitable. The French cavalry, several thousands strong, after hovering around for a short time, prepared to annihilate them by a charge. It was then, as the storm burst upon them, that the two British regiments, who had begun slowly to retire, formed in one column, which could be rapidly changed into a solid square, halted to receive the enemy, and poured in a close and deadly volley. Every shot told. The cavalry fled; their gallant officers

officers again and again brought them forward; but the square was as often formed, and their efforts repulsed with the utmost calmness. In this manner, almost without loss, and solely from their steady confidence and discipline, did a handful of men make good their retreat over an open country, in face of four or five times their number of excellent cavalry.

The experience which the different corps of our army had now acquired, gave full play to their other good qualities; in action and in movement they were clearly superior to their opponents on every occasion. But, a new scene was approaching; a war of sieges.

In the modest and interesting 'Journal of Sieges on the Peninsula,' written by Colonel Jones of the Engineers, it is stated that when the first siege of Badajos was formed in 1811, there was probably not a man in the besieging corps of the British who had ever worked at a trench under fire. While the French soldiers, accustomed to such operations, were daily showing little traits of individual intelligence, our men had no idea of the innumerable petty stratagems and contrivances which, in the duties of a siege, occasion loss to an enemy and safety to friends.

'At Burgos, an extraordinary number of our simple fellows were killed by a concealed individual Frenchman, who took an unerring aim; he remained always under cover, with the muzzle of his piece protruded through a small opening. His companions, by lifting up a hat, throwing over stones, or by making a noise, used to draw the attention of our men to a different part of the work, when they forgot the fatal musket, exposed themselves to view, and were invariably shot.'—*Jones's Sieges*, p. 261.

So great was the ignorance of fortification among the officers of the line in the British army, that but few of them knew by quality, or even by name, the various works of a place. This want of a co-operating intelligence with the Engineers, often marred the execution of a well-concerted project. Most of the Engineers, too, like Michael Cassio, knew their profession only in 'bookish theory;' they had consequently to acquire experience at some expense to the service. Add to all this, that the army possessed no regular equipment for sieges. There was no corps of Sappers and Miners, no adequate *materiel*. Every fortress which was attacked, therefore, cost us dearly; but difficulties were surmounted, and deficiencies supplied with wonderful energy as the contest proceeded. Full profit has been made of the circumstances attending our sieges in 1812 and 1813, to raise the important branch of the service which relates to the attack of places into the highest state of efficiency; we have now experienced engineers, and abound in officers of the line, who, either from professional education, or
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the service which they have seen, are fully capable of performing all the duties which belong to sieges.

We shall not, on this occasion, consider the achievements of the British, on the Peninsula, with relation to the fate of Europe; it is sufficient for us to observe that those achievements have extorted praise even from nations who are most jealous of martial renown. Foreigners, who saw the miserable condition of our troops in Flanders, in 1793 and 1794, could with difficulty be persuaded that they would even fight; and we who knew that as Englishmen they would never be wanting in the hour of need, also knew that courage was almost their only pretension to soldiership. At the present day, every military foreigner who adorns his professional acquirements with the liberality of a gentleman, will declare that the English infantry are excellent, their cavalry superb, and their field-artillery more rapid and decisive than any other in Europe.

In a former Number (XLIII.) we noticed M. Dupin's '*Mémoires sur la Marine, et les Ponts et Chaussées de France et d'Angleterre*,' professedly the result of remarks in his visits to this country in 1816, 1817 and 1818. He saw enough, it seems, in these visits to induce him to make a fourth, during the year 1819; and we may also suppose that he was not quite satisfied with the execution of his first work, since, in the Introduction to that which we are now considering, he declares his intention of mixing up the matter contained in his former book into his present '*Voyages dans la Grande Bretagne*,' and in, we presume, something of a new shape.

'Tel est l'esprit dans lequel j'ai composé les trois parties de cet ouvrage qui se rapportent à la constitution de l'armée, à la constitution de la marine, et aux institutions civiles. Les trois autres parties sont relatives à l'application des sciences et des arts aux travaux publics de la guerre, de la marine, et des ponts et chaussées: voici l'ordre et l'ensemble des six parties.

Force Militaire.	{ 1. Constitution de l'Armée.
	{ 2. Etudes et travaux de l'Armée.
Force Navale.	{ 3. Constitution de la Marine.
	{ 4. Etudes et travaux de la Marine.
Force Sociale.	{ 5. Associations civiles et particulières.
	{ 6. Etudes et travaux civils (des Ponts et Chaussées.)—Introduction, p. xiii.

The first part he has now given to the world in the two volumes before us; and we repeat that it is no small homage to the merits of our brave army, that an intelligent Frenchman (for such M. Dupin undoubtedly is) should devote one part of three in a scientific work on Great Britain exclusively to the consideration of its military force.—It is a homage resulting from the lesson which was

taught, a little roughly it must be confessed, to the soldiers of Napoleon, at every opportunity in the late war; and which their master was at last doomed to receive in person before he quitted for ever the bloody theatre of his ambition and his guilt.

The tribute thus offered to our military is not the less acceptable coming from such a quarter. M. Dupin has the misfortune to be brother to 'cet avocat célèbre,' who had the honour of defending the egregious knot of conspirators in their trial for assisting in the escape of the traitor Lavalette: whether this gentleman acquired a particular distaste for the English character from what he saw, and was obliged to defend in his clients on that occasion, we know not; but certain it is that Monsieur l'Avocat Dupin is not more notorious for talent in his calling, than for being oppressed with even a larger share of the Anglophobia than usually falls to the lot of the most furious Frenchman of the Buonapartean school. Now our author is very much to be pitied on this account; he is an inquisitive, and an acute observer of all that falls under his notice; and his natural candour is, in spite of himself, constantly breaking out into praise and admiration of almost every thing that is English; while at the very same time he is evidently making a counter-struggle to this feeling, and endeavouring to season his commendations, with something more suitable to the palate of the society into which he may be cast chez Monsieur l'Avocat. Another passage in his Introduction throws a little light on all this—

'Tandis que maint Anglais m'accuse d'une partialité révoltante, toutes les fois que je réclame en faveur des découvertes et des perfectionnemens dus au génie de la France, peut-être aussi quelques-uns de mes concitoyens, en me voyant rendre à l'étranger, même à nos dépens, une entière justice, demanderont-ils encore, avec un air contristé: "Si je suis bien le frère du défenseur éloquent de tant de gloires Françaises?" J'ose croire qu'après avoir lu mon ouvrage, les juges impartiaux pourront répondre, sans rougir pour moi: "Oui."—*Introduction*, p. xv.

Here then the secret is out; and it must be confessed that M. Dupin has a hard task to perform; he wishes to speak truth of England and English institutions; but he must preserve the family consistency in jacobinism. This necessity has given rise to some passages in his book which have a sufficiently ludicrous effect. Let us take another passage—

'Il est beau de voir un peuple, malgré son amour extrême pour la gloire des armes, aimer encore plus la liberté—Réserver pour asyle à ses guerriers invalides, comme aux orphelins des combats, les palais des dynasties éteintes—Pour monument national, offrir aux mânes des héros, le sanctuaire de ses temples, ou la tombe de ses rois; mais soumettre

soumettre pendant leur vie, les plus grands capitaines, comme le moindre citoyen, à la toute-puissance de la loi.'

'J'étais surtout frappé de cet empire d'une constitution généreuse, et des mœurs qu'elle a produites; j'admirais et je bénissais cette reconnaissance de tout un peuple envers ses défenseurs.'—*Introduction*, p. xi.

This is all very well: but how would the advocate like it? it would be deadly poison, if he had not an antidote in the same passage, which thus proceeds:

'Au moment où, dans mon pays, les flots soulevés du peuple et de l'armée, rentrés à peine dans leurs limites, grondaient encore, et laissaient sur la rive, les victimes d'un immense naufrage; au moment où deux cent mille guerriers qui, dans les batailles, *savaient mourir et ne se rendre pas*, offrant à la majesté des lois le plus solennel hommage, déposaient avec respect, devant le pouvoir civil, des armes et des drapeaux immortalisés par tant de victoires! au moment où ces guerriers, indifférens sur eux-mêmes, retournaient avec calme au toit paternel, à travers le mépris et l'outrage de faux concitoyens (comme à travers les derniers feux de l'ennemi); ne songeaient à la force de leurs bras, que pour demander du travail; et supportaient la misère, plutôt que de recourir aux moyens honteux du pillage et de la mendicité—Eh bien, en ce moment même, où les excès commis à l'étranger dans l'empirement des combats, étaient irrités d'une vertu qu'il ne pouvait concevoir, s'efforçant à cacher son ingratitude sous le masque d'une indignation factice, et surtout, pour flétrir les défenseurs du fleuve où fut arrêtée l'irruption du Borusse, du Sarmate, et du Tartare; le parti de nos défaites imposait à nos héros le surnom de brigands de la Loire.'—(*Introduction*, pp. xi. xii.)

Here's proper stuff! but M. Dupin knew it would be quite to the taste of the 'deux cent mille guerriers,' who, though they 'savaient mourir et ne se rendre pas,' have nevertheless risen from the prisons of England, Russia, &c. to snuff this sweet incense offered up at the dilapidated shrine of their glory. In the same strain, to soothe the wounded spirit of these deceased heroes, whose ghosts are to be met with in every village of France—

Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluent,

Transportare prius, quàm sedibus ossa quierunt—

M. Dupin has another tirade against the inhumanity of our treatment of prisoners of war, as nearly as possible a repetition of one in his former work. We shall give it, not because it needs refutation; for, however irksome 'les gens qui savaient mourir et ne se rendre pas' might have found a prison, it is well known that in no country was the condition of prisoners of war more alleviated by attention to their wants than in Great Britain; but merely because we wish to notice another assertion in the passage, which, though equally unfounded, may gain more belief, as the circumstances could not come under general observation.

‘C’est ici qu’il faut rendre un éclatant témoignage au généreux patriotisme des prisonniers Français! Malgré la sévérité de leur emprisonnement, en des lieux déserts et sauvages, au milieu des rochers de l’Ecosse et du Devonshire! ou sur des pontons, dans lesquels on les entassait de la manière la plus barbare, ils ont souffert sans faiblesse toutes les privations; et, consolant leurs malheurs par l’idée des triomphes de la patrie, ils n’ont reçu qu’avec indignation toutes les offres qu’en mainte circonstance on leur faisait pour les armer contre leurs concitoyens.’—vol. i. p. 103.

Now this would indeed be very fine if it were true; for, that a man of any country should prefer imprisonment to turning his arms against his native land, is an astonishing effort of patriotism! but it unfortunately happens to be all a *mistake*; for no attempt was ever made to enlist native born Frenchmen from the prisons into our service:—Germans, Dutch, Italians, Spaniards, were indeed enlisted for our foreign corps; but it was only those among them who had been tyrannically forced into the French imperial armies, and who were allowed to free themselves upon a condition which they readily embraced,—that of exerting heart and arm against the oppressor of their respective countries.

Having entered our general protest against such passages in M. Dupin’s work, we shall quote no more of them. We can have no quarrel with him, for he is evidently, whenever he gives the reins to his inclination, a warm admirer of our country. His love of truth has filled his book with enough of candid testimony to the excellence of our institutions, to make us forget a little injustice; to which we heartily believe he has been led, contrary to his better feelings, by the motives we have mentioned.

The first part of the ‘*Voyages dans la Grande Bretagne*’ is subdivided by volumes into *Constitution de l’Armée* and *Etudes et Travaux de l’Armée*. It is highly to the credit of M. Dupin as a man of quick perception and talent, that he has compressed more important, and (except in a few cases) more correct military information into these two volumes, than any foreigner could be expected to gain on such subjects. He shows, in no very large compass, surprising minuteness on every detail connected with our armies; and we often stopped to wonder how, in cursory journies into the country, he could have acquired so much insight into the minor points of our system, in which even a very large proportion of our military men are unversed. In his first volume, while tracing the constitution of the army, he renders the impartial testimony of a foreigner to those exertions in the establishment of discipline and tactical rules, which prepared our troops for their brilliant career. We take two or three paragraphs at random.

‘C’est aujourd’hui le second prince du sang qui tient le premier rang militaire.’

militaire. Le duc d'York qui, depuis vingt-cinq ans, a rempli presque sans interruption les fonctions de commandeur en chef des forces Britanniques, a beaucoup fait pour replacer l'armée Anglaise au rang où elle semblait appelée par le courage individuel, par la constance et l'énergie du caractère national des Bretons.'—p. 41.

'Avant que ce prince eût pris le commandement général, il n'y avait pas d'uniformité dans la tenue et l'exercice des divers corps de troupes. Chaque Colonel instruisait et faisait manœuvrer son régiment suivant sa fantaisie. Lorsque des élémens institués de cette manière incohérente étaient réunis en corps d'armée, on peut juger à quel point ils manquaient de l'ensemble si nécessaire au succès des grandes opérations.'—p. 42.

'Il y avait, dans le régime intérieur des corps, une foule de malversations que le commandeur en chef actuel a fait disparaître. On a cessé de voler une partie de la ration des chevaux, et d'employer les chevaux mêmes à des services particuliers.'—p. 93.

We must add one passage more, because we are sure M. Dupin meant it to tally with his other ideas.

'Heureux les guerriers appelés à défendre une patrie où les lois sont plus fortes que les hommes, et les vertus nationales plus puissantes que les passions égoïstes ! Toujours chéris de leurs concitoyens, parce que jamais ils n'en sont la terreur ; protecteurs de la liberté au-dedans, et de l'indépendance au-dehors ; qu'ils survivent aux combats, ou qu'ils succombent au milieu du triomphe, la patrie réserve des palmes à leur vie comme à leur mort. Un avenir de bonheur ou de gloire se partage pour eux entre les chances des batailles ; et comme la félicité des mortels est surtout dans l'espérance, ces guerriers vivent et meurent dans la félicité des héros.

'Je suis loin de penser que ce tableau soit un portrait dont la Grande Bretagne offre en tout le modèle. Mais, à quelques égards, il peut trouver sa ressemblance chez ce peuple, qui, loin d'être l'esclave de ses armées, veut et sait ordonner sans elle, et de ses droits et de ses destins.'—(*Introduction*, p. xii.)

Now, we *do* think that this is a picture of Great Britain, and a just one, and so in his heart, we are convinced, does M. Dupin ; although—but we must not forget our promise of forbearance.

There are some points in the book that we cannot help deeming worthy the attention of our military leaders, though we may perchance meet with the fate of the man who lectured Hannibal on the art of war. One reflection has occurred to us from M. Dupin's observation, that our light troops (except the Rifle Brigade) differ little in essentials from the infantry of the line. We are inclined to believe that they are not as peculiar in their organization for the service which they have to perform, nor as numerous in their proportion to the other infantry, as they might be with advantage.

We have, as a nation, been always remarkable for the want of
light

light infantry: at least, since the use of the musket supplanted the bow; for, prior to that, the British archers were, as Froissard and Hollinshed tell us, some of the best of their kind in Europe, and came nearest, perhaps, to the modern idea of light troops, except indeed that Harry the Fifth's body of Welshmen, *with their long knives*, were doubtless the lightest armed of his host. When war was renewed after the peace of Amiens, Sir John Moore was employed to discipline his own and another regiment as light infantry, and this was subsequently extended to six others; but not effectually to any. The only light troops which we really possess are the two battalions of the Rifle Brigade, and one of the same force of the 60th Regiment; for the eight so called are dressed and armed exactly like the infantry of the line. They are, it is true, trained to light manœuvres, and are well known to be corps of high character; but for operations in intersected countries (their proper field) scarcely more useful than other regiments. Surely, light troops should be clothed as the riflemen are, in colours as little glaring as possible, using the rifle, and composed of small active men; in fact, riflemen are the only strictly light troops; and not less disposable for garrison duties or operations in the field than battalions of the line, to whose movements they are trained as well as their own. From the boundless extent of our empire, and the different nature of the scenes in which our military are liable to be engaged, there is a continual demand for such troops. During the last war there was not one regular regiment of light infantry in Canada, a country in which, of all others, they were most needed; indeed it is not the theatre for any other description of troops. Whenever our men were engaged with the Americans in the woods, the latter, contemptible in open warfare, and void of discipline and courage to withstand the bayonet, had an evident superiority. Our soldiers, unaccustomed to act independently, and by their scarlet uniform and glittering appointments, in contrast to every thing around them, exposed to the deadly aim of the insidious foe, were very unequally matched against the enemy's riflemen. A Fencible corps, clothed in green and disciplined as riflemen, was found more useful than any of the regular regiments; and, with 'the brown Indian,' constituted the only suitable force for the occasion. Our regular Rifle Brigade would have answered equally well.

M. Dupin says of our cavalry—

‘On reproche généralement aux officiers de la cavalerie Anglaise de s'occuper très-peu des détails de leur service et des devoirs de leur état. Les bons officiers généraux de cette arme sont, à proportion, plus rares encore que les officiers inférieurs. C'est à ces divers motifs qu'il

qu'il faut attribuer le peu d'efficacité de la cavalerie Anglaise, dans une foule de combats où l'infanterie s'est couverte de gloire.

'On peut citer quelques exceptions très honorables en faveur des régimens dont les commandans ont forcé leurs officiers à remplir, avec scrupule, tous les devoirs de leur service. Ces corps ont prouvé que la cavalerie Anglaise a tous les élémens nécessaires pour devenir une des meilleures de l'Europe.'—pp. 92, 93.

The first part of this may have some truth in it. Our cavalry are officered in a great degree by young men of fashion, more difficult to confine to the details of duty than the soldier of fortune, and in many cases less acquainted with their profession: but when M. Dupin talks of the 'peu d'efficacité' of that arm, he forgets the skirmish at Sabagun, the share that the cavalry had in the brilliant manœuvres that preceded the battle of Salamanca, as well as in the battle itself, and in the other affairs in Spain; and above all, he forgets what the Household cavalry and heavy dragoons performed at Waterloo.

After entering with much care and minuteness into every branch of our military system, and almost always, as we have previously said, with great accuracy, we are brought to an important part of the subject—the losses of our army during the activity of warfare. What is M. Dupin's observation, after tracing the causes which reduced the annual waste of men in our service infinitely below the proportion of other nations?

'Réfléchissons un moment sur les faits que nous venons de faire connaître. Chose bien remarquable! à l'époque où l'armée française exigeait, pour se recruter, à peu près 150,000 hommes, année moyenne, l'armée anglaise n'en exigeait que 23,000; et ce nombre si faible suffisait, non-seulement pour remplacer toutes les pertes, mais pour accroître l'effectif de l'armée de près de 7,000 hommes, année moyenne.'—pp. 243, 244.

And yet M. Dupin can find no cause for this vast disproportion, but the necessity felt by our government of being sparing of the blood of its subjects, because, having no conscription, there was a greater difficulty in recruiting! He places all the arrangements, which, he says, are in our army particularly enforced with a view to the comfort of the soldier, to the account of this selfish policy. He has blotted from his recollection how fearfully almost every general of the revolutionary school, from Napoleon down to his humble imitator Suchet, sported with human life as with a thing of no value; he has forgotten that their's was a war of aggression—that they were every where the tyrants of the people whose country was the seat of war, and that those people cut them off individually and collectively wherever they could effect it.

It is dreadful to consider the quantum of misery which must have

have been suffered 'in all the sad variety of pain,' before 150,000 souls could be annually demanded by the destroyer from one nation. It is not the numbers who fall in action, in the heat of blood and enthusiasm of glory, that form this tremendous amount; they are but a small proportion to those who, in the course of every campaign, sink under neglected wounds, want, fatigue, and disease; who die miserably, deprived of the friendly offices which soothe the last moments of life, and without that elation of spirit which in the hour of battle causes insensibility to every thing else.

M. Dupin's second volume is principally composed of his account of the military colleges and schools, the fortifications and arsenals of this country, all which he appears to have visited and examined with his usual intelligence. He has also several chapters on the 'Force Morale,' as he terms it, of the army, in which he takes occasion to condemn the corporal punishment of our soldiery, (the necessity of which this is not the place to determine,) although it has often been maintained to be unavoidable by those to whose judgment and experience M. Dupin must excuse us if we bow, in preference to his opinions, even though supported by the arguments and tender tears of Sir Francis Burdett.

M. Dupin appears, from his minute detail of our establishments for military education, to be fully aware of their importance as branches of his subject, and his notice of them will be found highly interesting. After mentioning the colleges at some length, he enters into an account of the practical school for the sappers, miners, &c. at Chatham, under the able direction of Colonel Pasley of the Engineers, who has done much for the service. Instruction is there given on all the points in which we were formerly so deficient—the laying of pontoon and other bridges—the construction of field-works, sapping, mining, &c. The following account of Colonel Pasley's method is worth extracting.

'On exerce les ouvriers à des manœuvres plus difficiles et plus périlleuses. Le pont de Rochester, au-dessus de Chatham, ayant des piles épaisses et des arches fort étroites, suivant que la marée descend ou monte, il s'établit, au-dessus ou au-dessous de ce pont, un courant ou un contre-courant, d'une extrême vélocité. C'est là qu'on fait faire les manœuvres de pontons, qu'il faut exécuter sur les torrens les plus rapides. Malgré le danger de ces travaux, les précautions sont si bien prises et les moyens si perfectionnés, qu'il n'arrive, pour ainsi dire, presque jamais d'accidens.'—

'On doit voir, par tous ces détails, quels soins le département de l'ordonnance apporte à l'instruction pratique de ses troupes du génie. Dans l'exécution de tous les travaux d'exercice, on s'efforce d'atteindre à la plus grande perfection. A mesure que les ouvriers se familiarisent avec les travaux, ils apprennent à faire vite et bien, ce que d'abord ils ont appris seulement à bien faire.'

'On

‘ On habitude, avec le plus grand soin, les officiers, les sous-officiers et les soldats à la plus stricte économie dans l’emploi des bois, des cordages, des outils nécessaires aux opérations. On fait tout avec méthode et prévoyance. On blâme, on réprimande, et s’il y a lieu, on punit comme une faute, la négligence, et même le simple oubli, s’il porte sur des objets dont il est essentiel de se munir à l’avance.’—vol. ii. p. 77.

After the description of our arsenals, which are spoken of with the admiration they so well merit, we meet with the following facts; we quote them with pride, for who can read them without being filled with admiration at the power and resources of the country which was capable of such efforts?

‘ Pour montrer avec quelle extension le gouvernement britannique a mis en exécution le plan gigantesque d’être le dépôt, la manufacture, la place d’armes et le foyer de la guerre européenne, il suffit de jeter les yeux sur le tableau suivant :

‘ Armes fournies aux alliés et aux troupes nationales de la Grande-Bretagne, de 1803 à 1816 inclusivement.

‘ Aux alliés	2,143,643
Aux troupes régulières	349,882
A la milice régulière	59,405
A la milice locale	151,969
Aux volontaires	307,583
A la marine	215,233

Total	3,227,715
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Vol. ii. p. 121.

‘ Jusqu’en 1812, la consommation moyenne de la poudre pendant la dernière guerre était de 80,000 barils par an. Mais en 1813 et 1814, la consommation fut beaucoup plus considérable. La guerre d’Allemagne (dit le département de l’ordonnance dans son mémoire déjà cité) avait pris un aspect gigantesque; des nations entières allaient se lever en masse; elles ne manquaient que de moyens d’armement. On n’en sera point surpris, si l’on réfléchit que Buonaparte était maître de toutes les ressources que peuvent fournir les fabriques de Hollande et d’une grande partie de l’Allemagne, tandis qu’il avait deux fois épuisé les arsenaux et les magasins de l’Autriche, et une fois ceux de la Prusse. La population armée de la Russie avait toujours été disproportionnée avec ses moyens d’armement. Enfin, les nouveaux alliés comptaient sur l’Angleterre, pour suffire à leurs besoins: et l’événement a prouvé que leur attente n’a pas été trompée.’—vol. ii. p. 127.

We ought perhaps, after expressing our favourable opinion of M. Dupin, to point out some of the mistakes into which he has fallen, from inadvertence; for instance, he evidently imagines (vol. i. pp. 77, 78.) that the purchase of commissions is universal in the service, that promotion is not to be had without money, and always to

to be procured with it ; a supposition which most of our readers know to be perfectly erroneous. There are other errors in his work ; it is only surprising that there are so few.

We have insensibly exceeded our limits ; but before we close the present subject it may not be amiss to say a few words on the alarm which is constantly sought to be excited by the bugbear of a standing army. When such a description of men was little known in the other states of Europe, and England was without foreign possessions, a permanent force during peace might be suspicious and perhaps dangerous ; but what has this to do with England in the nineteenth century ? To listen to the fearful prognostics unremittingly poured forth on this subject, it might be imagined that we had a million of men arrayed against the liberties of the country. But what is the fact ?—For the maintenance of tranquillity in aid of the civil power, in times when the spirit of opposition to all that is venerable in divine and human institutions is roaming through every corner of the land, what is the peace establishment for three kingdoms ? The 20,000 men for India cannot be considered as forming any part of the disposable strength of the army ; and if we deduct the necessary force to protect the colonies, Canada, the West Indies, the Cape ; the garrisons of St. Helena, Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands, &c., of the total of 81,000 men voted for the year 1821, scarcely as large a force remains for home-service as might be levied in one English county ! Would it not be preposterous to talk of danger to a free people—to a people like the British—from such a cause, even were that force composed of the most unprincipled ruffians of the revolutionary school ? But we know, on the contrary, that our army is made up of men of all parties ; that there is scarcely a family in the united kingdom without one or more members of it in the service ; and that the officers, connected and intermingled as they are with private life, are as completely its citizens as if they had never worn a sword. In a word, we should feel happy if we could divest ourselves of the persuasion, that many of those who profess such instinctive horror of a standing force, were not infinitely more dangerous to the liberties of the country than the gallant spirits who compose the British army at this day. Look at the habits of these men : far from affecting that air of supercilious pride and disdain for every class but themselves, by which the continental officers and even soldiery are distinguished, there is nothing in their deportment or general conduct which can be at all offensive to the sober citizen. So little assumption of superiority, indeed, is there in our military, that even in Paris, in 1815, after they had entered it in the triumph of conquest, no one could have supposed, from the appearance of the British officers and soldiers in the streets, that

that they were other than friendly visitors. Whilst every little act, nay every look, of the Prussian and Russian soldiery was big with insult and contempt towards the French, our countrymen walked among the vanquished in quiet unassuming good nature. We cannot, perhaps, close our extracts and our strictures more appositely than by placing before the reader what M. Dupin says of our military in this respect.

‘Le gouvernement britannique a trouvé le secret de constituer une armée redoutable seulement aux peuples étrangers, et qui regarde, comme une partie de sa gloire, l’obéissance à l’autorité civile de sa patrie.’

‘Ces nobles sentimens sont empreints sur la physionomie du militaire. Il n’a pas cet aspect menaçant et farouche que, trop souvent, sur le continent Européen, on prend pour l’attitude martiale. Son regard insolent ne va pas toiser les hommes et les femmes, avec cette arrogance qui semble dire, C’est moi qui suis la force et la terreur

‘Dès qu’un officier Anglais arrive dans la capitale, à moins d’être de service, il quitte ses armes, son uniforme et ses décorations : son costume ne diffère alors pas plus de celui d’un simple citoyen, que le frac tout uni d’un membre du parlement ou d’un prince du sang.’

‘Aussi, malgré les déclamations des démagogues et des prétendus réformateurs radicaux, qui cherchent à renverser la constitution, les citoyens les plus jaloux de leur liberté ne craignent point l’armée Anglaise, telle qu’elle est maintenant organisée.’—(vol. ii. pp. 35. 40.)

ART. V.—*The Etonian*, Nos. I.—VII.

THE work before us professes to have originated in a desire of vindicating the fair fame of ‘*Mater Etona*’ from the stigma cast upon it by the alleged deficiencies of a previous publication, claiming, like the present, to be considered as the representative of the wit and literature of Eton. This motive, assisted no doubt by that ‘last infirmity of noble minds,’ the desire of appearing in print, induced a knot of unfledged literati, with the occasional assistance of some of their former companions at the University, to set on foot a monthly miscellany, of which the seventh number is now before us. It is obvious that in such a case the common law of literature, by which periodical publications are exempt from the cognizance of each other, is suspended; criticism here is not merely justified, but invited. Though there are many interesting points of view, however, in which the work may be considered, it is our intention, for the present at least, to confine ourselves principally to its literary merits.

The ‘*Etonian*,’ by a common fiction, purports to issue from a regularly organized literary confederacy, meeting periodically at Eton; and each number is prefaced with an official report of the sittings

sittings of this miniature synod. Of these debates we are compelled to say, that they are much too noisy and Bacchanalian for our taste; and that the attempt to be facetious, which pervades them, is too often nothing more than an attempt.* From this censure we are bound in justice to exempt several of the latter numbers, as well as the sketches of character occasionally interspersed, and which, we think, could not easily be improved.

The work itself is divided into prose and poetry; the former consisting of tales, moral essays, criticisms, and delineations of life and manners. Of these, the last-mentioned class form by far the most considerable portion, and may be said to give a tone and character to the publication. They are for the most part, as the uniformity of manner sufficiently indicates, the work of one hand; and the youthful vivacity, the power of humorous sketching, and the knowledge of life and character displayed in them, though somewhat marred in their effect by an inordinate passion for quibbles, which the author pours forth at intervals with a perverse and reckless pertinacity, indicate a talent for light composition, which, if properly cultivated, may raise the young writer to a competition with Geoffrey Crayon himself, in a walk of literature at present not much frequented by our countrymen. We may also specify, among his other accomplishments, an elegant facility, which renders even negligence and extravagance graceful, and an occasional tenderness which contrasts very happily with his more mirthful strain. This is indeed a faculty which, by some law of association, seems almost inseparable from genuine humour. Of his prose performances we extract the following specimens; premising that there are several paintings of manners by the same or other artists, which, if our limits allowed, we would gladly cite; such are 'Miseries of the Christmas Holidays,' 'A Party at the Pelican,' 'Visit to a Country Fair,' &c.

'In a visit which we paid some time ago to our worthy contributor, Morris Gowan, we became acquainted with two characters; upon whom, as they afford a perfect counterpart to Messrs. "Rhyme and Reason," recorded in No. I. we have bestowed the names of Sense and Sensibility.

'The Misses Lowrie, of whom we are about to give our readers an account, are both young, both handsome, both amiable: nature made the outline of their characters the same; but education has varied the colouring. Their mother died almost before they were able to profit by her example or instruction. Emily, the eldest of the sisters, was brought up under the immediate care of her father. He was a man of

* We cannot help recommending, likewise, the removal of the unsightly, and indeed somewhat unseemly emblem which at present disfigures the title-page. Why should not the 'distant spires' and 'antique towers' themselves grace the front of their own publication?

strong and temperate judgment, obliging to his neighbours, and affectionate to his children; but certainly rather calculated to educate a son than a daughter. Emily profited abundantly by his assistance, as far as moral duties or literary accomplishments were concerned; but for all the lesser *agrémens* of society, she had nothing to depend upon but the suggestions of a kind heart and a quiet temper. Matilda, on the contrary, spent her childhood in England, at the house of a relation; who, having imbibed her notions of propriety at a fashionable boarding-school, and made a love-match very early in life, was but ill prepared to regulate a warm disposition, and check a natural tendency to romance. The consequence has been such as might have been expected. Matilda pities the distressed, and Emily relieves them; Matilda has more of the love of the neighbourhood, although Emily is more entitled to its gratitude; Matilda is very agreeable, while Emily is very useful; and two or three old ladies, who talk scandal over their tea, and murder grammar and reputations together, consider Matilda a practised heroine, and laugh at Emily as an inveterate blue.

‘The incident which first introduced us to them afforded us a tolerable specimen of their different qualities. While on a long pedestrian excursion with Morris, we met the two ladies returning from their walk; and, as our companion had already the privileges of an intimate acquaintance, we became their companions. An accurate observer of human manners knows well how decisively character is marked by trifles, and how wide is the distinction which is frequently made by circumstances apparently the most insignificant.

‘In spite, therefore, of the similarity of age and person which existed between the two sisters, the first glance at their dress and manner, the first tones of their voice, were sufficient to distinguish the one from the other. It was whimsical enough to observe how every object which attracted our attention exhibited their respective peculiarities in a new and entertaining light. Sense entered into a learned discussion on the nature of a plant, while Sensibility talked enchantingly of the fading of its flower. From Matilda we had a rapturous eulogium upon the surrounding scenery; from Emily we derived much information relative to the state of its cultivation. When we listened to the one, we seemed to be reading a novel, but a clever and an interesting novel; when we turned to the other, we found only real life, but real life in its most pleasant and engaging form.

‘Suddenly one of those rapid storms, which so frequently disturb for a time the tranquillity of the finest weather, appeared to be gathering over our heads. Dark clouds were driven impetuously over the clear sky, and the refreshing coolness of the atmosphere was changed to a close and overpowering heat. Matilda looked up in admiration; Emily in alarm; Sensibility was thinking of a landscape—Sense of a wet pelisse. “This would make a fine sketch,” said the first: “We had better make haste,” said the second. The tempest continued to grow gloomier above us: we passed a ruined hut which had been long deserted by its inhabitants. “Suppose we take refuge here for the evening,” said Morris; “It would be very romantic,” said Sensibility;

"It would be very disagreeable," said Sense: "How it would astonish my father!" said the heroine; "How it would alarm him!" said her sister.

'As yet we had only observed distant prognostics of the tumult of the elements which was about to take place. Now, however, the collected fury of the storm burst at once upon us. A long and bright flash of lightning, together with a continued roll of thunder, accompanied one of the heaviest rains that we have ever experienced. "We shall have an adventure!" cried Matilda: "We shall be very late," observed Emily. "I wish we were a hundred miles off," said the one hyperbolically; "I wish we were at home," replied the other soberly. "Alas! we shall never get home to-night," sighed Sensibility pathetically; "Possibly," returned Sense drily. The fact was, that the eldest of the sisters was quite calm, although she was aware of all the inconveniences of their situation; and the youngest was terribly frightened, although she began quoting poetry. There was another, and a brighter flash; another, and a louder peal:—Sense quickened her steps,—Sensibility fainted.

'With some difficulty, and not without the aid of a conveyance from a neighbouring farmer, we brought our companions in safety to their father's door. We were of course received with an invitation to remain under shelter till the weather should clear up; and of course we felt no reluctance to accept the offer. The house was very neatly furnished, principally by the care of the two young ladies; but here again the diversity of their manners showed itself very plainly. The useful was produced by the labour of Emily; the ornamental was the fruit of the leisure hours of Matilda. The skill of the former was visible in the sofa-covers and the curtains; but the latter had decorated the card-racks, and painted the roses of the hand-screens. The neat little book-cases too, which contained their respective libraries, suggested a similar remark. In that of the eldest we observed our native English worthies,—Milton, Shakspeare, Dryden, and Pope; on the shelves of her sister reclined the more effeminate Italians,—Tasso, Ariosto, Metastasio, and Petrarch. It was a delightful thing to see two amiable beings with tastes so widely different, yet with hearts so closely united. It is not to be wondered at that we paid a longer visit than we had originally intended.

'The storm now died away in the distance, and a tranquil evening approached. We set out on our return. The old gentleman, with his daughters, accompanied us a small part of the way. The scene around us was beautiful; the birds and the cattle seemed to be rejoicing in the return of the sunshine; and every herb and leaf had derived a brighter tint from the rain-drops with which it was spangled. As we lingered for a few moments by the side of a beautiful piece of water, the mellowed sound of a flute was conveyed to us over its clear surface. The instrument was delightfully played: at such an hour, on such a spot, and with such companions, we could have listened to it for ever. "That is George Mervyn," said Morris to us. "How very clever he is!" exclaimed Matilda; "How very imprudent," replied Emily. "He will

will catch all the hearts in the place!" said Sensibility, with a sigh: "He will catch nothing but a cold!" said Sense, with a shiver. We were reminded that our companions were running the same risk, and we parted from them reluctantly.

* * * * *

'We have left, but not forgotten you, beautiful creatures! Often, when we are sitting in solitude, with a pen behind our ear, and a proof before our eyes, you come, hand in hand, to our imagination! Some, indeed, enjoin us to prefer esteem to fascination;—to write sonnets to Sensibility, and to look for a wife in Sense. These are the suggestions of age; perhaps, of prudence. We are young, and may be allowed to shake our heads as we listen.'—vol. ii. pp. 122—125.

We meet with several attempts at fictitious narrative, some of them, as that of Edward Morton, not uninteresting. By far the most ingenious piece of this kind, however, is a tale of olden times, entitled, 'The Knight and the Knave,' suggested by the romance of *Ivanhoe*, but of which nothing, except the age and manners, bears any affinity to that magnificent composition, of the style and spirit of which it is a light, but not farcical parody. It is much too long for insertion, and detached passages could give no adequate idea of its merits; we shall therefore content ourselves with extracting the 'Bogle of Anneslie,' a shorter piece of the same description.

"An' ye winna believe i' the Bogle?" said a pretty young lassie to her sweetheart, as they sat in the door of her father's cottage one fine Autumn evening:—"Do you hear that, mither, Andrew 'll no believe i' the Bogle?"

"Gude be wi' us, Effie!" exclaimed Andrew,—a slender and delicate youth of about two-and-twenty,—“a bonny time I wad hae o't, gin I were to heed every auld wife's clatter.”

The words "auld wife" had a manifest effect on Effie, and she bit her lips in silence. Her mother immediately opened a battery upon the young man's prejudices, narrating that on Anneslie Heath, at ten o'clock o' night, a certain apparition was wont to appear, in the form of a maiden above the usual size, with a wide three-cornered hat. Sundry other particulars were mentioned, but Andrew was still incredulous. "He'll rue that, dearly will he rue't!" said Effie, as he departed.

Many days, however, passed away, and Effie was evidently much disappointed to find that the scepticism of her lover gathered strength. Nay, he had the audacity to insult, by gibes and jests, the true believers, and to call upon them for the reasons of their faith. Effie was in a terrible passion.

At last, however, her prophecy was fulfilled. Andrew was passing over the moor, while the clock struck ten; for it was his usual practice to walk at that hour, in order to mock the fears of his future bride. He was just winding round the thicket which opened to him a view of the cottage where Effie dwelt, when he heard a light step behind him, and, in an instant, his feet were tripped up, and he was laid prostrate

on the turf. Upon looking up he beheld a tall muscular man standing over him, who, in no courteous manner, desired to see the contents of his pocket. "Deil be on ye!" exclaimed the young forester, "I hae but ae coin i' the world." "That coin maun I hae," said his assailant. "Faith! I'se show ye play for't, then," said Andrew, and sprung upon his feet.

'Andrew was esteemed the best cudgel-player for twenty miles round, so that in brief space, he cooled the ardour of his antagonist, and dealt such visitations upon his skull as might have made a much firmer head ache for a fortnight. The man stepped back, and, pausing in his assault, raised his hand to his forehead, and buried it among his dark locks. It returned covered with blood. "Thou hast cracked my crown," he said, "but yet ye sha'na gang scatheless;" and, flinging down his cudgel, he flew on his young foe, and, grasping his body before he was aware of the attack, whirled him to the earth with an appalling impetus. "The Lord hae mercy on me!" said Andrew, "I'm a dead man."

'He was not far from it, for his rude foe was preparing to put the finishing stroke to his victory. Suddenly something stirred in the bushes, and the conqueror, turning away from his victim, cried out, "The bogle! the bogle!" and fled precipitately. Andrew ventured to look up. He saw the figure which had been described to him approaching; it came nearer and nearer; its face was very pale, and its step was not heard on the grass. At last it stood by his side, and looked down upon him. Andrew buried his face in his cloak: presently the apparition spoke—indistinctly indeed, for its teeth seemed to chatter with cold:—"This is a cauld an' an eerie night to be sae late on Anneslie Moor!" and immediately it glided away.—Andrew lay a few minutes in a trance; and then arising from his cold bed, ran hastily towards the cottage of his mistress. His hair stood on end, and the vapours of the night sunk chill upon his brow as he lifted up the latch, and flung himself on an oaken seat.

"Preserve us!" cried the old woman. "Why, ye are mair than aneugh to frighten a body out o' her wits! To come in wi' sic a jaunt and a jerk, bareheaded, and the red blood spattered a' o'er your new leather jerkin! Shame on you, Andrew! in what mishanter hast thou broken that fule's head o' thine!"

"Peace, mither!" said the young man, taking breath, "I hae seen the bogle!"

"The old lady had a long line of reproaches, drawn up in order of march, between her lips; but the mention of the bogle was the signal for disbanding them. A thousand questions poured in, in rapid succession.—"How old was she? How was she dressed? Who was she like? What did she say?"

"She was a tall thin woman, about seven feet high!"

"Oh Andrew!" cried Effie.

"As ugly as sin!"

"Other people tell a different story," said Effie.

"True, on my Bible oath! and then her beard"—

"A beard!"

"A beard! Andrew," shrieked Effie, "a woman with a beard! For shame, Andrew!"

"Nay, I will swear it—! She had seen full saxty winters afore she died to trouble us!"

"I'll wager my best new gown," said the maiden, "that saxteen would be nearer the mark."

"But wha was she like, Andrew?" said the old woman. "Was she like auld Janet that was drowned in the pond hard by? or that auld witch that your master hanged for stealing his pet lamb? or was she like—"

"Are you sure she was na like *me*, Andrew?" said Effie, looking archly in his face.

"You—Pshaw! Faith, guid mither, she was like to naeboddy that I ken, unless it be auld Elspeth, the cobbler's wife, that was spirited awa' by the Abbot, for breaking Father Jerome's head wi' a tin frying-pan!"

"And how was she drest, Andrew?"

"In that horrible three cornered hat, which may I be blinded if ever I seek to look upon again! an' in a lang blue apron."

"Green, Andrew!" cried Effie, twirling her own green apron round her thumb.

"How you like to teaze one!" said the lover. Poor Andrew did not at all enter into his mistress's pleasantry; for he laboured under great depression of spirits, and never lifted his eyes from the ground.

"But ye hae na tald us what she said, lad!" said the old woman, assuming an air of deeper mystery as each question was put and answered in its turn.

"Lord! what signifies it whether she said this or that! Haud your tongue! and get me some comfort; for, to speak truth, I'm vera cauld."

"Weel mayest thou be sae," said Effie; "for indeed," she continued, in a feigned voice, "*it was a cauld an' an eerie night to be sac late on Anneslie Muir.*"

Andrew started, and a doubt seemed to pass over his mind. He looked up at the damsel, and perceived, for the first time, that her large blue eye was laughing at him from under the shade of a huge three-cornered Hat. The next moment he hung over her in an ecstasy of gratitude, and smothered with his kisses the ridicule which she forced upon him as the penalty of his preservation.

"Seven feet high, Andrew!"—

"My dear Effie!"—

"As ugly as sin!"—

"My darling lassie!"—

"And a beard!"—

"Na! na! now you carry the jest o'er far!"

"And saxty winters!"

"Saxteen springs; Effie! dear, delightful, smiling springs!"

"And Elspeth the cobbler's wife! oh! Andrew, Andrew! I never can forgie you for the cobbler's wife!—and what say you now, Andrew! is there nae bogle on the mair?"

"My dear Effie! for your sake I'll believe in a' the bogles in Christendie!"

"That is," said Effie, at the conclusion of a long and vehement fit of risibility, "that is, in a' that wear 'three-cornered Hats.'"

Of the criticisms interspersed through these numbers, we are of course bound to speak with professional courtesy. Of this, indeed, they have not much need. They are few in number, the work professedly of an individual hand, and betoken a mind strongly impressed with the more obvious and palpable beauties of the writer before it, although not sufficiently acute in tracing them to their sources. There is a vague and undefined sense of excellence pervading these pieces, which seems to indicate that the writer's perceptions are rather vivid than clear, and that he is not yet sufficiently familiar with the graces and sublimities of his favourite authors to gaze on them with undazzled eye. He has, however, that enthusiasm for his subject, without a portion of which no one, we think, can be a genuine critic, any more than a good poet; and there is a certain impetuosity of manner, as well as something of juvenile dogmatism about him, which, as being natural and characteristic, produces an effect not unamusing. We speak of the critiques on Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Charles Lamb:—that on Montgomery is obviously by a different writer, and is so far valuable as it exhibits a rude, but tolerably faithful sketch of the genius and peculiarities of a genuine poet, whose last work, from the defects of its subject and plan, seems to have failed of that success which the mild pathos of some of its passages, and the picturesque beauty of others, might otherwise have obtained for it.

Of the essays on serious subjects, we shall only say, without intending any disparagement to the talents and motives of Mr. Martin Sterling, the representative of Eton wisdom and morality, that we wish they had adopted a somewhat higher ground, both intellectual and moral.

The poetry of the 'Etonian' is, we think, more uniformly good than the prose. A large proportion of the verses are marked with indisputable genius; and where there is not genius, there is a youthful vigour and vivacity, which almost serves as its substitute. One principal charm of the present work, indeed, is derived from the circumstance of its being exclusively the composition of boys and young men. Its pages are 'redolent of joy and youth'—the sprightliness, and levity, and enthusiasm, and pensiveness of early years pervade the whole; and it is impossible to peruse it without some of those reflections which Gray has embodied in his exquisitely wrought tribute of recognition. One prominent feature of the serious poetry is the imitation of eminent living writers which
is

is every where visible. Something like this indeed is to be expected in all juvenile compositions. Young poets, like children, are by nature imitative. Before the mind has strength to form ideas of its own, it can feel strongly the thoughts and images of others; and there is an instinct in youth, which prompts us to emulate that of which we perceive the beauty. We do not mean that the mind is devoid of original conceptions—they exist in fact there, but in a dormant and embryo state. Under this outward disguise of imitation, new powers are insensibly springing up; the growth of the mind, and the accompanying development of the passions and affections, elicit and call them into action; and, after a temporary fluctuation, and struggle between old habits and nascent capacities, the borrowed veil is thrown off, and the matured faculties shine forth in their full and proper lustre. The same change takes place in the literary history of a people, where an age of foreign or classical imitation generally precedes the formation of a national literature. We may be mistaken in applying our theory to the compositions before us; but it is less discreditable to be deceived in prophecies of good, than of evil. We speak not of all, but of a large proportion. If they are not poetry, they are the forerunners of poetry. They are the streaks and crimson flushes which precede the perfect day. The little poem in imitation of Wordsworth (vol. i. p. 273.) is a curious exemplification of our remarks. The author has evidently been struck with the beauty of many of the thoughts and images of his original; and being seized with a desire, similar to that observable in children, of handling the things he admires, and employing them in his own way, without sufficiently understanding their use, he has huddled them into a somewhat unmeaning composition—a gay but confused assemblage of words and things, like a gorgeous dream, or like fragments of music united into one piece without any system.

Another characteristic of these pieces, the earlier ones at least, is the frequent recurrence of melancholy subjects. It seems as if the young were led by an unconscious instinct to temper the exuberance of their natural gaiety by an occasional reference to such subjects, or as if, by a species of presentiment, they let their thoughts wander among the trials and sufferings of maturer life; as the bird moistens her pinions in the pool by way of preparation for the expected shower. It is a moral *antiperistasis*,—the heat-shower on sultry days—the result of contraries. Not that the poetry of the 'Etonian' is on the whole characterized by gloom or pensiveness; far from it—there is, as we have said, a large infusion of mirth and pleasantry; and a diversity of hands is visible here, as in the prose department. One only of these can we venture with any great confidence to specify, who appears to be the Coryphæus

of the band, and whose productions are distinguished by a mild pathos, a pervading sweetness, and a mellow equability of versification, enlivened in one instance, to which we shall shortly advert, by a reasonable share of comic talent. His peculiar character is very visible in a poem called 'My Brother's Grave,' written in an alternation of octosyllabic couplets and quatrains, a measure singularly adapted for the expression of quiet and pensive feeling without much depth of thought. The species of melody displayed in it is that of a former age of our poetry, and we have seldom seen it carried to greater perfection. We quote the opening lines, and regret that we cannot find space for more.

- ' Beneath the chancel's hallow'd stone,
 Expos'd to every rustic tread,
 To few, save rustic mourners, known,
 My brother, is thy lowly bed.
 Few words, upon the rough stone graven,
 Thy name—thy birth—thy youth declare—
 Thy innocence—thy hopes of Heaven—
 In simplest phrase recorded there.
 No 'scutcheons shine, no banners wave,
 In mockery o'er my Brother's Grave.
- ' No sound of human toil or strife
 To death's lone dwelling speaks of life,
 Nor breaks the silence still and deep
 Where thou, beneath thy burial stone,
 Art laid in that unstartled sleep
 The living eye hath never known.
 The lonely sexton's footstep falls
 In dismal echoes on the walls,
 As, slowly pacing through the aisle,
 He sweeps th' unholy dust away,
 And cobwebs, which must not defile
 Those windows on the Sabbath-day;
 And, passing through the central nave,
 Treads lightly on my Brother's Grave.
- ' But when the sweet-toned Sabbath-chime,
 Pouring its music on the breeze,
 Proclaims the well-known holy time
 Of prayer, and thanks, and bended knees;
 When rustic crowds devoutly meet,
 And lips and hearts to God are given,
 And souls enjoy oblivion sweet
 Of earthly ills, in thoughts of Heaven;
 What voice of calm and solemn tone
 Is heard above the burial-stone?
 What form in priestly meek array
 Beside the altar kneels to pray?

What

What holy hands are lifted up
 To bless the sacramental cup?
 Full well I know that reverend form,
 And if a voice could reach the dead,
 Those tones would reach thee, tho' the worm,
 My brother, makes thy breast his bed;
 That Sire, who thy existence gave,
 Now stands beside thy lowly Grave.'—vol. i. p. 76.

The following beautiful stanzas are apparently from the same hand.

' In many a strain of grief and joy,
 My youthful spirit sung to thee;
 But I am now no more a boy,
 And there's a gulph 'twixt thee and me.
 Time on my brow has set his seal—
 I start to find myself a man,
 And know that I no more shall feel
 As only boyhood's spirit can.

And now I bid a long adieu
 To thoughts that held my heart in thrall,
 To cherish'd dreams of brightest hue,
 And thee—the brightest dream of all.
 My footsteps rove not where they rov'd,
 My home is chang'd, and, one by one,
 The "old, familiar" forms I lov'd
 Are faded from my path—and gone.

I launch into life's stormy main,
 And 'tis with tears—but not of sorrow,
 That, pouring thus my parting strain;
 I bid thee, as a bride, good-morrow.
 Full well thou know'st I envy not
 The heart it is thy choice to share;
 My soul dwells on thee, as a thought
 With which no earthly wishes are.

* * * * *

It is my joy, it is my pride
 To picture thee in bliss divine;
 A happy and an honour'd bride,
 Blest by a fonder love than mine.
 Be thou to *one* a holy spell,
 A bliss by day—a dream by night,—
 A thought on which his soul shall dwell,—
 A cheering and a guiding light.

His be thy heart,—but while no other
 Disturbs *his* image at its core,
 Still think of me as of a brother,
 I'd not be lov'd, nor love thee, more.

For

For thee each feeling of my breast
 So holy—so serene shall be,
 That when thy heart to his is prest,
 'Twill be no crime to think of me.
 I shall not wander forth at night,
 To breathe thy name—as lovers would;
 Thy form, in visions of delight,
 Not oft shall break my solitude.—
 But when, at morn or midnight hour,
 I commune with my God, alone,
 Before the throne of Peace and Power
 I'll blend thy welfare with my own.
 And if, with pure and fervent sighs,
 I bend before some lov'd one's shrine,
 When gazing on her gentle eyes,
 I shall not blush to think of thine,
 Thou, when thou meet'st thy love's caress,
 And when thy children climb thy knee,
 In thy calm hour of happiness,

Then sometimes—sometimes think of me.—pp. 46, 47.

'Godiva' is a successful imitation of the new Whistlecraft style; we think, however, that with much of the instinctive delicacy and native gentility of the poet of 'Gyges,' the author has not succeeded in handling his subject with the same dexterity and decorum; and if our literature is to be disgraced (as is threatened) by the publication of an English Pucelle, we do not wish to see, in a work like the *Etonian*, any thing which may in the most distant degree remind us of such compositions. We quote one of the serious passages, which strikes us as singularly fine.

LVI.

'What were Godiva's thoughts at that dread hour
 In her lone chamber? Silent did she kneel,
 Her deep blue eyes rais'd meekly to the Power
 Of Heaven, in dumb, yet eloquent appeal.
 Thus pray'd the gentle lady in her bower,
 Till o'er her sorrows peace began to steal,
 And the calm rapture of the silent skies
 Had sunk into her spirit through her eyes.

LVII.

The lady rose from prayer, with cheek o'erflush'd,
 And eyes all radiant with celestial fire,
 The anguish'd beatings of her heart were hush'd,
 So calmly heavenward did her thoughts aspire.
 A moment's pause—and then she deeply blush'd,
 As, trembling, she unclasp'd her rich attire,
 And, shrinking from the sun-light, shone confess'd
 The ripe and dazzling beauties of her breast:

LVIII.

LVIII.

And when her white and radiant limbs lay bare,
The fillet from her brow the dame unbound,
And let the traces of her raven hair
Flow down in wavy lightness to the ground,
Till half they veil'd her limbs and bosom fair,
In dark and shadowy beauty floating round,
As clouds, in the still firmament of June,
Shade the pale splendours of the midnight moon.

LIX.

But then her spirit fell, when thus alone
She stood in the deep silence of her bower,
And felt that there she was beheld by none
Save One unknown, supreme eternal Power.
She dar'd not raise her meek eyes, trembling one,
Again from earth; she could have wish'd that hour
Rather in view of thousands to have stood,
Than in that still and awful solitude.

LX.

Away—away, with wild and hurried pace,
Through many a long and echoing room she stole;
No voice arrests her ear, no human face
Bursts on the dreamy wildness of her soul,' &c.
pp. 160, 161.

Our readers would probably wish for specimens of the talents of some of the rest of the youthful fraternity. We are sure they will be gratified with the following.

' Nov. 26.—Heard of the death of poor Morton.—If ever man died of love it was Edward Morton.—The lady to whom he became early attached was married to another.—Morton was present at the marriage, and was never seen to smile afterwards.—The lady, it is said, was unhappy in her union, and did not survive it many years.—Morton died at Corfu.—A portrait of the lady was found in his portfolio wrapped up in the following lines:—

I saw thee wedded—thou didst go
Within the sacred aisle,
Thy young cheek in a blushing glow,
Betwixt a tear and smile.
Thy heart was glad in maiden glee,
But he it lov'd so fervently
Was faithless all the while;
I hate him for the vow he spoke—
I hate him for the vow he broke.
I hid the love that could not die,
Its doubts, and hopes, and fears,
And buried all my misery
In secrecy and tears;

And

And days pass'd on, and thou didst prove
 The pang of unrequited love,
 E'en in thine early years;
 And thou didst die, so fair and good!
 In silence and in solitude!
 While thou wert living, I did hide
 Affection's secret pains;
 I'd not have shock'd thy modest pride
 For all the world contains;
 But thou hast perish'd, and the fire
 That often check'd, could ne'er expire,
 Again unhidden reigns:
 It is no crime to speak my vow,
 For ah! thou canst not hear it now.
 Thou sleep'st beneath thy lowly stone,
 That dark and dreamless sleep;
 And he, thy loved and chosen one—
 Why goes he not to weep?
 He does not kneel where I have knelt,
 He cannot feel what I have felt,
 The anguish, still, and deep,
 The painful thoughts of what has been,
 The canker-worm that is not seen.
 But I—as o'er the dark blue wave
 Unconsciously I ride,
 My thoughts are hovering o'er thy grave,
 My soul is by thy side.
 There is one voice that wails thee yet,
 One heart that cannot e'er forget
 The visions that have died;
 And aye thy form is buried there,
 A doubt—an anguish—a despair!—pp. 240, 241.

Of the comic poetry of one of our young essayists, we have already given a favourable character; it is indeed, in our opinion, superior to his prose. We subjoin one or two of the characters in the 'Eve of Battle.'

'Thou too thy brilliant helm must don,
 Etona's wild and wayward son,
 Mad merry Charles.—While, beardless yet,
 Thou look'st upon thy plume of jet,
 Or smilest, as the clouds of night
 Are drifted back by morning's light,
 Thy boyish look, thy careless eyes,
 Might wake the envy of the wise.
 Six months have past since thou didst rove
 Unwilling through Etona's grove,
 Trembling at many an ancient face
 That met thee in that holy place!

To

To speak the plain and honest truth,
 Thou wast no scholar in thy youth.
 But now go forth—broke loose from school,
 Kill and destroy by classic rule,
 Or die in fight, to live in story,
 As valiant Hector did before ye.
 On! on! take forts and storm positions,
 Break Frenchmen's heads—instead of Priscian's,
 And seek in death and conflagration
 A *gradus* to thy reputation.
 Yet, when the war is loud and high,
 Thine old mistakes will round thee fly;
 And still, in spite of all thy care,
 False quantities will haunt thee there;
 For thou wilt make, amidst the throng,
 Or *βραχ* short, or *μακρ* long.

' Methinks I know that figure bold,
 And stalwart limbs of giant mould!
 'Tis he—I know his ruddy face,
 My tried staunch friend, Sir Matthew Chase.
 His snore is loud, his slumber deep,
 Yet dreams are with him in his sleep,
 And Fancy's visions oft recall
 The merry hunt and jovial hall—
 And oft replace before his sight
 The bustle of to-morrow's fight.
 In swift succession o'er his brain,
 Come fields of corn, and fields of slain;
 And as the varying image burns,
 Blood and blood-horses smoke by turns;
 The five-barr'd gate and muddy ditch,
 Smolensko and "the spotted bitch"—

And thou too, Clavering—Humour's son!
 Made up of wisdom and of fun!
 Medley of all that's dark and clear,
 Of all that's foolish, all that's dear,
 Tell me what brings thee here to die,
 Thou prince of eccentricity?
 Poor Arthur! in his childhood's day
 He cared so little for his play,
 And wore so grave and prim a look,
 And cried so, when he miss'd his book,
 That aunts were eager to presage
 The glories of his riper age,
 And fond mamma in him foresaw
 The bulwark of the British law,
 And Science from her lofty throne
 Look'd down and "mark'd him for her own."

Ah!

Ah! why did flattery come at school
 To tinge him with a shade of fool!
 Alas! what clever plans were crost!
 Alas! how wise a judge was lost!
 Without a friend to check or guide,
 He hurried into fashion's tide,
 He aped each folly of the throng,
 Was all by turns, and nothing long;—
 Skilful in fencing, and in fist,
 Blood—critic—jockey—methodist;
 Causeless alike in joy or sorrow,
 Tory to-day, and Whig to-morrow,
 All habits and all shapes he wore,
 And lov'd, and laugh'd, and pray'd, and swore.
 And now some instantaneous freak,
 Some peevish whim, or jealous pique
 Has made the battle's iron show'r
 The hobby of the present hour,
 And bade him seek, in steel and lead,
 An opiate for a rambling head.'—

Our extracts have already been too profuse; yet we cannot close without quoting a few stanzas from 'a Sketch' called 'Changing Quarters,' which possesses a considerable vein of poetry, humour and good feeling.

' Fair laughs the morn, and out they come,
 At the solemn beat of the rolling drum,
 Apparell'd for the march;
 Many an old and honour'd name,
 Young warriors, with their eyes of flame,
 And aged veterans in the wars,
 With little pay, and many scars,
 And titled lord, and tottering beau,
 Right closely wrapt from top to toe
 In vanity and starch.

The rising sun is gleaming bright,
 And Britain's flag is waving light,
 And widely, where the gales invite,
 The charger's mane is flowing;
 Around is many a staring face
 Of envious boor and wondering grace,
 And Echo shouts through all the place,
 "The soldiers be a-going!"
 Beauty and bills are buzzing now
 In many a martial ear,
 And midst the tumult and the row,
 Is seen the tailor's anxious bow,
 And woman's anxious tear.

Alas!

Alas! the thousand cares that float
 To-day around a scarlet coat!
 There's Serjeant Cross, in fume and fret,
 With little Mopsa, the coquette,
 Close clinging to his side;
 Who, if fierce Mars and thundering Jove
 Had had the least respect for love,
 To-day had been his bride.
 And, midst the trumpet's wild acclaim,
 She calls upon her lover's name,
 In beautiful alarm;
 Still looking up expectantly
 To see the tear drop in his eye,
 Still hanging to his arm.
 And he the while—his fallen chop
 Most eloquently tells,
 That much he wishes little Mop
 Were waiting for—another drop,
 Or hanging—somewhere else.—pp. 132, 133.

After a somewhat ludicrous description of the wistful anxiety of the major, captains and subaltern officers to escape from the 'bills' and other importunate claims of the surrounding crowd, the poet suddenly recollects himself, and falls into the following sweet strain, with which our decreasing limits reluctantly compel us to conclude our remarks.

'Is there an eye, which nothing sees,
 In what it views to-day,
 To whisper deeper thoughts than these,
 And wake a graver lay?
 Oh think not thus! when Lovers part,
 When weeping eye and trembling heart
 Speak more than words can say;
 It ill becomes my jesting song
 To run so trippingly along,
 And on these trifling themes bestow
 What ought to be a note of woe.

I see young Edward's courser stand,
 The bridle rests upon his hand;
 But beauteous Helen lingers yet,
 With throbbing heart and eyelid wet;
 And as she speaks in that sweet tone,
 Which makes the listener's soul its own;
 And as she heaves that smother'd sigh
 Which Lovers cannot hear and fly,
 In Edward's face looks up the while,
 And longs to weep, yet seems to smile.

"Fair

" Fair forms may fleet around, my love !
 And lighter steps than mine,
 And sweeter tones may sound, my love !
 And brighter eyes may shine ;
 But wheresoever thou dost rove,
 Thou wilt not find a heart, my love !
 So truly, wholly, thine,
 As that which at thy feet is aching,
 As if its every string were breaking !
 " I would not see thee glad, my love !
 As erst, in happier years ;
 Yet do not seem so sad, my love !
 Because of Helen's fears ;
 Swiftly the flying minutes move :
 And though we weep to-day, my love !
 Heavy and bitter tears,
 There'll be, for every tear that strays,
 A thousand smiles in other days.—vol. ii. p. 135.

- ART. VI.—1. *Account of a Tour in Normandy, undertaken chiefly for the purpose of investigating the Architectural Antiquities of the Duchy; with Observations on its History, on the Country, and on its Inhabitants; illustrated with numerous Engravings.* By Dawson Turner, Esq. F.R.S. &c. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1820.
2. *The Architectural Antiquities of Normandy, in a Series of one Hundred Etchings, with Historical and Descriptive Notices.* By J. S. Cotman. Parts I. and II. royal folio. London. 1820.
3. *Letters written during a Tour in Normandy, Brittany, and other Parts of France, in 1818.* By Mrs. Charles Stothard. With numerous Engravings after Drawings by Charles Stothard, F. S. A. 4to. London. 1820.
4. *Essai Historique sur la Ville de Caen, et ses Arrondissemens.* Par M. l'Abbé de la Rue, Chanoine Honoraire de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Bayeux, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Caen et Rouen. 1820.
5. *An Inquiry into the Origin and Influence of Gothic Architecture.* By William Gunn, B.D. Rector of Irstead, Norfolk. 8vo. London. 1819.
6. *An Attempt to discriminate the Styles of English Architecture, from the Conquest to the Reformation, preceded by a Sketch of the Grecian and Roman Orders; with Notices of nearly Five Hundred English Buildings.* By Thomas Rickman. 1819.
7. *Chronological and Historical Illustrations of the Ancient Architecture of Great Britain.* By John Britton, F. S. A. Six Parts. 4to. London. 1821.

8. *Specimens*

8. *Specimens of Gothic Architecture, selected from various ancient Edifices in England; consisting of Parts, Elevations, Sections, and Parts at large, calculated to exemplify the various Styles of this Class of Architecture.* The Drawings by A. Pugin, Architect, and the Engravings by E. Thuill. Parts I. and II. London. 1821.

EVERY nook in our island has now been completely ransacked, and described by our tourists and topographers. If we call over the Counties one by one, their historians will be seen marshalling their ranks in quarto and in folio. The humbler antiquary of the Ancient Borough ekes out his octavo with chronicles of Shreeves and Mayors, and transcripts of the wills of the founders of the Green-coat school and the Almshouse: and every hamlet, raised by the opulence of the state into the rank of a watering-place, possesses some diligent 'Guide;' in whose slender duodecimo, the card of the Master of the Ceremonies, and the description of the assembly-rooms, are introduced by an historical dissertation upon the Silures or the Trinobantes. Nor has the pencil been employed with less diligence than the pen. It would be difficult to name any structure of the 'olden time' which has not been transmitted into the portfolio and the library. The cathedral, whose intricate beauty would almost seem to mock the skill of the designer, yet affords him a fitting trial for his art; while the village church furnishes the material for 'an accurate S. E. view,' in which the artist carefully eclipses the building itself by the brilliancy and finish of the skulls and cross-bones on the tombstones, and the weathercock on the stumped tower. Such are the productions received with due gratitude by our old and much respected friend Silvanus Urban; who, since he began his career, in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty, has done infinite service, by storing his Magazine with information which all the world would wish to preserve, though it is morally certain that no mortal but himself would ever have had the firmness to rescue it from oblivion.

Our home subjects having been thus so thoroughly investigated; it was full time, that some attempt should be made to illustrate the antiquities of Normandy, the most important of *our* transmarine provinces. The French King must not be offended, or, as Mr. Madison expresses it, put himself in an attitude, in consequence of the claim of property which we thus assert. My Lord Coke has given an opinion, in his fourth Institute, that the King of England has not lost his legal right of entry on the Duchy of Normandy, and of bringing an ejectment against his Most Christian Majesty, and recovering possession in due form of law; the islands

of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, with the appurtenances, being, as he says, 'good seizin for the rest of the territory.' This, perhaps, is a state-affair, and ought to be considered by ministers, so we do not choose to meddle with it; but it is quite certain, that in Normandy an Englishman feels himself as much within the pale of English history as if he were in Yorkshire. The theme is so congenial to us, that, for want of a better work, even the meagre compilation of Ducarrel has long since become as valuable as scarcity and high prices could possibly make it. Let it not be supposed that we intend to disparage the memory of the Doctor; he led the way, and we will give him all the meed of praise which is due to a valiant leader. But his travels in the province were confined to a few of its districts; and his architectural plates, which, in books of this class, must always constitute the most important portion, are below contempt. Executed by the most unskilful artists, they bear no intelligible resemblance whatever to the buildings which they caricature and deform.

At the period when Ducarrel wrote, these defects were not easily avoided; the architecture of the Middle Ages had not been studied. Unless an artist feels and estimates all the peculiarities and characteristics of the subject which is placed before him, be that object what it may, he never can delineate it with satisfactory accuracy. A man who attempts to copy inscriptions cut in an alphabet which he cannot read, will make an unintelligible facsimile, though he pore over the original never so carefully. Where a stroke is half obliterated, he will make a break; where another is accidentally lengthened, he will run it into the next letter; and the aggregate of these unavoidable mistakes renders the transcript of no value. A drawing made by a draftsman who does not fully understand the parts of the subject will exhibit similar faults. To be able to delineate accurately, he must know what the outline ought to be: if he does not possess this antecedent knowledge, he will never discover what it is. The slightest irregularity in the curve will induce him to twist the depressed arch into an ogee. He converts the foliated pinnacle into a jagged pyramid. Destitute of any distinct conception of the meaning of the several parts, he has no distinct perception of their united forms and bearing: he may look and gaze attentively, yet the lines which he traces upon his paper will never arrange themselves significantly, unless the mind's eye also sees that which is seen by the corporeal eye, unless the intellect guides the hand.*

* Hollar, whose talents are unquestionable, affords an illustration of the errors incident to the drawings of an artist who has no critical sense of the character of architecture.

The works relating to Normandy now before us, to which may be added Mr. Dibdin's splendid tour, therefore, afford much information of which we stood in need. Mr. Turner introduces his Letters by the following explanatory remarks:—

‘My narrative is principally addressed to those readers who find pleasure in the investigation of architectural antiquity. Without the slightest pretensions to the character either of an architect or of an antiquary, engaged in other avocations and employed in other studies, I am but too conscious of my inability to do justice to the subject. Yet my remarks may at least assist the future traveller, by pointing out such objects as are interesting, either on account of their antiquity or their architectural worth.’

The plates, etched and drawn by Mr. Cotman, are recommended by a high degree of merit and curiosity; most of the subjects which this indefatigable artist has chosen are hitherto inedited monuments. Mr. Cotman's style of engraving is well adapted for architecture, and he unites picturesque effect with fidelity of delineation. His plates are perhaps deficient in the management of the middle tints; but we doubt whether this is so injurious to the effect and harmony of the print as the fruitless endeavours which are sometimes made to express all the varieties of colour on the copper. Engravers fall too much into this practice. The notion of colour conveyed by shading in black and white, is an attempt which may be compared to the music produced by drumming on a table.

Mr. Stothard travelled to Normandy for the purpose of delineating the celebrated tapestry of Bayeux. This task was intrusted to him by the Antiquarian Society. It could be only executed by a careful artist, gifted with correct antiquarian feeling. On this journey, he was accompanied by Mrs. Stothard, who, in a series of letters addressed to her mother and family, has given a pretty full account of her excursion; but we observe, with regret, that justice has not been done by the aquatinter to the beautiful drawings of her husband which accompany it. This lady's lively and picturesque narrative has amused us. The engravings do not give an adequate idea of the firm delicacy of the originals.

The Abbé de la Rue has most diligently illustrated the antiquities of his native town in his ‘Historical Essays.’ De Bourgueville, in his ‘History of Caen,’ and the celebrated Huet, in the ‘Origines de Caen,’ had previously treated the same subject, but with far less diligence and accuracy. During his residence in this country, the Abbé was enabled to study the Norman rolls in the Tower of London, which were wholly unknown to his predecessors; as well as the Monastic Chartularies of France, which, as the Abbé observes, have only been accessible since the revolution. He has

bestowed equal pains in the investigation of the documents relating to Caen, preserved in the Trésor des Chartes, at Paris.*

As connected with the subject which will principally occupy us, we have noticed some late works on Gothic architecture. Great erudition is displayed in Mr. Gunn's 'Inquiry.' He denies the supposed oriental origin of Gothic architecture, and traces it as early as the time of Diocletian; we, however, who are Ostrogoths, do not agree with him in his theory. In his notes, many points relating to ecclesiastical antiquities are discussed with zeal and ability.

In Mr. Rickman's unostentatious, but sensible tract, we can only object to his nomenclature. The term 'perpendicular style,' as applied to the order beginning in the reign of Richard II., we consider as very inappropriate.

Mr. Britton presents us, as usual, with pleasing and well executed engravings. But he has not supplied the want, which is so grievously felt, of such a collection as will enable the architect to do his work. For this purpose, simple but accurate outlines, on an intelligible scale, are alone required; highly finished plates, on a small scale, though they may be liked by the amateur, are worse than useless to the art, as they encourage the builder who attempts Gothic architecture, to content himself with a general resemblance, and to blur all the minor features. A work, professing to treat on architecture, and wanting in plans and sections, is no better than a treatise on anatomy which omits the representation of the bones. Sections of mouldings are indispensable; they vary in every specimen, and can never be made out from the elevation. Mr. Pugin has judiciously attended to these details, and his book will consequently be exceedingly serviceable to the practical architect, at the same time that it is equally satisfactory to the antiquary.

We delight in the study of architecture. There are persons who condemn the architectural antiquary for digging at stone walls and arches. Persons who hold such opinions may possess sound judgment and good taste in other matters, but when they undervalue the art, they are in the wrong. They have not weighed its intellectual value. From architecture, the earth de-

* Those who are acquainted with the learning of the Abbé will be glad to receive the intelligence, that his long projected history of Anglo-Norman poetry is about to appear. He has been employed during many years in collecting the materials for this work. It will include a most important portion of our early literary history, which has hitherto been treated very superficially. The dissertations on our ancient Anglo-Norman poets, which the Abbé published in the *Archæologia*, will form the nucleus of this history, to which he intends to append a series of dissertations on the Bards of Armorica, and on the 'Jongleurs,' whom he considers as forming the connecting link between the ancient bards and the 'Trouveurs' of the middle ages.

rives its moral physiognomy. Inanimate nature forms no part of human nature; it is only where we behold the productions of men, that we connect her with the human kind. The naked spires of primitive granite losing themselves in the clouds, the course of the river, the stratification of the soil, relate the revolutions of the globe, during successive ages. Tremendous convulsions are indicated by these tokens; but the accidents of inert matter are, perhaps, of less immediate interest, and certainly of less importance to us, than the events which raised the obelisk and the pyramid, the temple and the tower, the basilic and the hall. These are the memorials of human civilization, marking the progress of the mind, attesting man's power, his virtues and his crimes. Public buildings are compared by the Roman jurists to the human body, the habitation of his soul: they held, that no corporation could have a legal existence, unless some structure was appropriated to the use of the assembly. The analogy may be pursued, and we shall find, that the architecture of any people always forms one of the features by which we characterise it in our imagination. We cannot sever the Senate from the Capitol, nor the Orator from the Forum. The edifices which nations raise are inseparably associated with the deeds which they perform. Architecture forms a perpetual commentary upon the pages of the historian, who can ill dispense with the aid which the imagination thus receives. In vain do we attempt to view the countenances of the actors, or to listen to their voices, unless we can also duly decorate the glowing scene around them. We should not participate with such breathless interest in the triumphs of the Greeks, were we not able to follow the victors to the pure and glittering fane beneath whose frieze they hung the golden shields of victory: and we share with greater liveliness in the feelings of the conquered Saxon, on viewing the Norman dungeon towers which riveted his chains.

It is in Normandy, that the first pages of the architectural annals of this island must be read. According to our most judicious antiquaries, no one structure, scarcely any one fragment in Great Britain, is now in existence, that can be referred with certainty to the Saxon era. Neither can we quote any architectural examples in Normandy of an earlier period than the eleventh century; at least, if we wish to guide ourselves in our researches with any degree of satisfactory evidence or conjecture. The Duchy of Normandy does not possess the monuments of Neustria. The fury of the Northmen destroyed all the memorials both of Roman magnificence and of Christian piety, by which the province had been adorned when they wrested it from the Carlovingian empire. Nought remained but scathed and mouldering walls, and these were afterwards lost in the edifices raised by the piety of the converted sub-

jects of Rollo. A few insignificant remains, a tomb at Lisieux, a crypt at Rouen, a chapel at Jumieges, which possibly ought to be dated before the Norwegian conquest, are of little moment in a general view of the subject, and do not connect themselves in the general series of specimens. It is useless to descant on relics of more dubious antiquity, which receive their date from untenable opinions; for the Norman archæologists, like our own, have often wrongly imagined that old age and ugliness must necessarily be synonymous. Thus the abbey church of St. Lo, on account of its clumsy sculpture, has been considered as a temple of Isis, a deity who in France appears to claim all antiquarian estrays: and the church of Bernieres is sometimes attributed by the Norman antiquaries to the old inhabitants of the 'Saxon shore,' though the Marguilliers of the parish with most reason are satisfied that it owes its origin to Duke William.

The principal features of the Norman style are sufficiently familiar. Originating in the attempts which were successfully made to adapt the architecture of Rome to the uses of a Christian community, the order, of which the Norman is merely a modification, acknowledges, in all its varieties, the parent stock from which it sprang. Mr. Gunn proposes to distinguish this style by the name of the *Romanesque*.* We approve of the term, for it is formed by a just analogy. An authority, however, which has not hitherto been quoted, shows that edifices built in this style may have acquired the appellation of Gothic, at least in Italy, at an early period. There is a church at Ravenna, built by the great Theodoric, which, in common language, was usually called 'the Gothic Church.'† As this edifice precedes those edifices usually called Lombard or Norman or Saxon, the denomination Gothic, improperly applied, as far as etymology is concerned, to the

* Mr. Gunn has created the term according to the following analogy: 'A modern Roman, of whatever degree, calls himself *Romano*, a distinction he disallows to an inhabitant of his native city, whom, though long domiciliated, yet from dubious origin, foreign extraction or alliance, he stigmatizes by the term *ROMANESCO*. I consider the architecture under discussion in the same point of view. Adopting this term as a general appellation for the circular style, we should distinguish its classes as *Norruan Romanesque*, *Anglo-Norman Romanesque*, &c.'

† One of the Gothic churches of Ravenna is noticed in the description of that city composed by Archbishop Raynaldus, who was elected in 1308.—*Muratorius, SS. Rerum Italicarum*, vol. i. p. 2. 575. Item dictus Imperator Tiberius misit duos cæmentarios solennes quorum unus vocabatur Nicostratus, et alius Apollonius, qui versus Portam Auream construxerunt quendam domum testudinatam ad modum montium contra æstum et gelu, cujus vestigia apparent usque hodie. Et dicitur quod Gothi instauraverunt eam in ecclesiam quæ usque hodie dicitur Ecclesia Gothica, id est Ecclesia Gothorum. An ancient annotator then adds—Ista Ecclesia Gothica, quæ nunc est in Ravenna, non est de qua facit mentionem, quia istam quæ nunc est, construxit Theodoricus Ostrogothorum Rex sub anno Domini DXVIII.

pointed arch, might, without great inaccuracy, be given to the order in question.

The missionaries, who taught the faith in Normandy, directed the construction of the fane. Flocking from the adjoining provinces of France, they bore the ground-plot of the abbey in the same chest with the missal and the psalter. The Norman style being marked by some minor peculiarities, which seem to distinguish it from the coeval modes of architecture used on the continent, it might be the subject of conjecture, whether the Norman buildings varied from their prototypes in consequence of any vestiges or reminiscences of the rude art of the first Norwegian settlers. Sacred structures were built in Scandinavia by the heathens. The flinty remains of the sacellum adjoining the cathedral church of Upsala, which is thought to have been dedicated to the sanguinary worship of the 'King of men,' are perforated by round Roman arches. Peringskiöld has given a representation of this edifice: but if any body chuses to dispute its original destination, we shall not be inclined to fight very strenuously for the authenticity of Odin's Temple. We are not in the number of those who swear implicitly by the books of Northern archæologists, which are usually fattened by erudition, at the expense of common sense and judgment. Timber appears to have been the material most usually employed by the Northmen, and therefore we are the more inclined to be sceptical with regard to the ruin at Upsala. Temples, splendidly decorated, were so framed previously to the conversion of the Scandinavians: after that event, the churches were still hewn from the neighbouring forests. The same fashion prevailed here. Greenstead church in Essex, which is thought to be Anglo-Saxon, is a log house built of the trunks of chesnut trees; and others of the same nature are described by the Anglo-Saxon writers. One very remarkable building thus constructed is yet in existence in Norway; it is the church of Hitterdall, in Lower Tellemark, erected about the twelfth century. It is reared of barks of fir, now hardened and blackened by age, decorated with carvings of scales and lozenges. The Scandinavians, however, were not unpractised in stone cutting: many of the knots and chimerical serpentine animals, which bear the runic epitaphs of the departed warriors, are combined with dexterity and address. From their sculptures were imitated the interwoven crosses on the Gaelic tombs both in Scotland and in Ireland. A tomb at Iona, of the time of Queen Elizabeth, bears a cross of this pattern, which might easily be taken for a monument of the ninth century. We mention this gravestone, because it ascertains a fact of some importance. It points out the manner in which antique fashions often became resident in secluded districts, or were retained in particular communities out of a reverence for antiquity, though else-

where discarded or exploded. Unless we attend to this circumstance, we shall often ascribe an undue antiquity to manuscripts, statues and buildings.

We have stated, that the sepulchral ornaments of Christian Scotland were sketched by the Pagan Danes. Any particle of fact may very easily be expanded into a theory, and all theories command respect; we do not know, therefore, why we should not assume that the intricate and convolved knots which are frequently sculptured on the capitals and other architectural members of the buildings of the Normans may not have been derived from their Scandinavian ancestors. However, we will try to be honest; and, resisting the temptation of theorizing, state what we conceive to be the truth. The discrepancies between the Norman buildings and others of equal date in other parts of France, arise partly from the inferior skill of the stone-cutter, and partly from the influence of that inventive faculty, without which, no architect can enjoy any pleasurable feelings in following his profession, though it is as often hurtful as useful. This same faculty is sometimes called by civil names, and sometimes by harsh ones;—taste or barbarity—fancy or whim—talent or caprice—appellations bestowed righteously by the judgment, or wrongfully by the prejudices or passions of the observer.

Και κεραμεις κεραμει ποτεσι, και τεκτονι τεκτων.

When a distinct gradation of style is observable, it is natural to conclude, that these architectural varieties, emanating from one prototype, each clearly to be discriminated, yet dying into another by imperceptible shades, were successively developed at certain intervals of time. This reasoning, though it advances upon legitimate premises, may be fallacious, as is proved at Caen, where three coeval churches, probably erected by the same architect, are distinguished by such remarkable modifications of the Norman Romanesque style, that were we not acquainted with the facts, we might well suppose that they marked the progress of architecture during three half centuries.—St. Nicholas, the first of these edifices, was built by the monks of St. Stephen's Abbey some time between the years 1066 and 1083. The original lines are characterized by simplicity and regularity. All the capitals of the columns, embedded in the side walls, are of one order; and the capitals of the pier columns, which nearly resemble the others, are equally uniform. The east end terminates by an apsis, of which the elevation resembles the exterior of the Cathedral of Pisa. Three circular arches, supported by Corinthianizing pilasters, form the western portal. The original cross vaulting of the side aisles still remains: it is without groins, and of Roman construction, and the whole interior shows that the
archi-

architect was endeavouring to recollect the models of the great City.

If we pass from hence to the adjacent Abbey Church of St. Stephen, erected at the same period, we shall observe that the conception of the architect is more Norman than in the church which we have quitted. The nave is divided into bays by piers, alternating with circular pillars of smaller diameter. The pier consists of a pilaster fronted by a cylindrical column, continuing to about four-fifths of the height of the roof. Two cylindrical columns then rise from it; so that from this point upwards, the pier becomes a clustered column: angular brackets sculptured into knots, grotesque heads and foliage, are affixed to the bases of the derivative pillars. A bold double billeted moulding is continued below the clerestory, whose windows adapt themselves to the binary arrangement of the bays of the nave; that is to say, a taller arch is flanked by a smaller one, on its right side or on its left side, as the situation requires; these are supported by short massy pillars; and an embattled moulding runs round the windows. These features are Norman; but in other portions of the church, the architect Romanises again, as in St. Nicholas. The piers of the aisle arches are of considerable width: the pillars at each angle are connected by an architrave, distinctly enounced, running along the front of the pier, and interposed between the capitals and the springing of the well-turned semicircular arch. The triforium is composed of a tier of semicircular arches, nearly of equal span with those below. The perspective of the building is grand and palatial. In the evening, when it is illuminated only by a few faintly burning tapers, the effect of the gleams of light, reflected from the returns of the arches and pillars, is particularly fine. Beyond the central arch which supports the tower, all is lost in gloom, except that at the extremity of the choir, the star-light just breaks through the topmost windows above the altar.

In the church of St. Stephen, the leading ideas of the architect were still influenced by the Roman basilica; a third and more fanciful modification is to be observed in the coeval church of the Holy Trinity. Here the piers are narrower; the columns supporting the aisle arches are consequently brought closer together, and the architrave is less prominent than at St. Stephen's: there the embattled moulding is confined to the clerestory; in the present church, it runs round the principal arches; and, instead of the lofty triforium which there surmounts the side aisles, the walls which we now describe are threaded by a gallery supported by misproportioned pillars, whose capitals exhibit every possible variety of grotesque invention. The bold archivolts beneath the central tower are chased with the Norman lozenge: they are circular; but

but the eastern arch, which runs higher than the others, is obtusely pointed, though it is evidently of the same date with its companions.

Within the Alps and the Rhine, the architecture of Constantinople does not appear to have been much studied, notwithstanding its influence in Italy. The gorgeous temples of the Byzantine architects derived their beauty rather from their decorations than from their arrangement; and the circular ground-plan which they favour, is less manageable than the long-drawn aisle. In some instances, principally in the Rhenish tract, we find a species of qualified imitation of the Greek churches, the architect substituting five square towers in the place of the five domes of St. Mark. Perhaps the noble cathedral of Tournay is the most western structure, in which any marked resemblance to the Byzantine architecture is to be discovered; the transepts end in semicircular apses, roofed by a semicircular and ribbed vault, supported by a range of columns, all evidently suggested by the sections of St. Sophia. The north and south porches have horse-shoe pointed arches surmounted by a row of diminutive round arches standing on twisted pillars. Other parts of this building closely resemble the Norman Romanesque. The Anglo-Norman style appears, in its native country, with slight variations. Generally speaking, the Norman doorway is much less enriched than the English portal, though it is of larger dimensions; and the same remark applies to the other parts of the front of the edifice. The windows are larger. No building now exists with a flat boarded roof, as at Peterborough and St. Albans, though it is possible that some may have thus been originally constructed. In such of the Norman buildings as bear the appearance of being built by the more scientific architects of the age, the arches spring from piers, except in the apses, and they are locked by a keystone. This construction shows that the architect did not forget the lessons of a better age. The masonry is always excellent; the stones seldom exceed a foot in length, with about a third of an inch of mortar in the joints. All ornaments composed of foliage or of unmathematical lines, are well sculptured; but the artist did not always succeed in zoography. Spires are not an uncommon feature in Norman architecture: we may instance the square pyramid at Vancelles, and in the suburbs of Bayeux; they are well built of stone, and invariably carved into an imitation of shingles. As we have no instance of the Norman spire in England, those examples are valuable. At St. Nicholas, the roof is wholly of stone, and the pitch is very high. Mr. Turner observes, that 'we have here the exact counterpart of the Irish stone-roofed chapels, the most celebrated of which, that of Cormac, in Cashel Cathedral, appears, from all the drawings

drawings and descriptions which I have seen of it, to be altogether a Norman building.' The Norman Romanesque does not abound in ornament. It is rather characterised by plainness and simplicity. Very few sculptures ever adorned the exterior of the Norman buildings. We do not recollect any instance of whole length figures, except those at Jumieges, where cariatides in alto rilievo are affixed to the pillars which support the arches.

The military architecture of Normandy offers many important specimens of the earlier periods. Falaise is the most striking to the English traveller, as the birth-place of the Conqueror.

'The dungeon of Falaise, one of the proudest relics of Norman antiquity, is situated on a very bold and lofty rock, broken into fantastic and singular masses, and covered with luxuriant vegetation. The keep, which towers above it, is of excellent masonry: the stones are accurately squared, and put together with great neatness, and the joints are small; and the arches are turned clearly and distinctly, with the key-stone or wedge accurately placed in all of them. Some parts of the wall, towards the interior ballium, are not built of squared freestone; but of the dark stone of the country, disposed in a zigzag, or, as it is more commonly called, in a herring-bone direction, with a great deal of mortar in the interstices: the buttresses, or rather piers, are of small projection, but great width. The upper story, destroyed about forty years since, was of a different style of architecture. According to an old print, it terminated with a large battlement, and bartizan towers at the angles. This dungeon was formerly divided into several apartments; in one of the lower of which was found, about half a century ago, a very ancient tomb, of good workmanship, ornamented with a sphynx at each end, but bearing no inscription whatever. Common report ascribed the coffin to Talbot, who was for many years governor of the castle; and at length an individual engraved upon it an epitaph to his honour; but the fraud was discovered, and the sarcophagus put aside, as of no account. The second, or principal, story of the keep, now forms a single square room, about fifty feet wide, lighted by circular-headed windows, each divided into two by a short and massy central pillar, whose capital is altogether Norman. On one of the capitals is sculptured a child leading a lamb, a representation, as it is foolishly said, of the Conqueror, whom tradition alleges to have been born in the apartment to which this window belonged: another pillar has an elegant capital, composed of interlaced bands.

'Talbot's tower, built by that general in 1430 and the two subsequent years, is connected with the keep by means of a long passage with lancet windows, that widen greatly inwards. It is more than one hundred feet high, and is a beautiful piece of masonry, as perfect, apparently, as on the day when it was erected, and as firm as the rock on which it stands. This tower is ascended by a staircase concealed within the substance of the walls, whose thickness is full fifteen feet towards the base, and does not decrease more than three feet near the summit. Another aperture in them serves for a well, which thus communi-

municates with every apartment in the tower. Most of the arches in this tower have circular heads: the windows are square. The wall and towers which encircle the keep are of much later date; the principal gate-way is pointed. Immediately on entering, is seen the very ancient chapel, dedicated to St. Priscus, or, as he is called in French, St. Prix. The east end with three circular-headed windows retains its original lines: the masonry is firm and good. Fantastic corbels surround the summit of the lateral walls. Within, a semi-circular arch, resting upon short pillars with sculptured capitals, divides the choir from the nave. In other respects the building has been much altered. —Henry Vth repaired it in 1418, and it has been since dilapidated and restored.—A pile of buildings beyond, wholly modern in the exterior, is now inhabited as a seminary or college. There are some circular arches within, which show that these buildings belonged to the original structure.

‘Altogether the castle is a noble ruin. Though the keep is destitute of the enrichments of Norwich or Castle Rising, it possesses an impressive character of strength, which is much encreased by the extraordinary freshness of the masonry. The fosses of the castle are planted with lofty trees, which shade and intermingle with the towers and ramparts, and on every side they group themselves with picturesque beauty. It is said that the municipality intend to *restore* Talbot’s tower and the keep, by replacing the demolished battlements; but I should hope that no other repairs may take place, except such as may be necessary for the preservation of the edifice; and I do not think it needs any, except the insertion of clamps in the central columns of two of the windows which are much shattered.’—*Turner’s Letters from Normandy*, vol. ii. p. 266.

Falaise seems to have furnished the model for most of the Norman strong holds in England. No one of these buildings ever possessed more magnificence in ancient days, or has retained its outward features more unimpaired in modern times, than the ‘Castle of Blanchefleur,’ as Lord Coke terms the Castle of Norwich, his native city. It will scarcely be believed, that the magistrates of the county of Norfolk, in whom the building is now vested in consequence of a grant from the crown, deliberated upon the expediency of demolishing this venerable pile; because they all knew that it was old, and some thought that it was ugly. From this fate, however, the Castle has been rescued. It is intended to remove the anomalous mass which now conceals Bigod’s Tower, and to erect outworks in the pointed Gothic style; and if the tasteful plans lately proposed by Mr. Wilkins, are adopted by the county, the pile will be fully restored to its ancient dignity and grandeur.

In the Norman castles of Normandy, the square keep, so common in the Anglo-Norman fortresses, is of rare occurrence. The outworks are usually of great extent. The Castle of Caen, as Mon-

Monstrelet observes, is larger than the towns of Corbeil or Montferrand. Though the modes of attack and of defence were uniform throughout Europe, yet there are many diversities in the castellated architecture of different states. The Scottish peels and towers remind us of the baronial manoirs of Flanders. In Ireland, the 'embattled battlements,' which are found equally in ecclesiastical and military structures, seem to be copied from the Arabian mosque of Cordova. Battlements rarely cover the towers of France or Germany. They are covered by conical roofs, rising from a machicolated parapet, which projects very boldly. There are some instances in which the roofs are formed of horizontal layers of stone, after the fashion of the round towers of Ireland. Such is the tower attributed to Queen Bertha of Burgundy, at Orbe, in the Canton de Vaud. It bears an additional resemblance to the Irish towers in the position of the door, mid-way up the height of the building. The dungeon-towers are not unfrequently of comparatively small diameter, but very lofty. Buffon's tower, at Montbard, which is of this description, is finely built, and in excellent preservation. At Provins, the native *habitat* of the Provence rose, the dungeon is surrounded at its base by a very massy circular wall, which the townspeople call *Le paté des Anglois*, because it was 'built by the English.' The dungeon itself branches in the second story into four turrets, with a larger central tower.

In Spain, if we may judge from the views of Mr. Banks, who has drawn almost every remarkable building in the Peninsula, the old fortresses bear an unexampled appearance of chivalrous magnificence. Castellated palaces, such as held 'Miraguarda and her meisney,' arose from the mixture of Gothic and Moorish architecture. Varandas supported by jasper pillars, richly wreathed and knotted, jut from the sides of the towers, the angles are broken by bartizans whose roofs are swelling domes, and the walls are encircled, instead of battlements, with ranges of emblazoned shields, hung out, as it were, in perpetual defiance. The castle of Benevente, in Galicia, which realized the most fanciful descriptions of romance, was destroyed by Buonaparte. He slept there, and on the following morning, in return for the hospitality which he had received from the Countess, he ordered it to be fired. The building was of no importance as a military position, and its destruction could only result from the wanton barbarity which the French ever display.

A history of the civil and domestic architecture of the Middle Ages is yet a desideratum. Unless this task is soon accomplished in England, the opportunity will be lost for ever. The halls of Elizabeth's days are almost worn out. The mansions of the time of Charles the First are falling apace, and in every quarter of a century

century a class must disappear, by the conjoined operations of repair and decay. The towns of England perhaps afford the worst and poorest specimens of the dwelling-house: the best and richest are found in the Netherlands. We can hardly qualify this assertion by recollecting the magnificent range of palaces which bordered the Strand in the reign of Henry VIII. Our old dwelling-houses are usually composed of timber frames filled in with plaster. Troyes, in Champagne, is built entirely in this fashion, every street is the perfect 'counterfeit' of old Cheapside. Beauvais is built in the same manner, but the houses are profusely varied with carving, and a good artist might employ himself there for a twelvemonth. Many of the ancient houses at Caen are of chestnut timber. The Abbé de la Rue supposes that they were built by the English, after the place was taken by Henry V. in 1417. His 'bombards' destroyed a great part of the town during the siege; and after he had regained possession, he granted the sites of the demolished tenements to his English subjects. In choosing this material, they may have been guided partly by choice, as being a domestic fashion, and partly by necessity; for the use of stone was restricted by Henry to the building and repairing of 'églises, chasteaulx, et fortesses.' The king by letters-patent declared that the 'quarries of white stone' were to remain to him and his heirs for ever: this monopoly proves the value in which the Caen stone was held.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, a new order of architecture was invented in France, which was first applied to civil purposes. Soon afterwards, however, it affected ecclesiastical architecture. To this order we give the name of the 'Burgundian;' because, until we find proofs to the contrary, we shall suppose it originated in the dominions of Philip the Good. No distinct example of it can be dated anterior to his reign, and buildings bearing its characteristics are found in all the states which were united under his authority. Its peculiar features are displayed in Philip's palace at Dijon. The aspect of the great presence-chamber is in unison with the spirit of the people, and seems to declare the lusty character of the prince who held his court there. Splendid and comfortable, rather than grand and impressive; it was intended rather for the disports of the courtiers of the Duke than the assemblage of his barons. The roof is not timber-framed, as in the English halls, but flat, and composed of well squared beams and joists. Large and lofty windows range along the north side of the chamber; they are square-headed, and divided into squares by one perpendicular stone mullion and two horizontal transoms. The archivolt is ribbed and reeded. Delicate pillars support the arch. The bases of the pillars, and the plinths beneath the bases, occupy almost a third of their height; and the octagon base unites with the plinths

plinths by a kind of spur, which it is not very easy either to draw or to describe. The basement stories are vaulted; circular groins spring out from a central pillar, like the branches of a tree, and rest at the angles of the room. On the exterior, we shall find the building characterised by the surbased pointed arches of the doors. The arch is surmounted by an ogee label, which breaks into a few large foliated crockets, and spreads at the apex into a very tall finial. Instead of battlements the walls are surmounted by a pierced balustrade.

Many of the manuscripts of this century (we may instance the Froissart from whence Mr. Johnes made his tracings) contain representations of the interior and exterior buildings of this style, showing most of its peculiarities with tolerable accuracy. Our English architects appear to have been pleased by some of the features of the Burgundian style. Probably the increased intercourse between England and the good towns of Flanders facilitated its transmission. At Bristol, the porch of St. Stephen's church is completely Burgundian. When adopted in this country, this Burgundian order assumed the well-known and familiar aspect of our Tudor style. Gothic architecture lost much of its pristine beauty under this modification, though we must acknowledge that the French architects understood the way of making it work well. With graceful caprice, they frequently united it to pure pointed architecture, and sometimes it combines with the luxuriant Italian style, which was then just introduced under the patronage of Francis I.

A fine specimen of French domestic architecture, at Rouen, is commonly called the *Maison de la Pucelle*, but the Mansion has no right whatever to that denomination, though it is now used as a boarding-school for young ladies.

* The entire front is divided into compartments by slender and lengthened buttresses and pilasters. The intervening spaces are filled with basso-relievos, evidently executed at one period, though by different masters. A banquet beneath a window in the first floor, is in a good *cinq-cento* style. Others of the basso-relievos represent the labours of the field and the vineyard; rich and fanciful in their costume, but rather wooden in their design: the Salamander, the emblem of Francis I., appears several times amongst the ornaments, and very conspicuously. I believe there is not a single square foot of this building, which has not been sculptured. On the north side extends a spacious gallery. Here the architecture is rather in Holbein's manner: foliated and swelling pilasters, like antique candelabra, bound the arched windows. Beneath, is the well-known series of bas-reliefs, executed on marble tablets, representing the interview between Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, in the *Champ du Drap d'or*, between Guisnes and Ardres. These sculptures are much mutilated, and so obscured by smoke and dirt, that the details cannot be understood without great difficulty.

ficulty. The corresponding tablets above the windows are even in a worse condition; and they appear to have been almost unintelligible in the time of Montfaucon, who conjectures that they were allegorical, and probably intended to represent the triumph of religion. Each tablet contains a triumphal car, drawn by different animals, one by elephants, another by lions, and so on, and crowded with mythological figures and attributes. It is probable that the subjects are either *taken* from the Triumphs of Petrarch, or *imitated* from the triumphs introduced in the *Polifilo*. Graphic representations of allegories are susceptible of so many variations, that an artist, embodying the ideas of the poet, might produce a representation bearing a close resemblance to the mythological processions of the mystic dream.

‘The gallery sculptures are very fine, and the upper tier is much in the style of Jean Goujon. It is not generally known that Goujon re-drew the embellishments of Beroald de Verville’s translation of the *Polifilo*; and that these, beautiful as they are in the Aldine edition, acquired new graces from the French artist. I have remarked, that the allegorical tablets appear to coincide with the designs of the *Polifilo*: a more accurate examination might, perhaps, prove the fact; and then little doubt would remain. The building is much dilapidated; and, unless speedily repaired, these basso-relievos, which would adorn any museum, will utterly perish. In the adjoining house, once probably a part of the same, but now an inn, bearing the sign of *La Pucelle*, is shown a circular room, much ornamented, with a handsome oriel conspicuous on the outside. In this apartment the maid is said to have been tried; but it is quite certain that not a stone of the building was then out of the quarry.’—*Turner*, vol. i. pp. 198—201.

In the Middle Ages it was seldom that any building was expressly set aside for the reception of courts of justice. The pleas were held in the Palace of the King, in the Hall of the Corporation, at the gate of the castle. The noble Palais de Justice, at Rouen, is almost a solitary exception to this remark. Mr. Turner has described it minutely, but not with more detail than this historical edifice deserves.

‘Amongst the secular buildings of Rouen, the Palais de Justice holds the chief place, whether we consider the magnificence of the building, or the importance of the assemblies which once were convened within its precinct.

‘The Palace forms three sides of a quadrangle. The fourth is occupied by an embattled wall and an elaborate gateway. The building was erected about the beginning of the 16th century; and, with all its faults, it is a fine adaptation of Gothic architecture to civil purposes. The windows in the body of the building take flattened elliptic heads; and they are divided by one mullion and one transom. The mouldings are highly wrought, and enriched with foliage. The lunette windows are of a different design, and form the most characteristic feature of the front: they are pointed and enriched with mullions and tracery, and are placed within triple canopies of nearly the same

same form, flanked by square pillars, terminating in tall crocketed pinnacles, some of them fronted with open arches crowned with statues. The roof, as is usual in French and Flemish buildings of this date, is of a very high pitch, and harmonizes well with the proportions of the building. An oriel, or rather tower, of enriched workmanship, projects into the court, and varies the elevation. On the left hand side of the court, a wide flight of steps leads to the hall called *la Salle des Procureurs*, a place originally designed as an Exchange for the merchants of the city, who had previously been in the habit of assembling for that purpose in the cathedral. It is 160 feet in length, by 50 in breadth.

"In this great hall, (says Peter Heylin,) are the seats and desks of the procurators; every one's name written in capital letters over his head. These procurators are like our attornies; they prepare causes, and make them ready for the advocates. In this hall do suitors use, either to attend on, or to walk up and down, and confer with their pleders."—The attornies had similar seats in the ancient English courts of justice; and these seats still remain in the hall at Westminster, in which the Court of Exchequer now holds its sittings. The walls of the *Salle des Procureurs* are adorned with chaste niches. The coved roof is of timber, plain and bold, and destitute either of the open tie-beams and arches, or the knot-work and cross-timber which adorn our old English roofs. Heylin, who saw the building when it was in perfection, says, speaking of the *Great Chamber* in which the parliament held its sittings, "that it is so gallantly and richly built, that I must needs confess it surpasseth all the rooms that ever I saw in my life. The palace of the Louvre hath nothing in it comparable; the ceiling is all inlaid with gold, yet doth the workmanship exceed the matter." The ceiling which excited Heylin's admiration still exists. It is a grand specimen of the interior decoration of the times. The oak, which age has rendered almost as dark as ebony, is divided into compartments, covered with rich but whimsical carving, and relieved with abundance of gold. Over the bench is a curious old picture, a Crucifixion. Joseph and the Virgin are standing by the cross: the figures are painted on a gold ground; the colours deep and rich; the drawing, particularly in the arms, indifferent; the expression of the faces good. It was upon this picture that witnesses took the oaths before the revolution; and it is the only one of the six formerly in this situation that escaped destruction. Round the apartment are sentences in letters of gold, reminding judges, juries, witnesses, and suitors, of their duties. The room itself is said to be the most beautiful in France for its proportions and quantity of light. In the *Antiquités Nationales*, is described and figured an elaborately wrought chimney-piece in the council-chamber, now destroyed, as are some fine Gothic door-ways, which opened into the chamber.'—*Turner*, vol. i. pp. 189—194.

Normandy contains much Gothic architecture of transcendent beauty. Taken all in all, the Abbey Church of St. Ouen claims the pre-eminence. We shall always regard this noble minster *con amore*, and view its porches, and buttresses, and tracery, with as

much affection, as it is possible to bestow. Amongst many other recollections which justly endear St. Ouen to us, is the miracle which it hath worked of almost converting a very distinguished Grecian heretic to the orthodox Gothic faith. Travelling homewards from Attica, after a long and studious journey, enriched with the products of his diligence, he yet found leisure to linger in the Norman abbey. Prepossessed as he was against all Barbaric art, and with the classic glories of Greece fresh in his recollection, he could not remain insensible to its merit, and he acknowledged that it was a master-piece of symmetry, in which the architect, who profited by all the models of his predecessors, had exerted the utmost skill, power and invention.

‘It is impossible to convey by words an adequate idea of the lightness, and purity, and boldness of St. Ouen. The flying buttresses end in richly crocketed pinnacles, supported by shafts of unusual height. The triple tiers of windows seem to have absorbed the solid wall-work of the building. Balustrades of varied quatrefoils run round the aisles and body; and the centre-tower, which is wholly composed of open arches and tracery, terminates, like the south-tower of the cathedral, with an octangular crown of fleurs-de-lys. The armorial symbol of France, which in itself is a form of great beauty, was often introduced by the French architects of the middle ages, amongst the ornaments of their edifices; it pleases the eye by its grace, and satisfies the mind by its appropriate and natural locality.

‘The perspective of the interior is exceedingly impressive: the arches are of great height and fine proportions.—If I must discover a defect, I should say that the lines appear to want substance; the mouldings of the arches are shallow. The building is all window. Were it made of cast iron, it could scarcely look less solid. This effect is particularly increased by the circumstance of the clerestory-gallery opening into the glazed tracery of the windows behind, the lines of the one corresponding with those of the other. To each of the clustered columns of the nave is attached a tabernacle, consisting of a canopy and pedestal, evidently intended originally to have received the image of a saint. It does not appear to have been the design of the architect that the pillars of the choir should have had similar ornaments; but upon one of them, at about mid-height, serving as a corbel to a truncated column, is a head of our Saviour, and, on the opposite pillar, one of the Virgin: the former is of a remarkably fine antique character. The capitals of the pillars in this part of the church were all gilt, and the spandrels of the arches painted with angels, now nearly effaced. Round the choir is a row of chapels, which are wholly wanting to the nave. The walls of these chapels have also been covered with fresco paintings; some with figures, others with foliage. The chapels contain many grave-stones displaying indented outlines of figures under canopies, and in other respects ornamented; but neglected, and greatly obliterated, and hastening fast to ruin.

‘These large circular windows, sometimes known by the name of
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rose-windows, and sometimes of marigold-windows, are a characteristic feature of French ecclesiastical architecture. Few among the cathedrals or the great conventual churches, in this country, are without them. In our own they are occasionally found in the transepts, as at Canterbury, Chichester, Litchfield, Westminster, Lincoln, and York, but they are comparatively of small size, with little variety of pattern. In St. Ouen, they are more than commonly beautiful. The northern one exhibits in its centre the produced pentagon, or combination of triangles, sometimes called the pentalpha.—The painted glass which fills the rose windows is gorgeous in its colouring, and gives the most splendid effect. The church preserves its original glazing. Each intermullion contains one whole length figure, standing upon a diapered ground, good in design, though the artist seems to have avoided the employment of brilliant hues. The sober light transmitted through these storied windows harmonizes with the grey unsullied stone-work, and gives a most pleasing unity of tint to the receding arches.—*Turner*, vol. i. pp 175—179.

Saint Ouen was founded by Abbot Rousel or Russel, in the year 1118. Alexander de Berneval the frémason, who planned, and began the church, lies buried in the Chapel of St. Agnes. When he died, the building had only advanced as far as the transept, and it was not brought to its present state, until the prelacy of Abbot Bohier, who died in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Notwithstanding the time which elapsed whilst the structure was thus slowly completing, each new arch and window was raised in perfect unison with the precedent portions. The original drawings, probably those of Alexander de Berneval, were carefully preserved in the archives of the Abbey, and by these the successive architects were guided. Berneval intended, it appears, to flank the western front by two magnificent towers, ending in a combination of open arches and tracery, corresponding with the outline and fashion of the central tower.* The position of the western towers is singular; but they produce a fine and novel effect: their bases, which are now raised only to the height of about fifty feet, jut out diagonally from the angles of the façade, and a lofty and florid porch of three arches was to have extended between them. Such a porch is yet to be seen at Rouen, though on a smaller scale, in the Church of St. Maclou; and it appears elsewhere in France. Peterborough is the only English church possessing a similar feature, which adds greatly to the magnificence of the building. During the revolution, the lofty and elaborate Rood-loft or Jube was demolished, but the architectural perspective of the church gains by its absence: in other respects, the church is at present

* Pomeraye has given an engraving from the drawings, in his history of the abbey; the engraving is very clumsy, but the details may be made out by comparing them with the centre tower.

quite perfect. How long it will continue so is uncertain. Within the last three years, the municipality of the good city of Rouen determined to pull it down for the purpose of enlarging the place d'armes; by great good fortune, no purchaser having offered for the materials, the expense of demolition alone prevented these Vandals from carrying their plan into effect. There was certainly no reason why St. Ouen should not share the fate of so many splendid structures which have been ruined since the Revolution. St. Nicaise, at Rheims, which escaped the reign of terror, has lately been levelled with the ground. Of the cathedral of Avranches, nothing remains but a single pillar. It was bought by a shoemaker for 3000 francs, and he sold the walls by piece-meal: from its position on a lofty rock, this cathedral was exceedingly picturesque. This is the value which the French place upon the monuments of art, which call forth the admiration of the stranger.*

The Cathedral of Rouen, less chaste than the rival abbey, is equally impressive by its magnificence.

‘Open screens of the most elegant tracery, and filled, like the panels to which they correspond, with imagery, range along the summit. The blue sky shines through the stone flagree, which appears to be interwoven like a slender web; but, when you ascend the roof, you find that it is composed of massy limbs of stone, of which the edges alone are seen below. The basement story is occupied by three wide doorways, deep in retiring mouldings and pillars, and filled with figures of saints and martyrs, “tier behind tier, in endless perspective.” The central portal, by far the largest, projects like a porch beyond the others, and is surmounted by a gorgeous pyramidal canopy of open stone-work, in whose centre is a great dial, the top of which partly conceals the rose-window behind. This portal, together with the niches above on either side, all equally crowded with bishops, apostles, and saints, was erected at the expense of the cardinal, Georges d’Amboise, by whom the first stone was laid, in 1509.

‘There is a peculiarity in the position of the towers of this cathedral, which I have not observed elsewhere. They flank the body of the church, so as to leave three sides free; hence the spread taken by

* Our withers are not quite unwrung. The churchwardens of the parish of Saint James, at Bury, were inclined to pull down the unique Norman gateway of Saint Edmund's abbey, which unluckily is used as a belfry, because they fancied in their wisdom, that it would tumble down. Mr. Wilkins, by removing a heavy timber roof, has, however, relieved them from their apprehensions. More mischief however, has been done in this country by kindness than by violence. The liberality of the dignified clergy deserves every encomium, but the architects whom they employ do not always fulfil the intentions of their employers. The havoc committed by the late Mr. Wyatt is irreparable. All cements are the bane of ancient architecture. No other material but stone should ever be employed. The restoration of Henry VIIIth's chapel, and of the front of Westminster Hall, will fully show that our modern workmen are in no respect inferior to their predecessors. York and Winchester are instances of the most judicious repairs, and we hope that the examples afforded by these cathedrals will not be lost.

the front of the edifice, the breadth of the towers being added to the breadth of the nave and aisles. The circular arched windows of the tower which look in the court, are perhaps to be referred to the eleventh century; and a smaller tower affixed against the south side, containing a staircase and covered by a lofty pyramidal stone roof, composed of flags cut in the shape of shingles, may also be of the same æra. The others, of the more ancient windows, are in the early pointed style; and the portion from the gallery upwards is comparatively modern. The roof, I suppose, is of the sixteenth century.

‘The northern transept is approached through a gloomy court, once occupied by the shops of the transcribers and caligraphists, the *libraires* of ancient times, and from them it has derived its name. The court is entered beneath a gateway of beautiful and singular architecture, composed of two lofty pointed arches of equal height, crowned by a row of smaller arcades. On each side are the walls of the archiepiscopal palace, dusky and shattered, and desolate; and the vista terminates by the lofty *Portal of St. Romain*; for it is thus the great portal of the transept is denominated. The oaken valves are bound with ponderous hinges and bars of wrought iron, of coeval workmanship. The bars are ornamented with embossed heads, which have been hammered out of the solid metal. The statues which stood on each side of the arch-way have been demolished; but the pedestals remain. These, as well as other parts of the portal, are covered with sculptured compartments, or medallions, in high preservation, and of the most singular character. They exhibit an endless variety of fanciful monsters and animals, of every shape and form, mermaids, tritons, harpies, woodmen, satyrs, and all the fabulous zoology of ancient geography and romance; and each spandril of each quatrefoil contains a lizard, a serpent, or some other worm or reptile. They have all the oddity, all the whim, and all the horror of the pencil of Breughel. Human groups and figures are interspersed, some scriptural, historical, or legendary; others mystical and allegorical. Engravings from these medallions would form a volume of uncommon interest.—Two lofty towers ornament the transept, such as are usually seen only at the western front of a cathedral. The upper story of each is perforated by a gigantic window, divided by a single mullion, or central pillar, not exceeding one foot in circumference, and nearly sixty feet in height. These windows are entirely open, and the architect never intended that they should be glazed. An extraordinary play of light and shade result from this construction. The rose-window in the centre of the transept is magnificent.’—Turner, p. 138.

Gothic architecture in France does not exhibit that regular gradation which is found in England, where we can place the simple arches of Salisbury at the extremity of the vista, and terminate it by the gorgeous turrets of the sepulchral chapel of Henry VII. The Gothic architects of France, however, had greater merit than their English rivals. We agree with Mr. Whittington in this assertion, though we see our friends frowning

around, and though we well know that all comparisons of beauty, even of the charms and graces of towers and steeples, are somewhat odious. We will readily acknowledge, that the rich vaulting of our latter Gothic is unrivalled on the continent. As features in the edifice, the English cloister and the English chapter-house attained a degree of magnificence unknown amongst our continental neighbours. A remarkable purity of conception is observable in the English tabernacle work and internal tracery; and in the 'early English style,' the clustered columns have generally more grace, particularly in the capitals. This may be instanced by comparing the nave of Amiens with Salisbury. But the merits of English Gothic are chiefly found in parts.

The French Gothic includes several distinct schools of various characters. If we take a general view of the best French styles, it will be seen, that the French Freemason arranged his plan with a more comprehensive feeling of architectural design and unity. The elevation is well based, and stands gracefully and firmly; the cathedral rises in the boldest and most commanding masses: the western front of York could be placed beneath the roofs of the choirs of Beauvais or Amiens. It is not however by magnitude alone, that the French architects produced a powerful effect. The various features are pronounced by powerful management of light and shade, and by judicious arrangement and proportion; the porches stand back; the buttresses advance; the masses are broad, fresh and distinct. All the divisions and openings are narrower, loftier, more graceful, more pyramidal, than amongst us: they guide the sight upwards to the high pitched roof, which, rising from the entraced parapet, is itself crowned with the serrated ranges of fleurs de lys, setting themselves off against the sky. The free tracery of the French buildings is seen no where in England except in the choir of York, and there on a very meagre scale; and their filagree towers, such as that of Saint Ouen, have no counterparts in England. Many of these remarks apply to the Cathedrals on the Rhine. Had that of Cologne been completed, it would have been the eighth wonder of the world. Beauvais, which is also a glorious fragment, greatly resembles the Basilic of the Three Kings in its principal lines, and is nearly equal to it in size. One of our most skilful architects is of opinion, that, in its way, it is more remarkable than St. Peter's at Rome.

It is not generally known, that the working drawings of many of the finest continental cathedrals were preserved in their respective archives. Some have escaped the general wreck of the revolution. Sulpice Boisserée discovered the original drawing of the west front of Cologne, nailed against the door of a barn: it had
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been stolen from the library. It is drawn upon a skin of vellum, with uncommon neatness and precision. More of the Cologne drawings were afterwards recovered. Boisserée, who is not a Frenchman, and whose zeal in the good cause is highly praiseworthy, has published engravings from them, which form a most useful and splendid work. The drawings of Strasburg remain in the archives of the cathedral. Mr. Porden is now in possession of tracings from them. The elevations are correctly made out, and in the ground-plans, the complicated risings and off-settings of the elevation are distinguished with great minuteness; he could rebuild the church from these details. In the royal library at Paris, in the Italian archives, and in some of the German collections, there are other drawings of this class.* Such documents are of singular importance to the architectural antiquary. They afford surer data for the history of the art than the edifices themselves, where it is often impossible to distinguish between the subsequent additions and the original plan. Mr. Gunn has thus settled all doubts respecting the antiquity of the Gothic adornments of the Baptistery and the Campo Santo at Pisa. When Mr. Smirke, who first published the designs of these buildings in the *Archæologia*, maintained, that they were coeval with the Romanesque portions, his assertion was much controverted, and by able antagonists, whose opinions at length generally prevailed. Mr. Gunn, however, was inclined to maintain their authenticity; he applied to a friend at Pisa, and the result has been the discovery of the original designs, in which the Gothic tracery and ornaments appear as they now stand: the question is therefore set at rest.†

* Muller has given engravings from the working drawings of Ulm, and of a nameless church, in his pleasing specimens of 'Alt-deutsche bankunst.' Sandrart gave the intended spire of Malines from a similar source. We believe this spire would have excelled Strasburgh both in height and beauty.

† Mr. Gunn's account of this singular discovery must be given in his own words—'A mistrust of my opinion made me desirous of more extensive information than that by which it was formed, and I in consequence applied to a friend who has passed the greater part of his life within fourteen miles of Pisa, and whose researches have been devoted to the higher branches of liberal science. I commissioned him to engage experienced workmen carefully to examine the construction of these edifices, and pronounce if apparently to them the parts styled Gothic were comparatively recent.' The investigation took place under the direction of Toscanelli, a very eminent architect of Pisa, and the result was as follows:—

"Informatomi da diversi architetti, e segnatamente dal Signore Antonio Toscanelli come il piu istruito in questa citta, tutti, ed in spece quest' ultimo, mi dicono che, senza principio di dubbio, il Batistero e il Campo Santo di Pisa sono stati fino dal loro principio fabbricati come si trovano attualmene, e tutti i frontoni e ornamenti si lavoravano nel tempo medesimo, che si faceva la fabbrica. Il detto Toscanelli, che ha piu volte disegnate con precisione le mentovate fabbriche, ha riscontrato nel pubblico archivio l'abozzo e il completo disegno di ciascuna di dette fabbriche; e l'esecuzione delle medesime corrisponde esattamente. Il che prova sempre piu, che tutto fu fatto nel tempo medesimo, cio e fabbriche e ornamenti, come di presente esistono, senza veruna aggiunta posteriore."

Gothic architecture continued more steady in France than in England. Of the effect produced by the Burgundian style we have already spoken, and the fashions of each age are clearly to be distinguished: yet there appears a perpetual recurrence to more ancient forms and models; even at the moment, when gothic architecture was in its total wane, the acute arches and the simple mouldings of the earliest prototypes were still employed. In the fourteenth century, towers surmounted by lofty octangular spires of stone, became a common appendage to the churches of Normandy. These are bold and well understood. The spire of St. Pierre, at Caen, built in 1308, is nearly as lofty as Salisbury, and perhaps of greater elegance. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the ornaments were more and more attenuated: their Gothic fillagree became a web and woof of stone. The bosses of the key-stones spread around the groins in large roses and circles, perforated and filleted in various patterns of extraordinary delicacy. Saint Maclou at Rouen is a good example of this stage of art. Italian architecture, when first introduced into France, was so united with the Gothic, as to produce an harmonious effect, notwithstanding its incongruity: arabesques wave around the pointed arches, and the acanthus entwines itself amongst the pinnacles and tracery; and the entire structure shows considerable attention to effect, for the architects retained much Gothic feeling, even till the total fall of the style and order.

Most of the ancient sepulchral monuments of Normandy are destroyed. Much mischief had been occasioned before the revolution, by the violence of the Calvinists, and the tastelessness of the clergy and the jacobins. Mr. Stothard, whose work on the Sepulchral Monuments of England needs no commendation of ours, journeyed onwards with true antiquarian enthusiasm, to the Abbey of Fontevraud, to ascertain whether the tombs of any of our ancient monarchs, who were buried in that celebrated sanctuary, were yet in existence. The conventual church is unimpaired, though desecrated and converted into a prison; but the chapels, in which the tombs originally stood, were destroyed during the revolution. We can easily estimate his satisfaction when he beheld the objects of his search. The statues of Richard Cœur de Lion, of Henry II. and his Queen, Eleanor of Guyenne, and of Isabella of Angouleme, the wife of King John, were all discovered by him, somewhat mutilated it is true, and removed to a cellar in the adjoining Abbey, but still valuable and intelligible. Had they continued much longer there, they would have been reduced into shapeless masses, as the prisoners, who came down twice a-day for the purpose of drawing water from the well, had already found great amusement in knocking off their noses and fingers. When Mr. Stothard returned

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to England he represented to government, the propriety of rescuing these memorials from destruction, and of transporting them to England, in order that they might be deposited with the other royal tombs in Westminster Abbey. Application was accordingly made to the French government, but ineffectually; in consequence (as Mrs. Stothard conjectures) of the request being conveyed through an official channel; had it been made in the first instance by his Majesty to Louis XVIII. it would, she thinks, have proved successful. Mr. Stothard's interference has however preserved the monuments: the Minister of the Interior has ordered them to be deposited in a sepulchral chapel, where we trust they will long remain uninjured. Sir Olivier de Clisson owes almost equal gratitude to Mr. Stothard. In the church of Josselines, he discovered the headless trunk of the Knight and his lady, and the marble slab upon which they were placed—round it is the following epigraph in the black letter, 'Chi gist noble et puissant Seigneur, Monseigneur Olivier de Clisson, jadis connestable de France, Seigneur de Clisson, de Porthorvet, de Belleville et de Lagernache, qui trespasa en Apiril le jour Saint Jorge lan mcccc et vii. Pries Dieux pour son ame amen.' As the head of this renowned warrior was not to be found in the church, Mr. Stothard took great pains to recover it; after many inquiries he succeeded, and discovered the venerable bust of the constable in the possession of a tobacconist, who had stuck it up as the ornament of his garden. The head possessed a very fine character, and Mr. Stothard, who obtained it from the dealer in mundungus, piously rejoined it to the body.

Druidical monuments, as they are called, must be ranked among sepulchres. These abound in the Celtic provinces of France, but they have never been yet accurately figured or described; it is therefore with much satisfaction that we copy Mrs. Stothard's account of the great work of *Carnac*, which, as far as we can ascertain, has never been visited by any other English travellers. The French antiquaries who have treated upon it, have displayed their usual inaccuracy and love of exaggeration; and Mrs. Stothard deserves well of the literary world, for the spirit which supported her during a most unpleasant journey to this extraordinary memorial of the primitive population of Gaul. Inferior to Stonehenge in point of art, and perhaps of labour, it is unique in plan and in extent. Mr. Stothard's drawings explain his wife's descriptions.

'I must now recur to the excursion of this morning, although it has been a source of some terror to me, as I expected every moment the voiture would be upset, by the broken fragments of rock, over which we were obliged to pass in the road. We made our excursion, for the purpose of visiting *Carnac*, a stupendous remain of antiquity; and
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were so much interested by viewing this monument, most probably of Celtic history, or superstition, that I shall here give you a correct and particular account of it, derived from local observation; and you will find it by no means agrees with the exaggerated prints in Monsieur Cambray's book, published in 1805, entitled, *Monumens Celtiques*. Perhaps the singularly happy faculty that gentleman possessed, of seeing things in a new and extraordinary way, might have greatly magnified, in his eyes, these Celtic remains, so that the stones grew in proportion to his imagination: for certainly they never were so seen, before or since; and the figures he introduces in the prints to show by comparison the proportional height of these antiquities, appear creeping about no bigger than mice at their base.

'Monsieur Cambray, like all great men, apparently must have been constantly looking upwards, or have passed blindfold over the ground of Carnac, when he declares that not a fragment of stone or a flint is to be found upon its site. What wonderful nothings do such learned gentry find out! Had M. Cambray chanced to break his shins over some of the large and innumerable pieces of rock or stone, that literally strew the ground, he might perhaps have given another account. Monsieur Cambray is likewise a great lover of tracing the progress of improvements, &c.; but he forgets that the first step to all improvement lies in truth,—a thing probably too vulgar for so great a mind. How much are we indebted to him, for his so ingeniously comparing the English to that nation of paper lanterns, the Chinese! How kindly does he remind us of obligations, and vast benefits we never knew! According to the liberal abuse this gentleman bestows on the English, we are indebted to his nation for all our arts and sciences. The Count de Laborde has, since M. Cambray, published some engravings of Carnac, representing the stones much larger than they really are, but they are mere dwarfs compared with those of his predecessor.

'We hired a cabriolet, and left Auray early this morning; besides the driver, a man accompanied us, who walked by the side of the voiture, in order to render his assistance in preventing it from being upset by the large, loose, and broken rocks that strewed the way, and lie in confused heaps about the road. After travelling three leagues through a desolate and wild country, we arrived at a spot about a mile from the sea-shore, where this curious Celtic antiquity remains a monument at once of the power and insufficiency of man; for his own stupendous work has long outlived all memory of its founder or its history. Carnac is infinitely more extensive than Stone Henge, but of a ruder formation; the stones are much broken, fallen down, and displaced; they consist of *eleven rows*, of unwrought pieces of rock or stone, merely set up an end in the earth, without any pieces crossing them at top. These stones are of great thickness, but not exceeding nine or twelve feet in height; there may be some few fifteen feet. The rows are placed from fifteen to eighteen paces from each other, extending in length (taking rather a semicircular direction) above half a mile; on unequal ground, and towards one end upon a hilly site. The semicircular

circular direction was probably accidental; as, from their situation, it was not possible to see all the ground at once, in order to range them in a straight line. When the length of these rows is considered, there must have been nearly three hundred stones in each, and there are eleven rows: this will give you some idea of the immensity of the work, and the labour such a construction required. It is said that there are above four thousand stones now remaining.—I have been informed that the word *Carnac* signifies, in the Breton language, a *field of flesh*: if this be the true meaning, it would lead one to conjecture that these stones were placed in memory of some great battle.—*Mrs. Stothard*, p. 250.

No one of the many enigmas which vex the spirit of the antiquary has elicited a greater diversity of opinions than the questions involved in the theories which have been promulgated, in attempting to discover the origin of *Gothic* architecture. All the conflicting parties now agree, that neither the Ostro-Goths, nor the Visigoths, nor the Mœsogoths, nor any other of the old tribes of the great Scythian family, had any real share in discovering the pointed style, and therefore we may safely use the term *Gothic*, incorrect as it sounds to the critical ear, without prejudice to the cause of truth: knowing that it was formed according to an erroneous hypothesis, it ceases to convey any erroneous idea, and becomes correct by its conventional application. The toleration of etymological inaccuracy, by which a derivative becomes a radical and obtains a new primitive meaning, is one of the most ordinary processes of the formation of language.

According to an hypothesis sanctioned by the Society of Antiquaries, as a body, and defended by individuals whose opinions ought to be canvassed with the greatest deference, the Pointed Gothic was invented and matured in this country. Hence the favourite appellation of '*English Architecture*.' Dr. Milner lays down three positions:—'First, that the whole style of pointed architecture, with all its members and embellishments of clustered columns, converging groins, flying buttresses, tracery tabernacles, crockets, finials, cusps, orbs, pinnacles, and spires, grew by degrees out of the simple pointed arch, between the latter end of the twelfth and the early part of the fourteenth centuries.—Secondly, that the pointed arch itself was discovered by observing the happy effect of those intersecting semi-circular arches, with which the architects of the latter end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries were accustomed to ornament all their principal ecclesiastical edifices.—And thirdly, that we are chiefly indebted for both these discoveries, that is to say, both for the rise and the progress of pointed architecture, to our own ancestors, the Anglo-Normans and the English.'

In

In support of this theory, it is supposed that the earliest specimens of the pointed arch in England, are the clerestory windows of St. Cross,* built by Henry of Blois, between the years 1132 and 1136: and the choir of Canterbury (1175-80) and Lincoln (1202), and the cathedral of Salisbury (1220-58), are quoted as proofs of the 'discovery.'

Windows, however, formed by intersecting circular arches, are found in the triforium story of St. Stephen at Caen (1060); and an attentive examination of them will leave no doubt but that they were parts of the original structure. Intersecting arches also appear in the singular church of Gravelle. In both these instances, the piers bend into arches without any impost, and the returns are quite plain. In addition to these examples, an arc ending in a point is found, as we have before mentioned, beneath the central tower of St. Stephen; so that the English claim to the priority of the 'invention' cannot be sustained.

Further investigation would probably discover many other instances of similar openings, both in France and in other parts of the continent.† Such arches, however, do not form Gothic architecture, even supposing that they constituted its elements: of this the English advocates are well aware. In order that we may form a right conception of the rise of pointed architecture in this country, they refer us to Canterbury choir, the first complete development of the 'Early English;' and they urge that a style thus 'adopted in the first metropolitical' church of the kingdom, was copied in the suffragan cathedrals, as soon as any of them stood in need of rebuilding or repairing. If we ask whose talents produced this model of the 'early English style,' we shall perhaps be a little surprized to learn that it was William of Sens, a *Frenchman*. And as this structure, which called forth the admiration of his contemporaries on account of its unwonted magnificence, does not contain a single member of Saxon architecture, except the 'main arches of the basement story,' we should think it most natural to conclude, that the foreigner, who built in this un-

* Mr. Porden, who has examined this church with great attention, is of opinion, that the masonry clearly shows that the pointed arches were cut up to the intersections, after the building was completed. Dr. Milner observes, that without these windows the choir would have been quite dark.—True; but he forgets that there may have been an original row of windows with circular heads.

† As yet we have but few data towards the history of continental architecture during the middle ages. On the continent, the subject, till very lately, was deemed quite unworthy of notice; and our architectural travellers have neglected it. Now, however, much attention has been excited. Domenico Quaglio has published a curious collection of early examples, taken from the southern parts of the kingdom of Bavaria. The works of Müller and Boissérée have been noticed. Mr. Joseph Woods has also made a very considerable collection towards the history of French, Italian and Sicilian Gothic and Romanesque.

usual style, had only introduced the order to which he was already accustomed in his own country, and which was then new in England. Indeed, the prototypes were widely dispersed on the continent; and many a noble structure was already raised, exhibiting the acute arches, slender pillars and vaulted roof of our '*First order of English architecture*.' We need not travel out of the bounds of Normandy, in quest of the proofs required. The earliest are perhaps found in the Cathedral of Coutances. This fine building was begun under the episcopacy of Robert, who was elected to the see in the year 1025. The Duchess Guennore was considered as the patroness, and she was assisted by the liberality of the Canons of the Church, of her Barons, and of the *parishioners*; for at that period, cathedral churches were parochial. But the building advanced slowly, and the see was poor. Gaufridus I. who was elected Bishop in the year 1048, travelled into Apulia and Calabria, in order to appeal to the piety and liberality of Robert Guiscard and his Norman barons. His journey was not fruitless; and he returned, as it is stated in the Black Book of the Cathedral, with an ample store of gold and silver, and gems and silken stuff, and phials filled with the purest opobalsamum. Enriched by these gifts, he proceeded to build, or to rebuild, the church; and the chronicle indicates, that he finished the extremities of the nave and transepts. The great western towers were built by him from the foundation, and he raised a third tower, of admirable workmanship, in the choir.

The records of the cathedral do not contain any account of the subsequent rebuilding of these portions of the church, or of any extensive and expensive alterations in it. If we therefore assume, that the towers and transepts, as they now exist, are the original structure of Gaufridus, they will prove that the pointed Gothic was completely formed in the eleventh century. The centre tower, an octagon rising out of the four main arches of the intersection, is exceedingly light and bold; the interior is formed into two tiers of open arcades, one above the other, supported by delicate pillars: The transepts are uniform, and each is lighted at the extremity by five narrow and lofty lancet-headed windows. The western towers are divided into pannels, by narrow pilasters running upwards to the top, as now seen on the belfry of St. Mark; but the small arches conjoining them are pointed, and not circular, as at Venice. All the arches in the church are pointed, except the blind arches which are turned in the walls of the nave behind the triforium for the purpose of strengthening it: these can only be seen by going under the roof of the side aisles. The clerestory windows of the choir bear a near affinity to those seen in the Egyptian mosques. They consist of two lancet lights, with a trefoil opening between them, the whole being inclosed within a shallow pointed arch. In general arrangement,

arrangement, such a window resembles an early Gothic window; but when examined with attention, it will be seen that the masonry between the openings cannot be called a mullion, but that it is the unperforated wall. The spandrils of the arches within are ornamented with circular ornaments, some in basso relievo, others pierced, resembling the pateræ, if they may be so termed, seen in Oriental architecture: within each transept is a deep well, as if intended for the purpose of furnishing water for ablutions. In the side aisles, much tracery of the fourteenth century has been introduced. The spires on the western towers, and the lady-chapel, are perhaps of the same date. With these and some other minor exceptions, the church seems to offer the unaltered conceptions of the first architect. The singularities of its style cannot be well expressed by description; and it will be sufficient to observe, that it is very uniform, very simple, and nearly denuded of all ornament.

If Gothic architecture was first 'discovered' in England, some traces ought to be discoverable of its radiation throughout Europe from this island as its central point. If the pointed style was formed by the gradual development of the Norman style in England, there would be many distinct instances of the transition style. If the intersecting arches of the Romanesque converted themselves simultaneously throughout Europe into Gothic, each country ought to exhibit many varieties of transition styles. But it is to no purpose that those suppositions are severally introduced by the peace-making particle, because none of them can be supported; and if they are not true, then the baseless fabric of the English hypothesis vanishes; we must forfeit the creation which we claim, and the assumption that the Gothic is the natural progeny of the Anglo-Norman Romanesque will be rendered more than dubious. Dr. Milner, in advocating the English 'discovery,' observes, that the received tradition throughout all the 'northern provinces of France, is, that almost all their grand churches were built by the English . . . the churches of Nostre Dame, Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, and St. Nicaise, being attributed to English architects.' It is certainly true that the French consider these edifices as English: but we cannot agree in admitting, that their belief 'proves the high reputation in which English architects were held in France at the time of the introduction of pointed architecture.' Much as we respect tradition, we must confess that we fear it may be an unfaithful guide when applied to visible objects. The impetuous victories of our old monarchs impressed themselves so forcibly upon the imaginations of the people over whom they strode, that in succeeding generations, every sumptuous, or extraordinary structure, was attributed to these barbaric conquerors.—'Mademoiselle,' exclaimed the Sacristan at Louviers, as he was showing the

the fine tombs in the old Church there, to an English party, 'vous devez connoître ce tombeau, car il y a un Roi de votre pays enterré là.' The lady naturally inquired after the name of this English King; upon which the Sacristan answered, with great gravity and composure, 'Mais c'est le roi Nabuchodonosor!' Some humble doubts were expressed by the strangers, as to the accuracy of this information; but the worthy Sacristan was not to be outreasoned. Every body in England, as he maintained, ought to know that Nebuchadnezzar had reigned there, and every body in Normandy now knows that he is buried at Louviers. We may smile at the simplicity of the Sacristan; but his creation of an Anglo-Assyrian monarch is a pretty fair sample of architectural tradition. To the common observer, every object which is older than his grandmother is a piece of antiquity—he leaps over centuries, and annihilates both time and space.

We have ocular demonstration that the French masons neither learnt, nor sought to learn, any lesson from their English brethren. The discrepancy between the styles of the two countries indicates that they borrowed nothing directly from England. A few portions of some of our buildings resemble the French style; Canterbury choir, for instance; but no entire building is found in France, which can be likened to an entire English building. In the arrangement of the structure, in the style of the ornaments, in the elevation, in the section, in the plan, in short in some part, portion or feature, a diversity will always be found, which, without destroying the genuine Gothic character, designates a specific class.* Gothic architecture uses the same language both in France and in England; but the style in each country speaks in a different dialect; it possesses distinct idioms, it is pronounced with a national accent, and in a national tone.

The hypothesis of the formation of the Gothic from the Norman arches, which intersect each other at St. Cross, has not been maturely considered. A pointed opening formed by the intersection of the two semicircular arches, is not a pointed arch; a pointed arch ending in a key-stone, excavated into a cusp, is not a Gothic arch. The essential character of the Gothic arch is derived from the absence of the key-stone, and from the presence of the perpendicular joint or opening in the centre, where the archivolts rest against each other; until we find this feature, Gothic architecture does not exist.

* The continental churches all terminate, we believe without any exception, in a semicircular or polygonal apsis. Westminster and Canterbury are the only Gothic churches in England built on this plan. The foreign churches have often four and sometimes six side aisles. Of this magnificence we have no instance in England. As the churches thus became very broad, the extremities of the transepts usually range within the walls of the side aisles, instead of projecting beyond them.

Sir Christopher Wren sought for the origin of Gothic architecture in the east. 'This hypothesis has been strenuously combated by the English party. It has been ably supported by Lord Aberdeen; and amidst the difficulties which surround us, it best accords with the history of Gothic architecture. 'We find,' says Lord Aberdeen, 'the Gothic style, notwithstanding the richness and variety which it afterwards assumed, appearing at once with all its distinctive marks and features, not among one people, but very nearly at the same period of time, received and practised throughout Christendom. How will it be possible to account for this general and contemporary adoption of the style, but by a supposition that the taste and knowledge of all on this subject were drawn from a common source, and where can we look for this source but to the east, which during the crusades attracted a portion of the population, and in a great degree occupied the attention of the different states of Europe? This result receives confirmation from the circumstance of there being no specimen of Gothic architecture erected in the west, before the period in question.' 'If a line be drawn, from the north of the Euxine, through Constantinople, to Egypt, we shall discover in every country to the eastward of this boundary, frequent examples of the pointed arch, accompanied with the slender proportions of Gothic architecture; in Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, Persia, from the neighbourhood of the Caspian, through the wilds of Tartary, in the various kingdoms and throughout the whole extent of India, and even to the farthest limits of China. It is true that we are unable for the most part to ascertain the precise dates of these buildings: but this in reality is not very important, it being sufficient to state the fact of their comparative antiquity, which, joined to the vast diffusion of the styles, appears to justify our conjecture. Seeing then the universal prevalence of this mode in the east, which is satisfactorily accounted for by the extensive revolutions and conquests in that part of the world, it can scarcely appear requisite to discuss the probability of its having been introduced from the west.' Nor could it.—Since Lord Aberdeen wrote, we have become better acquainted with Arabian architecture; and the pointed arch is ascertained to exist in the mosque of Omar at Damascus, and in the cloister of Mecca.

Besides the general intercourse with the east, occasioned by the crusaders, and in which all the nations of Europe participated, there were other causes facilitating the transmission of Arabian taste into particular districts. Venice sent forth the Argosies which returned to the Lagoons after anchoring in the port of the Egyptian Caliph. Saracen vassals bowed before the sword of a Norman conqueror. The Arabian maiden wove the rich sendal of silk and gold, which arrayed the Christian Pontiff when he prayed before the altar:

altar: and the graven casket which enshrines the relics of the Norman Regnobert, the patron Saint of Bayeux, bears the invocation addressed to the Deity by the followers of Mahomet.* Saracen artificers, obeying their Norman lords, may have also travelled to the Duchy; and the pointed arches of the Cathedral were thus, perhaps, traced out by the builders of the mosque and of the bath.

Some powerful cause, however, must have been brought into action, by which Gothic architecture was propelled throughout Europe, preserving every where the same intention, modified only in those minute characters which do not affect its main and leading idea. We see the works of one Sect of architects, whose productions differ in their various Congregations or Dioceses, because they were independent even in their dependance; because, although they yielded obedience to one pervading principle, they did not work in concert with each other. The Romanesque style presents one marked aspect in every part of Western Europe. The members of the Roman hierarchy, who directed the construction of the sacred structures, drew their art from one common, we might almost say, one sacred fountain: their science, like their learning, was derived from the capital of the Latin world. But the Gothic style, when spreading far and wide, was not thus diffused by the Priesthood; they were not bound to propagate this new architectural order, borrowed from the hated followers of Islam. It would surely never have been transmitted from nation to nation, merely by accident. The intercourse between the various states of Europe was hazardous, desultory, and unfriendly. Supposing that we could indicate the native seat of the Gothic style, it could scarcely have been expanded in every part of Christendom, by the taste of the wayfaring traveller.

Sir Christopher Wren tells us, 'that the holy war gave the Christians who had been there an idea of the Saracens' works, which were afterwards imitated by them in the churches, and they refined upon

* Father Tournemain, the Jesuit, is of opinion that this box was taken by the French troops, under Charles Martel, in their pillage of the Saracen camp, and that they afterwards presented it to Queen Hermentruda, who made an offering of the gift to the shrine of Saint Regnobert. But this is wholly conjectural. In the treasury of the abbey of Saint Maurice in the Valais, there is a most singular vase of Saracenic workmanship, presented by Charlemagne. It is covered with figures in various coloured enamel, the outlines of which are formed by gold wires, like the amulet of King Alfred. This abbey is hardly ever visited by travellers, though it is in a town on the high road to Italy, and though the treasury is a perfect museum of ancient art. A crozier preserved there reduces the pastoral staff of William of Wickham to comparative insignificance. It forms a spire of gold. The niches are filled with figures not exceeding an inch in height, but so delicately worked that the vizors of the armed knights lift up, and show the faces beneath. Two chalices, one of gold, the gift of Charlemagne, and another of silver, the gift of Sigismund, the Burgundian King, are equally remarkable. We notice these particulars in order to invite further investigation.

it every day as they proceeded in building. The Italians, (among whom were yet some Greek refugees,) and with them French, Germans and Flemings, joined into a fraternity of architects, procuring papal bulls for their encouragement, and particular privileges; they styled themselves Freemasons, and ranged from one nation to another, as they found churches to be built. Their government was regular, and when they fixed near the building in hand, they made a camp of huts. A surveyor governed in chief; every tenth man was called a warden and overlooked each nine; the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, either out of charity or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriages. Those who have seen the exact accounts in records of the charge of the fabrics of some of our cathedrals, near four hundred years old, cannot but have a great esteem for their economy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty structures.' Sir Christopher, in this outline of masonic history, has blended conjecture and tradition; he was a good craftsman and wise. We have never been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries of the lodge; Jachin and Boaz have never received our homage: yet it appears to us that Sir Christopher has erred not on the side of vainglory, but of self-denial; and that he has diminished the antiquity of the Fraternity instead of enhancing it. St. Alban and King Alfred may or may not have been patrons of the brotherhood, but masonic language may be traced in the reign of Charlemagne. In a preceding era, there are reasons for conjecturing its existence. Subsequent ages afford presumptive evidence that the Freemasons were the architects of the proudest Gothic piles. Some have maintained that until the statute of 3 Henry VI. c. i. which greatly impaired their organization and prosperity, by prohibiting them from meeting in their chapters, they enjoyed a kind of building monopoly in this country. In an indenture of covenants, made in this reign, between the churchwardens of a Parish in Suffolk and a company of Freemasons, the latter stipulate that each man should be provided with a pair of white leather gloves and a white apron; and that a lodge, properly *tiled*, should be erected at the expense of the Parish, in which they were to carry on their works. It has been suggested that the members of this ancient society enwrapped themselves in mystery, in order to conceal the method of cutting the archstones, the *trait des pierres* as it is termed in French, from the profane multitude. Whether their rites may not have also veiled doctrinal mysteries, we shall perhaps have another opportunity of examining; at present we must content ourselves with observing, that it seems probable that about the time when they borrowed the pointed arch from the east, they also became grafted into the vast congeries of the Manichæan sects, which flourished in the middle ages.

Dis-

Disclaiming, as we are compelled to do, the honours unduly claimed for the English and the Anglo-Normans, as the inventors of Gothic Architecture, we shall yet insist upon the praise to which we are fairly entitled. It is the English alone who labour to preserve the memory of the structures of Normandy, which are doomed to neglect and destruction by the disgraceful sloth and ignorance of the French. We are not at all disposed to set an undue estimate upon our English topographers. Very unequal degrees of merit must be assigned to these writers, from the quaint and antique Lambarde, down to the elegance and learning of Whitaker: many of them are woeful triflers, often mistaking the shell for the kernel; but good or bad, they could not have flourished any where except amongst a people who loved their homes, and whose affection caused them to value every iota of information connected with the history and institutions of their native soil. To the French, all memorials of former times seem hateful; and, from the general absence of the desire of knowledge in that country, no work which supposes a disposition for rational curiosity in the common reader, can possibly meet with favour or encouragement. The task of illustrating the ancient monuments of France has thus devolved upon us. We did not raise or plan these relics of piety and magnificence; but whilst the owners of such noble structures are dull to their beauties, and incapable of appreciating their value, we have made them English property, like the Alhambra and the Parthenon, the rock-temples of Ellora and the sepulchres of Thebes, the mosques of Delhi and the ruins of Palmyra. Abandoned by their possessors, the fields have become our own, by the tillage which we have bestowed upon them.

ART. VII.—*Annals of the Parish, or the Chronicle of Dalmailing, during the Ministry of the Rev. Micah Balwhidder*, written by himself; arranged and edited by the Author of the Ayrshire Legatees. Edinburgh. 1821. pp. 400.

THE extraordinary success of what (for want of an author's name) we are obliged to designate as *the Scotch novels*, has produced a crowd of imitators, without a single rival; and we have not thought it respectful to our readers to notice a shoal of copies and parodies which have but one merit, that of proving the popularity, and, we may add, the inimitability of their prototype.

We are induced, however, to depart from our rule by the work before us, because, though it undoubtedly must be considered as the literary offspring of the *Scotch Novels*, it has some peculiar features which distinguish it from the servile herd of imitators; for it so far resembles other and earlier productions, that it is the period

of its appearance, rather than its intrinsic quality, that determines its filiation; and it also exhibits some original, and we think clever, views of nature, which entitle it to a distinct, though brief notice on our part.

If any of our readers have had the misfortune to wade through the three volumes of trash and tediousness called the *Earthquake*, attributed, like this work, to the '*Author of the Ayrshire Legatees*,' he will expect little amusement from such a pen; and he will be very agreeably disappointed:—the '*Earthquake*' is altogether absurd, unnatural—we will venture to add, contemptible—the *Annals of the Parish* are easy and unaffected; and though their scope be narrow, and their pretensions low, they will be found to contain some touches of that charm which nature, however humble, never fails to possess.

It is in being a description of humble Scottish life, delivered in the peculiar phraseology of the lowlands, neither altogether Scottish nor English, that the *Annals of the Parish* may be said chiefly to resemble the works of the author of *Waverley*; but the editor is perhaps hardly less indebted to that humorous sketch, '*The Memoirs of P. P. Parish Clerk*,' and to the *Vicar of Wakefield*, one of the most pleasant, and, at the same time, one of the most pathetic novels in the English language. The *Annals of the Parish* are not equal to the Scottish novels in national delineation, nor to the *Memoirs of P. P.* in quaintness and general satire; nor to the *Vicar of Wakefield* in either the humour or the tenderness of that admirable work; but they have a *relish* of all these, which rendered them agreeable to our palates, and which, we think, may please, for a few hours, the taste of any reader who does not disdain

'The short and simple annals of the poor.'

The Rev. Micah Balwhidder was 'placed and settled as Minister of the Parish of Dalmailing, in the same year, and on the same day of the month, in which his sacred Majesty, King George, third of the name, came to his crown and kingdom;' and with a certain self-importance he records that his retirement took place about the very period of the infirm monarch's secession from his high duties, and he gives us to understand that he fancies that there is some kind of relation, if not similitude, between their respective reigns.

His induction, however, was stormy, and of bad augury; he was, it seems, presented by the *Patron*, and the Parishioners, with a true Knoxian independence, refused to receive a teacher at the hands of any lord of flesh and blood; they nailed up the kirk doors, and the new minister and his friends were obliged to make their way in and out through one of the windows, not without some of those accidents which might be naturally expected from such an unusual mode of church-going, especially when performed in the face

face of a hostile mob. Patience, good-humour, and good intentions, however, in no long space overcame even the most mutinous, and the dominion of Mr. Balwhidder seems to have become, and to have continued, highly popular and tranquil.

Of course, the minister gives us frequent portraits of his principal parishioners: we shall quote the first we met, as an instance of the style of minute, and often pathetic painting with which Mr. Balwhidder unconsciously, as it were, amuses or touches us.

‘I have now to speak of the coming of Mrs. Malcolm. She was the widow of a Clyde shipmaster, that was lost at sea with his vessel. She was a genty body, calm and methodical. From morning to night she sat at her wheel, spinning the *finest lint, which suited well with her pale hands*. She never changed her widow’s weeds, and she was aye as if she had just been ta’en out of a band-box. The tear was often in her e’e when the bairns were at the school; but when they came home, her spirit was lighted up with gladness, although, poor woman, she had many a time very little to give them.’—p. 16.

The story of these poor children, though not what may be called the *plot* of a work which has none, contributes its principal events; it begins with their youth, and after conducting them through various and progressive stages of fortune, ends with their final and happy establishment. And if the wig and profession of Mr. Balwhidder, and the homely persons, characters, and number of his *three wives*, are—as we admit them to be—incompatible with the received ideas of the hero and heroines of a novel, then, Charles Malcolm and his sister Kate must be installed in their room. We do not intend to give any thing like a view of the story—it is too scattered and diffuse for our crucible—we merely propose to select a few passages which struck us as evincing the powers of the author, and as likely to induce our readers to a perusal of the work itself.

The picture of a parish rake, exiled by the unfortunate *success* of a love-affair, and discovered, after many years, with a grey head and wooden leg in Chelsea Hospital, is marked by the *quiet* pathos and quaint humour, the union of which seems to be the author’s chief characteristic.

‘And who should this old man be, but the very identical Rab Rickerton, that was art and part in Meg Glaik’s disowned bairn; but had turned out a good soldier; and so, in his old days, was an in-door pensioner, and very comfortable; and he said that he had, to be sure, spent *his youth in the devil’s service, and his manhood in the King’s, but his old age was given to that of his Maker*, which I was blithe and thankful to hear; and he inquired about many a one in the parish, the blooming and the green of his time, but they were all dead and buried; and he had a contrite and penitent spirit, and read his Bible every day, delighting most in the Book of Joshua, the Chronicles and the Kings.’—p. 25.

The following sly and yet simple allusions to village superstition is full of truth:—the worthy Minister does not *quite* believe that the coincidences were miraculous, but he notes them with a gravity which shows that he rather expected that ‘something *might* have come o’t.’

‘About the close of this year, there was a great sough of old prophecies, foretelling mutations and adversities, chiefly on account of the canal that was spoken of to join the rivers of the Clyde and the Forth, it being thought an impossible thing to be done; and the Adam and Eve pear-tree, in our garden, budded out in an awful manner, and had divers flourishes on it at Yule, which was thought an ominous thing, especially as the second Mrs. Balwhidder was at the downlying with my eldest son Gilbert, that is the merchant in Glasgow, but nothing came o’t.’—p. 91.

And again—

‘There was a great laugh when auld Mizy Spaewell came hirpling with her bachel in her hand, and flung it after him for gude luck. Mizy had a wonderful faith in freats, and was just an oracle of sagacity at expounding dreams, and bodes of every sort and description—besides, she was reckoned one of the best howdies in her day; but by this time she was grown frail and feckless, and she died the same year on Hallowe’en, which made every body wonder, that it *should have so fallen out for her to die on Hallowe’en.*’—p. 37.

In the year 1764, Mr. Balwhidder lost his first wife, whom he lamented with that moderation which belonged to his character; he resolved to erect a kind of monument to her memory, and in the lonesome and dreary winter which followed her decease, he found, as he informs us, ‘the getting of the monument ready a *blessed entertainment.*’ He had intended to inscribe it with a Latin epitaph, but he was induced to abandon this idea by an obvious and yet original objection which struck him, that ‘Mrs. Balwhidder, worthy woman as she was, did not understand the Latin tongue,’ and so he commemorated her virtues in a language which she might understand if she should have occasion to read her own epitaph.

Public events, and the general progress in arts and manufacture, found their way, late and by slow degrees, into Dalnairing, but they *did* reach that remote district at last, and brought with them much disquiet and perplexity to Mr. Balwhidder. We suspect that the chief design of the author was to exhibit the progress of modern improvement in a distant village; and although he has certainly marked some of the benefits and disadvantages which the manufacturing system produces, we do not look upon these as the happiest parts of his work: they are not unamusing, and they are natural, but they are not conceived with any great originality,
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told with any great force, nor contrasted with any great degree of variety. The author seems to us to have been a little *afraid* of his subject:—he appears, as Mr. Balwhidder ought in all consistency to be, well inclined to lament the diffusion of vice and misery which attended the diffusion of knowledge; but the editor is evidently alarmed lest he should be represented as an enemy to the '*progress of light*,' and he has therefore left this, the most promising point, we think, of his story in a very unsatisfactory state.

There is a truth and simplicity in the following story of a widow, who, according to the superstition of her country, fancied that she had a warning of the death of her only remaining child, her grand-child we should have said, that is very affecting.

'Oné evening, as I was taking my walk alone, meditating my discourse for the next Sabbath—it was shortly after Candlemas—it was a fine clear pretty evening, just as the sun was setting—Taking my walk alone, and thinking of the dreadfulness of Almighty Power, and how that if it was not tempered and restrained by infinite goodness, and wisdom, and mercy, the miserable sinner man, and all things that live, would be in a woeful state, I drew near the beild where old widow Mirkland lived by herself, who was grandmother to Jock Hempy, the rampler lad that was the second who took on for a soldier. I did not mind of this at the time, but passing the house, I heard the croon, as it were, of a laden soul, busy with the Lord, and, not to disturb the holy workings of grace, I paused, and listened. It was old Mizy Mirkland herself, sitting at the gable of the house, looking at the sun setting in all its glory behind the Arran hills; but she was not praying—only moaning to herself,—*an oozing out*, as it might be called, *of the spirit from her heart*, then grievously oppressed with sorrow, and heavy bodements of grey hairs and poverty. "Yonder slips it awa'," she was saying, "and my poor bairn, that's o'er the seas in America, is maybe looking on its bright face, thinking of his hame, and aiblins of me, that did my best to breed him up in the fear of the Lord; but I couldna warsle wi' what was ordained. Ay, Jock! as ye look at the sun gaun down, as many a time, when ye were a wee innocent laddie at my knee here, I hae bade ye look at him as a type of your Maker, you will hae a sore heart; for ye hae left me in my need, when ye should hae been near at hand to help me, for the hard labour and industry with which I brought you up. But it's the Lord's will,—blessed be the name of the Lord, that makes us to thole the tribulations of this world, and will reward us, through the meditation of Jesus, hereafter." She wept bitterly as she said this, for her heart was tried, but the blessing of a religious contentment was shed upon her; and I stepped up to her, and asked about her concerns, for, saving as a parishioner, and a decent old woman, I knew little of her. Brief was her story, but it was one of misfortune.—"But I will not complain," she said, "of the measure that has been meted unto me. I was left myself an orphan; when I grew up, and was married to my gudeman, I had known but scant and want. Our days of felicity were few, and he was ta'en awa' from me shortly after

my Mary was born—a *wailing baby, and a widow's heart, was a' he left me.* I nursed her with my salt tears, and bred her in straits, but the flavour of God was with us, and she grew up to womanhood, as lovely as the rose, and as blameless as the lily. In her time she was married to a farming lad; there never was a braver pair in the kirk, than on that day when they gaed there first as man and wife. My heart was proud, and it pleased the Lord to chastize my pride—to nip my happiness even in the bud. The very next day he got his arm crushed. It never got well again, and he fell into a decay, and died in the winter, leaving my Mary far on in the road to be a mother.

"When her time drew near, we both happened to be a working in the yard. She was delving to plant potatoes, and I told her—it would do her hurt, but she was eager to provide something, as she said, for what might happen. O, it was an ill-omened word. The same night her trouble came on, and before the morning she was a cauld corpse, and another wee wee fatherless baby was greeting at my bosom—It was him that's noo awa' in America. He grew up to be a fine bairn, with a warm heart, but a light head, and, wanting the rein of a father's power upon him, was no sae douce as I could have wished; but he was no man's foe save his own. I thought, and hoped, as he grew to years of discretion, he would have sobered, and been a consolation to my old age; but he's gone, and he'll never come back—disappointment is my portion in this world, and I have no hope; while I can do, I will seek no help, but threescore and fifteen can do little, and a small ail is a great evil to an aged woman, who has but the distaff for her bread-winner."

'I did all that I could to bid her be of good cheer, but the comfort of a hopeful spirit was dead within her; and she told me, that by many tokens she was assured her bairn was already slain. "Thrice," said she, "I have seen his wraith—The first time he was in the pride of his young manhood, the next he was pale and wan, with a bloody and a gashy wound in his side, and the third time there was a smoke, and when it cleared away, I saw him in a grave, with neither winding-sheet nor coffin."

'The tale of this pious and resigned spirit dwelt in mine ear, and when I went home, Mrs. Balwhidder thought that I had met with an o'ercome, and was very uneasy; so she got the tea soon ready to make me better, but scarcely had we tasted the first cup when a loud lamentation was heard in the kitchen. This was from that tawpy the wife of Thomas Wilson, with her three weans. They had been seeking their meat among the farmer houses, and, in coming home, forgathered on the road with the Glasgow carrier, who told them, that news had come in the London Gazette, of a battle, in which the regiment that Thomas had listed in was engaged, and *had suffered loss both in rank and file*; none doubting that their head was in the number of the slain, the whole family grat aloud, and came to the Manse, bewailing him as no more; and it afterwards turned out to be the case, making it plain to me that there is a farseeing discernment in the spirit, that reaches beyond the scope of our incarnate senses.'—p. 170—175.

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We have not room for any more extracts, and some of our readers, perhaps, may think that we have already allotted to this little volume quite as much space as its merit strictly justifies; we therefore omit a number of other passages not inferior to those which we have quoted, and shall not even allude to the variety of characters which successively appear on the narrow stage of Dalmailing. We do not profess to be very intimate with the several states of society which the reverend annalist describes, and perhaps our northern readers may discover incongruities and inconsistencies in the manners which have not shocked our southern inexperience; but, upon the whole, we honestly confess that we have been pleased and affected by the *Chronicle of Dalmailing*, and think ourselves obliged in candour to recommend its excellent morality, sober pleasantry, and unassuming simplicity, both of matter and manner, to such readers as may prefer this quiet kind of merit to the glare, brilliancy, and hurry of a modern novel.

One or two less favourable observations justice obliges us to make. Some of the expressions put into the mouth of Mr. Cayenne, the refugee American, who introduced the cotton manufacture into Dalmailing, are of brutal and shocking impiety, and altogether out of character in a man who, though hasty in his temper and worldly in his principles, was at bottom honest, well-intentioned, and not likely to give such blasphemous offence to his sober neighbours. We allude more particularly to the horrid exclamation quoted in page 280, which no gentleman could have uttered and which no Christian minister should have recorded.

We also object to the introduction of the unhappy story of the tenth Earl of Eglintoun, who was killed, as our readers know, by Mungo Campbell, the exciseman, in a scuffle, in the year 1769. The author veils the real names under those of Lord Eggesham and Mungo Argyll, and places the date some years later; but such melancholy *realities* are not fit subjects for a work of this nature, particularly as there is no merit nor novelty in the telling of the story and no moral inculcated by the result. The revival of such recollections can only give pain, and is neither amusing nor instructive.

We should also take the liberty of advising the author against the unhappy practice of dreaming allegorical dreams, which the *Spectator* brought into repute, and which each subsequent periodical publication has contributed to bring into discredit. In the beginning of the year 1793, the Rev. Mr. Balwhidder dreams a dream about PUBLIC OPINION, &c. &c. annunciative, to the inspired Micah, of the murder of the King of France, but which to us seems communicative of nothing but nonsense, and unites a more than visionary folly to a more than political dullness.

ART.

ART. VIII.—*The History of Greece.* By Wm. Mitford, Esq.
Vol. V. 4to. London.

THE history of ancient Greece has been frequently written, but never, we think, in a manner worthy of the splendour and importance of the subject. Great industry and considerable talent have indeed been displayed; but no author, with whose works we are acquainted, has given such a comprehensive exposition of Grecian transactions, literature, philosophy, morals and society as fully to satisfy the curiosity of the speculative student. Political occurrences have been accurately detailed, contradictory dates reconciled, the exact position of places ascertained, motives of action explained (or at least divined) by several of the modern historians of Greece, but a picture of the mind and genius, of the reason and imagination of the most extraordinary people which the world ever saw, has never, we believe, been attempted. Rollin is a writer of merit; he possesses the art of agreeable narration, and his work is therefore well calculated for the perusal of youth; but he is in general a mere chronicler of events; and, content to move with the current of undisputed facts, rarely disturbs the calm surface of his narrative by plunging beneath, and fathoming the depths of those thoughts and opinions which influenced the actions he describes. The authors of the *Universal History* deserve a large share of commendation for diligence, but no one will accuse them of much philosophy. Dr. Gillies gives us a little insight into the state of literature and art during the period which we are now considering; but, though his information and erudition be respectable, his reflections seldom rise above the level of an ordinary capacity, and his style is more distinguished for its ambition than its power.

Mr. Mitford, the last in time, is certainly not the least in merit amongst the modern compilers of Grecian annals. He has brought to his task acuteness and patient investigation, and by the aid of these valuable qualities he has generally been successful in unravelling the intricate web of Grecian politics: yet in the higher faculties and accomplishments of an historian, and particularly an historian of Greece, he is, we lament to say, singularly deficient. In his writings we find no trace of that philosophical comprehension which can seize remote allusions and disjointed facts, and combine them into irresistible proof or powerful illustration; we regret the absence of that lofty eloquence which can describe, in language worthy of its theme, the triumphs of heroism and of genius, and we look in vain for the expression of that noble enthusiasm which kindles at the recollection of ancient glory, and communicates
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to the reader the warmth of sympathy and the aspiration to excellence. Mr. Mitford has rejected all those collateral investigations by the introduction of which, modern history has rendered such important service to the philosophy of mind and the knowledge of human nature. He confines himself entirely to a narration of the actions of men, he gives us a recital of what they did, but never informs us how they thought; he describes the working of the animal machine, but does not attempt to dissect its structure and lay open to our view the complicated organization which sets it in motion. He seems to imagine that the sole business of history is to narrate the prominent and obvious deeds of public men, and that the whole annals of our race are comprised in the achievements of conquerors and the intrigues of statesmen. His mind is acute and his patience unwearied in investigating the probable truth or falsehood of an asserted event; but it does not possess that enlargement of inquiry and that vividness of imagination which can present the results of its researches in one luminous point of view, and collect the scattered rays of insulated facts till they converge into an image of truth for the delight and instruction of mankind.

Of the style which Mr. Mitford has adopted in his work it is scarcely possible to speak in terms of too severe reprobation. It is obscure, inharmonious and ungrammatical. It is obscure not from negligence but by system, and inharmonious not by chance but upon principle. It is extremely artificial in its construction, and yet has all the defects which the grossest ignorance of the first rules of composition could stamp upon it. Paragraph follows paragraph with strange consistency of distortion, and the long, meagre, nerveless, and disjointed sentences, grate on the ear and chill the imagination with one unvaried strain of discordancy. These faults are not to be ascribed to inexperience, they are not the first errors of an unpractised writer; no—they are the deliberate and premeditated deeds of an author who, by his own confession,* has been engaged for forty years in composition, and who has written a treatise expressly to instruct mankind where they are to discover the principles of the harmony of language. The harmony of language!—We entreat our readers to attend to the following development in practice of Mr. Mitford's theory of 'the harmony of language.'

'The actual crisis for the people of Macedonia who, by their late king's successful career of twenty-four years, had been established in a state of civil security, perhaps hardly at that time known elsewhere, the prospect could not but be anxious and awful.'—p. 113.

* Vol. v. p. 48—13.

'He addressed vows to Priam as a hero or demigod; with the purpose, Arrian says, was restored, of averting the anger of the everliving spirit of the king of antient Troy from the progeny of Achilles of whom, though his mother, he was reckoned to be.'—p. 123.

'But the passage of the Granicus with or without conquest effected, had Memnon's advice only been so far followed that the satraps with their overbearing cavalry had attended Alexander's march though destroying nothing, but compelling only the removal of supplies removable, that he might possibly have reached Sardis, perhaps the retreat of the Cyreians may show to have been possible; but it would have been slowly, with difficulty, and not without loss.'—p. 181.

These passages (and such are found in almost every page) outrage, it will be seen, not only harmony but even the most common principles of composition. They are absolutely a disgrace to a person of such talents and acquirements as the author of the work before us.

Mr. Mitford has applied to this (as well as to his preceding volumes) the title of the *History of Greece*: he should have denominated it a *Narrative of Alexander's Conquests in Asia*; for very little is said of the country whose name it bears. He has not presented us with a view of the actual state of opinion, of literature, of manners and of philosophy, during that brilliant period of ancient genius; but merely recounted the distant campaigns of a warrior, the sovereign of a people with whom the pure blood of Hellas disdained confraternity. As well might we call a detail of Buonaparte's battles in Russia a *History of France*. We must assign a very undue latitude to the meaning of terms, we must expand to an unwarrantable extent the measure of our indulgence if we can allow a partial transaction, a mere episode, to be dignified with the comprehensive title of the *History of Greece*. Did Greece only exist in Alexander and his thirty thousand followers? Was the whole of its mind and energy and achievements transferred from the banks of the Ilissus to those of the Tigris, during the time of the Macedonian enterprize? We should imagine from Mr. Mitford's narrative that such had been the case; we should never have suspected from his history that the period which it embraces was illustrated by the names of Aristotle, of Menander, of Lysippus and of Apelles; of men who, in philosophy and art, were extending the intellectual boundary of our horizon. Surely the mental conquests of such men were as innocent, and have proved fully as important as the victories of that chief on whom Mr. Mitford has lavished all his attention and all his applause. The labours, the conversation, the example of such men must, beyond a doubt, have influenced, in a very sensible degree, the general tone of the society with which they lived and by which they were admired. A philosophic historian would
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unquestionably feel it to be not only a duty but a pleasure to examine, by every collateral inquiry within his reach, the sphere of that influence and the effect of that example. Mr. Mitford has passed by all these most interesting topics of investigation without the slightest notice, and has contented himself with repeating the oft-told tale of war and murder, of invasion and conquest.

It must indeed be allowed that, in pursuing this path, Mr. Mitford has only followed the footsteps of many of his historical predecessors. He is not singular in his opinion that history ought to be merely a narrative of actions: but surely it is time to assert for her the high prerogative of being the interpreter of the thoughts as well as the reciter of the deeds of eminent men. The spirit of philosophy is pouring a flood of light upon this as well as upon most other subjects of human investigation; it has guided the researches of several able and excellent writers, and it is preparing the way for greater and more important improvements in this department of knowledge. The student is disgusted with the trite tale of wars and state-intrigues, and he desires to meet, in his historical researches, with personages more interesting and intellectual than commanders of armies and leaders of cabinets.

History conducted on the enlarged and enlightened principle to which we have alluded will go far towards correcting those erroneous opinions which have been transmitted from age to age without examination. It will exalt our ideas of human nature by a picture of its beauties instead of lowering them by an exposition of its deformities. It will give a place in its annals to those most worthy of commemoration, but who have hitherto been rarely introduced, or, if ever admitted, have been dismissed with haste and impatience in order to make way for personages of more splendour and pretension. It will carry us to the closet of the philosopher, and there exhibit him to our view engaged in speculations for the improvement of his fellow-creatures. It will discover the first conception of heroic and virtuous sentiment in the feelings and expressions of the poet, and trace it through the obscurity of ages, until its truth and efficacy are proved by the actions of the patriot. This is no doubt a very difficult task, but it is a necessary one if we would investigate the causes of things and give the meed of commendation to those who deserve it. Why should we perpetuate misrepresentation in history by attributing to the last agent what is due to the prime mover? The firm resolve, the daring valour which win the battle are engendered and nourished by the civil and literary institutions of a country as much as by the mind of the commander. It is the eloquence

quence of those who, from the fulness of their intellectual stores, pour forth exhortations to virtue and reprehensions of vice, that really restrains the bulk of mankind from crime, and not the warrant of the magistrate. It is the intercourse of original and creative minds that prepares the public disposition for improvement and guarantees the success of change, and not the formal decree of a minister. Public men do little more than take off the impression and perpetuate the traces which have been marked by preceding and superior minds. In short, if, instead of wasting much laborious investigation in tracing political events to their causes, when ninety-nine times out of a hundred it is manifest that the events have depended upon causes beyond all human calculation and control, historians were to follow the first thoughts of reflecting and philosophic understandings through their varying processes and evolutions, and ascertain the degrees of influence which they exerted on different periods and societies till, matured by time, they expanded into the vigour of positive law and active benevolence to coerce and ameliorate mankind; if they were to watch the first feeble efforts of imagination, slowly unfolding its faculties from its embryo state to its perfect development, and estimate the gradual change in public sentiment and feeling, and consequently in action, which such a transmutation would produce, their works would be infinitely more instructive, and the palm would be assigned to those who really deserved it. It would then appear that many of those who have hitherto usurped the first places on the roll of history are in fact not entitled to that pre-eminence; it would be shown that they have acted only a subordinate part in promoting the advancement of their species; and the great civilizers, the real benefactors of mankind, would be found amongst that class which the historian in general passes by unnoticed, that class which, in silence and solitude maturing the fruits of its speculations, prepares, by its writings, the community for the reception of those truths which confirm its improvement and advance its happiness.

This is the high ground which, in our opinion, History should vindicate to herself; but Mr. Mitford has not chosen such a commanding elevation for his operations, and we must therefore attend him on his own level. We shall not, however, intrude our attendance upon the whole course of his narrative; we shall content ourselves with occasionally commenting upon what appears most obnoxious to criticism. With respect to the narrative in general, we must remark that it presents many obscurities and contradictions, not indeed arising from Mr. Mitford's want of attention or acuteness, but from the character of the writers on whom

whom he is obliged to depend for his authorities; writers, whose national pride was too nearly interested in the statements they have left us, to make us feel satisfied of their impartiality. When the accounts of the same transactions by Persian historians (if such accounts exist) shall be revealed to us by the labours of our Eastern scholars, then, and not till then, shall we be able to form a sound and unbiassed judgment of the talents and weaknesses, the achievements and failures of the Macedonian hero.

Mr. Mitford commences the volume now before us with some account of the Macedonian government. It is meagre and unsatisfactory, but as good, we believe, as the scantiness of the facts we possess will allow us to expect. On this subject very little information can be obtained from the writer from whom it would naturally have been expected, Aristotle. That philosopher's usual acuteness seems indeed to desert him when he treats of political matters. According to his theory all states should be small republics. He maintains that slavery is reasonable and necessary and natural, and enacts, by the laws of that constitution which he offers as approaching nearest to perfection, that a few freemen should be served by slaves. 'As well might it be proposed,' observes Mr. Mitford, 'in modern times that Geneva, Lucca or Ragusa should defy surrounding nations with their own force, as his republic; yet alliance and confederacy seem to have been out of his contemplation. It might indeed be supposed that, intent on physics and metaphysics, he had neglected observation of politics, and wrote [written] on from fancy, did not his work show that he had been diligent in using his large opportunities for collecting facts among the transactions of the various states around him on which to ground them?'—p. 8.

The writings of Aristotle are deficient in an account of the contemporary governments, but these must have been in a very low and degraded state if we may judge from the amendments which he proposes to engraft on their constitution. The first philosopher of his age, the friend and preceptor of the two princes most considerable for power and talents at the time when he wrote, the sage whose *dicta* were received as oracles, seriously proposes, not as a mere experimental alteration, but as a clear, unequivocal improvement of all the governments with which he was acquainted, a form of polity by the laws of which (as we have just seen) freemen were to be served by slaves. If such was to be the amended form, what must have been the original structure? Aristotle's general opinions upon government seem indeed to have been singularly crude and unsettled. He considers the existence of an absolute monarchy as quite ideal. Why? Because an individual cannot rule multitudes without the consent
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of some amongst them, on whom, therefore, he is in effect dependent, and consequently not absolute. It is evident that, if this reasoning be allowed, we may prove that no man has the absolute control over his own actions, for he cannot accomplish the most trivial one without the direct or indirect co-operation of his fellows.

Allegiance, according to the same philosopher, may be withdrawn from a king: monarchical authority is not to be supported by force; but, for the maintenance of a republic, violence is admissible. Why this distinction? Is it consistent with his former sentiments? We should, on the contrary, have expected that the advocate for the right of freemen to be served by slaves would have provided for the security of individual power and have left the *many* unprotected.

Aristotle does not afford us any information on the constitution of the Macedonian government, and Arrian only occasionally touches upon the subject. We collect, however, from his writings that it was a limited monarchy. The Macedonians were a military people, and 'their military character was supported by popular institutions similar to those of a republic.'—p. 25. Their armed force consisted of national troops without any admixture of foreign soldiers. Such an institution was of rare occurrence amongst the Greeks. Diodorus and Curtius also mention popular assemblies as a part of the civil polity. To the people was confided the decision upon life and death; and for the execution of the king's decree the sanction of the law was necessary. 'Hardly,' says Mr. Mitford, 'have we equal proof that equal security for individuals was provided by law in any republic of Greece.'—p. 28. 'Altogether,' he observes, 'the Macedonian constitution appears to have borne a very near resemblance to that of the modern European kingdoms in early times; when the combined civil and military powers were divided among lordships, similar in essence though various in denomination, dukedoms, marches, earldoms, baronies, all of limited monarchical character, intermingled among which the corporate towns had constitutions truly republican.'—pp. 32—34. The Macedonian monarchs derived their revenue from very extensive landed possessions, and no other source is indicated except taxes on importation and exportation.

A few particulars are given on the composition of Philip's court. The native Macedonians were in manners rude and unpolished, and it was the object of that sovereign to civilize them by intermixture with the more refined classes of southern Greece. He invited to his court philosophers and men of letters who had been formed in the schools of the polished republics, and a chosen number of these (amongst whom we find the name of *Æschines*) was associated under the title of the king's companions. It appears

pears that this body was afterwards divided, and whilst one part was admitted to the king's society and table, the other was formed into a military corps, analogous to the royal guards of modern kingdoms. A few of Philip's immediate friends had the title of somatophylakes (body guards.) To this confidential office only Macedonians of the highest rank were admitted. There was likewise a large establishment of pages, sons of the principal men of his kingdom, and these were instructed in literature by the first philosophers residing at his court. They were by turns in attendance on the king's person, and kept guard at night in his anti-chamber. They also followed him in his rides and hunting expeditions.

In Mr. Mitford's narrative of Alexander's warfare with the barbarous nations on the confines of Macedonia there appear several contradictions and improbabilities which the historian has not attempted to reconcile or explain. Parmenio, (we are informed, p. 60.) Philip's ablest general, was entrusted with the defence of Macedonia against the Illyrians, whilst the king himself commanded the army destined to act against the freebooters. In page 113, however, we are told that during Alexander's wars with the northern people, Parmenio maintained himself in Æolia with the small force which had been placed under his orders by Philip. It is impossible that both these statements can be true.

In the account of Alexander's subsequent attack upon the freebooters, the most glaring improbabilities are gravely narrated, not only without examination, but apparently without suspicion. The freebooters, joined by their allies the Thracians, had taken up a strong position on the verge of a declivity, where the road was enclosed by precipices. They had entrenched themselves behind one rampart of waggons, and had placed another row in front, which they intended to set in motion, and roll upon their assailants. Alexander ordered some of his soldiers to shelter themselves behind projecting rocks, and others to lie down, covered by their shields, till the descending waggons had passed over them. This strange manœuvre completely succeeded, if we give credit to Arrian; but if we listen to the sober suggestions of common sense we must discredit the whole account. In the first place the waggons, if the freebooters and their allies possessed a particle of sense, would not have been set in motion until the assailants were so near as to preclude the possibility of their performing the double evolution required of falling down and covering themselves with their shields. 2d. Is it at all credible, even supposing that time were allowed them for adjusting their position and their armour, that their shields, formed only to defend a part of the body, would cover the whole man with an impen-

trable crust, over which ponderous waggons would roll harmless? These objections will occur to the attentive reader, even if he be not startled at the absurdity of supposing that these freebooters were in possession of wheel-carriages in a country where not a wheel could pass! in a district mountainous, rugged, impracticable, or, as the Greeks would have described it in one expressive epithet, *αναμαξευτος*. Mr. Mitford on other occasions, and when guided by other authors, freely indulges in scepticism; a little of it might (we think) be applied here with advantage. The whole account of Alexander's wars with the barbarous nations adjoining Macedonia has, indeed, an air of fable which renders it very suspicious. We are required to believe, on the testimony of Arrian, (who lived more than 400 years after the events which he describes,) that the monarch followed up this success by making incursions into the territory of the Triballians; that he crossed the Danube and invaded the country of the Getæ or Goths, took their capital, and reduced them to submission; that he then, rapidly retracing his steps and facing the enemy on the other side of his dominions, entered Illyria, and on that extremely difficult ground succeeded in discomfiting his opponents. Here we have an account of an immense tract of country, and five nations of a warlike and determined character, traversed and subdued in a space of time almost too short for the unobstructed march of an army. Surely such accounts should be received with extreme distrust.

Mr. Mitford offers a slight sketch of the state of Persia from the reign of Darius Nothus to the period of Alexander's invasion.—pp. 90—111. The history of an Asiatic government is much the same at all times; it presents the same alternations of excessive rigour and imprudent lenity; the suspicion of governors followed either by their death or rebellion; the massacre with equal indifference of the nearest relations and of unknown individuals; a strange contrast between promptness of decision and feebleness of execution; the full force of the executive government working at the heart whilst the limbs are paralysed through deficiency of circulation: such was the state of Asia at the time of Alexander's invasion, and such it remains to the present day.

The army with which the monarch undertook the conquest of Persia did not, it is supposed, exceed 36,000 men, of which about 5000 were cavalry. We say *supposed*, for nothing is more uncertain than the amount of numbers transmitted to us by ancient writers. Of course the Greek authors would represent them as low as possible, in order to exalt the glory of their chief and his army. Indeed, throughout the whole of Alexander's eastern campaign, we must never forget that we are entirely dependent upon the accounts of authors interested by their national pride to exaggerate

exaggerate the numbers of their foes and diminish the amount of their own forces. We have yet no Persian history of the invasion, to check exaggeration and throw a doubt upon unsupported statements. Herodotus has left us a good specimen of what his countrymen were capable of achieving in that way. If his enumeration of the armies which invaded Greece be correct, the poet's assertion will no longer appear extravagant, 'Rivers may indeed have been drunk up *prandente Medo*.'

Alexander, upon landing in Asia, suspended for a short time the prosecution of his great enterprize in order to visit Troy. Alexander at Troy! An historian could hardly wish for a subject more adapted for vivid description, and more calculated to awaken reflections of deep and general interest. Let us see how Mr. Mitford handles it. 'Those who have experienced,' it is thus he commences, 'the emotions natural to all who have had the advantages of a classical education, on first approaching Athens, on first approaching Rome, on first even seeing the Mediterranean or the Adriatic, or any scene interesting to the imagination through acquaintance with the admirable authors of classical antiquity, and the persons and events they have celebrated, will conceive,' &c.—p. 121. This is rather a homely exordium, but we can assure our readers that the sequel is not in a higher strain; we will therefore content ourselves with referring those whose curiosity may not be satisfied with our extract to the work itself.

As a specimen of Mr. Mitford's power of narration we will select two paragraphs from his description of the battle of Arbela. This battle was one of those most fiercely contested; the alternations of hope and fear on both sides were therefore most rapid and striking, and the writer would of course put forth his whole genius to interest and to animate his reader. How does he paint the hour of preparation—that awful moment when

' through the foul womb of night
The hum of either army stilly sounds?'

'It was not in the practice of the Persians, as of the Greeks, to fortify their camps; and their management of their cavalry, as we have seen formerly in Xenophon's account, assisted to make nightly assault formidable. Among their labours, now, to prepare for action without their camp, little had been done to provide security within. Such, therefore, was the apprehension excited by the view of Alexander's army, occupying the heights only three miles off, that the troops were formed in order of battle in the evening, and kept under arms all night,' &c.—p. 248.

In what language does he describe the heat of the conflict on which hung suspended the fate of a mighty empire?

'During this contest the Persian scythe-bearing chariots were advanced

vanced against that part of the Grecian line where Alexander himself had his station. It had been foreseen that the shock of that kind of artillery upon the phalanx might be formidable. To weaken the effect, therefore, a body of light-armed was advanced, who, with a shower of missile weapons wounding drivers and horses in their approach, disturbed the order necessary to their efficacy; while active men, unincumbered with the panoply, easily avoiding the line of the chariots, hung upon their flanks, and some even approached so as to seize the reins and turn their course. Thus the proposed simultaneous charge of the whole body of the chariots was so obviated, that for those who could hold the proposed course, it was not difficult to open and let them, with little injury, through to the rear. All so passing were taken.' &c.—p. 249.

Mr. Mitford's account of the conspiracy formed in Greece against Alexander's authority is liable to the same objections as his narrative of that sovereign's election to the chief command. It misrepresents, if we mistake not, the actual state of the country, and is calculated to convey an erroneous idea of the sort of power enjoyed by the Macedonian monarch. It is Mr. Mitford's object to underrate that power, and to make it appear that Greece, under the Macedonian supremacy, possessed a very considerable degree of liberty. The conspiracy of Agis and the Lacedæmonians against Antipater, Alexander's viceroy, was terminated by the defeat and death of the aggressor; but Antipater, after his victory, abstained from inflicting any signal punishment upon those who were implicated with their monarch in this attack upon his master's authority. The distance of Alexander from the seat of his government, the absence of the flower of the nation in foreign climates, his own precarious situation, pressed upon by bold and inveterate enemies, of which the Thessalians were the nearest and most formidable; all these considerations induced him (wisely, no doubt) to relinquish his intention of chastising the defeated Lacedæmonians. He deemed it safer and more politic to adopt liberal measures, and he got rid of the difficulty by referring the matter to a congress at Corinth. This is the simple and obvious way of accounting for Antipater's conduct. But Mr. Mitford will not be satisfied with such a plain explanation; he must press the case into his service in support of his own peculiar opinions, and he adduces it as a convincing proof of the freedom which the Grecian states enjoyed under the Macedonian government. 'Nothing,' he observes, 'in ancient history remains *more fully* ascertained than that under the Macedonian supremacy, the Grecian republics enjoyed not only more liberty and independency than under the Athenian or Lacedæmonian supremacy, but, as far as appears, all that could be consistent with the connection of all as one people.'—p. 267.

This

This language is strong and positive, but not at all, we think, warranted by the facts in our possession. As well might we say that the proclamation of Flaminius at the Isthmian Games restored liberty to Greece. It was certainly wise and prudent in Alexander to make it appear that he was the free-chosen general of the eastern expedition, that freedom of debate was enjoyed by the national delegates, and that a rebellion against the authority, which he had by their choice assumed, was not punished except by a vote of the representatives. This in him was sound policy; but it was an obvious policy which has been practised by usurpers in all ages, and which till now never deceived any one. Mr. Mitford maintains that Greece was as independent under the control of Macedon as under the preponderance of Athens or Lacedæmon; but is there no difference between the struggle for power, the reciprocal rise and depression of sovereignty between two equal and rival states purely Greek, and the acknowledgment of submission required by a people who might almost be called foreign, and who were at least alien from the glories of the Grecian name? The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had earned a title to supremacy by their former exertions in the cause of their common country; and the pre-eminence which they had acquired would not of course be a subject of jealousy to the intrusive pretensions of such a power as Macedon, not connected with the general body by any links of former association in military renown and literary genius. The Greeks would consider the one as subjugation, the other only as a change of authority, as a transference of power amidst the members of their own community. It is evident that the feeling in the two cases would be widely different, even if we suppose that Macedon did not exert a more tyrannical power than Athens or Lacedæmon, and the force and extent of this feeling ought certainly to be considered and examined by the historian before he pronounces that the governments were equally coercive. They might be so, as far as the body was concerned, but the difference in their effects on the mind would be very great, and in the general estimate should not be overlooked.

On other occasions Alexander showed that he knew very well where he could assume the whole power, and where he could venture only to appropriate a part of it; in what cases, in short, he might be despotical without much risk, and on what occasions it was necessary to mask his designs with the specious covering of liberality. This is remarkably exemplified in the cases of Parmenio and his son Philotas, who were both accused of treason. Philotas, being on the spot with the army, and a favourite of the soldiers, was honoured with the form of a trial. Alexander appeared as his accuser, and his Macedonian compeers pronounced

his sentence. On the other hand, Parmenio, who was at some distance, and therefore not under the immediate observation of the army, was executed by the authority of a simple mandate from the king.—p. 291. If the king had thus, as it appears, power to punish with death by his own warrant, it is perfectly evident that the trial of Philotas must have been a mock ceremony, introduced, like his election as generalissimo at Corinth, merely to give an appearance of freedom where the reality did not exist.

Alexander, amid his zeal for conquest, had not forgotten the passion for literature and philosophy which had been early instilled into him. Men eminent for the rank which they held in science and in letters attended his camp. These were the companions of his hours of relaxation, and in their society he sought that intellectual improvement which the severe employments of his campaigns would not by any other means have allowed him to acquire. Anaxarchus and Callisthenes, both subjects of the Macedonian monarchy, the chiefs of opposite sects of philosophy, were freely admitted to Alexander's table. Anaxarchus was a polished courtier, Callisthenes a stern republican, and the contrast between these philosophers must have presented something very stimulating to the inquisitive and observant mind of the monarch. He appears to have encouraged the free remarks of the latter with a candour and ingenuousness which confer as much honour on his disposition as his conquests upon his talents. This is a subject well calculated for an interesting picture of mind and manners; whether it has been made so by Mr. Mitford we leave to the determination of our readers. A question had arisen about paying Alexander divine honours during his life-time; and Anaxarchus, consistently with his character of a courtier, openly proposed it at a banquet given by the king.

'For Grecian minds,' says the historian, 'however enlightened by philosophy, the extravagance of such a proposal obviously would be lessened by familiarity with Grecian religion and that called mythology, which taught that many of the Grecian gods had been fathers of men, and warranted the claim for very many Greeks, and eminently for Alexander to be of a race descended from a deity. Accordingly other philosophers of Anaxarchus's party supported his proposal, some with speeches, all with applauses. But the matter was not a question simply either of compliment or of religious concern. It might not unreasonably be apprehended that the change from Grecian to Persian habits, but especially if honours were added to the living prince as to a Grecian deity, would produce, or even seem to warrant a claim to that unlimited authority over all subjects which those of the Persian empire had been habituated from time immemorial to admit in their sovereigns. The Macedonian officers were, therefore, very generally dissatisfied, yet held silence. The philosopher Callisthenes undertook to reply,

reply, and the speech will deserve attention, whether pure from his day, or mixed and tempered with sentiments of Arrian's own age, a century and half within the Christian æra; when on one hand the attribution of divine honours to the most worthless and vicious of men had been carried to the most absurd and abominable extravagance, and on the other even philosophers had condescended to gather from Christianity purer notions of the Godhead,' &c.—p. 339.

In the account of the celebrated expedition of Nearchus, Mr. Mitford almost entirely follows Dr. Vincent: who, however, it must be observed, is rather extravagant in his estimate of its importance, calling it 'the origin of the Portuguese discoveries, the foundation of the greatest commercial system ever introduced into the world, and consequently the primary cause of the British establishments in India.'—p. 437. There would be no end of assigning causes, if such were to be admitted. Considering the state of navigation at the time, the voyage of Nearchus was certainly an extraordinary performance; but the actual result was little more than ascertaining the possibility of a voyage from the Indias to the Persian gulph, and the collection of names. Science was too much in its infancy to enable the navigator to add facts of real importance to the knowledge of maritime affairs. The narrative, in the hands of Mr. Mitford, is singularly uninteresting. He indulges in no general views or philosophical reflections, but contents himself with giving a mere catalogue of places. How different would the story have been in the hands of such an historian as Gibbon! What a comprehensive sketch of the state of the countries which Nearchus visited, would he have given us; how admirably would he have united minuteness of detail with the enlargement of general views; how his imagination would have illuminated the prominent points of the enterprize and made his readers partakers of the hopes and fears, the danger and success of the navigator!

'The active mind of Alexander was continually at work in promoting the consolidation and improvement of his empire. An accurate survey of its coasts and harbours was what he particularly wished to possess; the voyage of Nearchus had succeeded beyond his expectation, and he himself was bent on exploring some of the rivers which fall into the Persian gulph. Some writers reported that he had in view to circumnavigate Africa, little as its extent southward was then known; and entering the Mediterranean by that now called the strait of Gibraltar, and subduing Carthage to bring all under his dominion. Others said that his purpose was to return to Greece, and in the way add the Scythian and other countries about the Euxine sea, to his European kingdom. According to the fancy of others again, he had been alarmed by report of the threatening progress of the Romans in conquest, whence his first purpose

purpose was to secure Sicily and the Grecian towns of Italy against them.'—p. 498.

For his apprehension of the Romans,' (continues Mr. Mitford,) 'beside the negative evidence formerly noticed, that even the name of Rome is not found in the works of Aristotle, who survived him, the positive testimony of Roman history marks it for a vain fancy originating in later ages.'—p. 499.

But Livy did not look upon it as a 'vain fancy,' for in some of the most eloquent chapters of his history he reasons upon the probable consequences which would have ensued if Alexander had invaded Italy. He is at great pains to discover amongst the contemporary Romans, a general fit to contend with him, and he fixes upon several of name and reputation, as antagonists for the Macedonian monarch. He argues very justly that a war in India and in Italy would have required talents of a very different character, and he inclines, we think with probability, to the supposition that Alexander would have been defeated if he had ventured upon an invasion. 'Invictus ergo Alexander cum invictis ducibus bella gessisset et eadem fortunæ pignora in discrimen detulisset. Immo etiam eò plus periculi subisset, quod Macedones unum Alexandrum habuissent, multis casibus non solum obnoxium, sed etiam obferentem se: Romanis multi fuissent, Alexandro vel gloriâ vel rerum magnitudine pares; quorum suo quisque fato sine publico discrimine viveret morereturque.*'

These extracts will, we are confident, bear us out in the opinion which we feel it our duty to offer on Mr. Mitford's work. No one, we think, will be inclined to assert that the historian displays any capacity for philosophic speculation, or comprehensive inquiry, any power of clear and interesting narrative, any loftiness of eloquence, or fervour of imagination; nor will any one deny that he possesses the merit of having collated evidence, and chronicled events with persevering and laudable accuracy. In the detail of transactions he is in general a faithful and diligent guide, and may in that point of view be of essential service to the future labourer. He has cleared the ground as far as he has advanced; he has made a broad way through the tangled labyrinth of Greek antiquity, and it will be the employment of others to explore the thickets and examine the prospects which different points of view may present to their admiration.

We have in the beginning of this article made a few general observations on what we conceive to be the most important ob-

* Liv. Hist. l. ix. c. 18. The whole question is very well discussed by Livy, and his estimate of the character of Alexander and of his achievements is we think the best extant. It is very remarkable that Mr. Mitford has not noticed this disquisition on the character of his hero. He might have derived profit from the study of it.

jects for the investigation of the philosophical historian. Before we conclude, we will endeavour briefly to point out their more immediate application to the History of Greece.

And first, with regard to the language. The earliest specimens we possess of that incomparable tongue, are, it is remarkable, the most perfect. Homer's Greek is purer, sweeter, and more majestic than that of Æschylus. The inquiry will be then, how was this early perfection produced? Was it generated by the master-mind of Homer, and did it in his plastic hands know no infancy? Did it leap at once, full armed and accoutred, from the head of this poetic Jove; or at the point where we first meet with it, had it been gradually formed through many ages and by different nations, to the beauty and strength and elegance which we now admire? For how much of its substance is it indebted to its own writers, and for how much to the authors of more eastern countries? Can it be satisfactorily proved to have been derived from the Sanscrit; and if so, how was the transmission effected; by conquest or by commercial intercourse? That there is a remarkable similarity between the two idioms appears extremely probable. The study of the Sanscrit, which is becoming fashionable both in England and in Germany, may, at some future time, enable us to solve the difficulty. There would, however, be great danger of making this part of the work too philological, and, in the zeal for tracing verbal resemblances, of omitting an inquiry into the only part worthy of notice, the philosophical relation between the two languages, their coincidence in expressing the abstractions of reason or imagination, a coincidence which would imply the closest connection between the two nations. This of course could only be satisfactorily proved by a comparison of the literature and philosophy of the two countries, and unfortunately we have not yet access to the works of Indian writers in sufficient quantity to determine the question, though we may be able to arrive at a good deal of probability of conjecture. We know that there exists a striking resemblance between the mythology of India and of Greece. This has been proved by Sir W. Jones; and the Idealism of Plato* may be nothing more than a copy of the Maia† of the Bramins. If from these researches it should appear that the Greek has no title to be considered a primitive language, much of its claim upon our admiration would undoubtedly be forfeited; but we might still examine with profit and pleasure the modification of its genius, and discover the refinement and improvement which have been engrafted on the original tongue. In tracing the bright

* See the Phædon, c. 10.

† See a note at Vol. II, p. 529, of Mr. Stewart's *Philosophy of the Mind*.

career of its glory, we would remark how it has been influenced by events, and in return what effect it has had upon national character, manners, and morals; how its endless variety and imperceptible changes contributed to engender that passion for metaphysical discussion, that power of arguing upon nothing which the sophists possessed without regard to truth, or probability, or reason, and how it in that manner contributed to degrade both the minds and morals of the speakers.

It would be a curious inquiry to ascertain how far the language was influenced by the government, or the government by the language. The effect of language upon political institutions is certainly very great, and the Romans were fully aware of its importance, by diffusing the use of their own wherever they extended their conquests. But whilst the idiom of some invaders perishes with them, that of others is amalgamated with the subdued speech, and becomes thenceforth the voice of the country. The Greek language has survived beyond all precedent; it has defied the assaults and oppression of barbarism, and exists even now in a wonderfully pure state beneath the pressure of the most galling tyranny that was ever exercised by one people over another. It even gives symptoms of resuscitation, and may again burst from its larva state in perfect beauty. To what can we attribute this? Why was it not mixed by the Gauls, the Goths and the Ottomans, into a baser metal as the Roman has been by the Huns, the Vandals, and the Lombards? Both have stood a trial of equal severity, and one has survived. Again, although diversity of language may in part account for difference of intellect and acquirement in different nations, how shall we explain its not producing an uniformity of talents and character in people of the same country? The Greek was decidedly superior to the inhabitant of any neighbouring nation in capacity, and the purity of his language may perhaps be received as a partial explanation of this superiority; yet, how the speakers of the same idiom varied amongst themselves in genius and character! Can any satisfactory account be given why a Bœotian and an Athenian, for instance, differed so much from each other in manner and abilities, and why both of them were so unlike a Spartan? Here language will not solve the difficulty, climate is of course out of the question, nor can the diversity of government be admitted as a sufficient explanation.

An estimate of the literature of Greece will naturally follow a consideration of its language. In executing this part of his labour we would not counsel the philosophic inquirer to follow the example of most literary historians, and make out only a chronological account of works and authors; but we would advise him to adopt the more scientific arrangement of opinion and sentiment.

sentiment. It should be his endeavour to give a comprehensive view of the prevalence of particular ideas at particular times, and from the tone and temper of the work under review to argue upon its age and author. There is a consistency of thought and of style in most ages and countries, less infallible than the mere ap-
position of dates, and it should be his business to point out the force of these coincidences. An estimate of the general state of manners and feeling drawn from works written at the different epochs into which Grecian literature may be divided, should also undoubtedly be attempted. By a person of sound taste and judgment, with critical powers to detect faults, and sensibility to taste beauties, this part of the work might be rendered very interesting; and if he would elucidate his position by literal, and at the same time spirited translations, an unity of plan might be preserved, and the value of the history would be increased.

It is to her literature that Greece is indebted for her purest glory. It is this which makes her a conqueror even in captivity. The empire which she has obtained can perish only with the world. And in her history shall we not endeavour to ascertain the causes of its excellence and the effect of its power? When so much inquiry and thought are bestowed upon what in general are not worth investigating, the deep-laid intrigue, the tortuous policy, the supposed sagacity of a minister, and when we assign to his mind results over which he had no control, ought we to refuse to examine the influence which those higher spirits, the spirits of reason and of fancy working in solitude and speaking in their writings, exercised over the political elements? Obvious as is this justice, it has rarely, if ever, been acted upon. In almost every history, from that of Herodotus to those of the present day, the narration, the observations, the surmises of the author have been occupied exclusively on the apparent and superficial part of our nature, on human actions, without any attempt to sound the depth of the minds and intellects which governed those actions. We are anxious that a History of Greece should be free from these errors. We wish to see mind weighed against mind, and the palm of superiority assigned to the most worthy. How then would those who now occupy the chief place on the historic roll shrink at the comparison! How would Pericles, Epaminondas, or Alexander bear juxta-position with Socrates and Plato, and Aristotle? These were the real benefactors of their country, the true directors of human affairs, the unsullied patriots; these were conquerors without crime and statesmen without corruption. Surely there is more advantage to be derived from the study of such minds, than from merely tracing the chain of events, and describing, with scrupulous exactness, a siege, a battle, or a state-intrigue.

Nor

Nor will the philosophic historian pass by in his inquiry the rise, progress, and perfection of the arts in Greece. Their excellence is acknowledged without a murmur of dissent, without a whisper against their supremacy. It would be curious to investigate the causes of this pre-eminence and to ascertain the influence which it has had on that nation, and on mankind. How far were the artists indebted to literature, and what advantages did they confer in return? Did the laws and government assist them in their progress, or did they rise to the surface entirely by their own buoyancy? What share had the institutions of religion in promoting the production of those admirable works of the chissel, which are to us at once objects of admiration and despair? A great deal of light may be thrown on these questions from the works of the Greek poets, particularly the minor ones, and their incidental testimony will be more valuable than any professed treatise by an artist. For we would not recommend a mere detail of the works executed and the artists employed, nor would we insist upon the merit of mere manual execution; but we would endeavour to point out the connection between the mind and the operations of the hand; we would trace a similarity of power between the creations of fancy embodied in words, and those expressed in stone; we would show that there must be a connecting link, an intellectual association between faculties apparently most dissimilar, and that the mental process by which the artist analyses beauty, and represents its truth, has an intimate connection with that, which investigates the concordance and discrepancy between things and ideas. This subject, it is evident, is of wide and general application, but the disquisition would be peculiarly appropriate in a history of that people, whose art is so intellectual and whose philosophy has so much of passion and fancy.

But one of the most important and curious subjects which would engage the historian of Greece is an inquiry into the state of society prevalent in that country. By society we mean not only the prominent part of social intercourse displayed in the public exhibition of feasts and banquets, but that more private intercourse which may be called the society of the heart. In the investigation of this subject the condition of the females would be minutely examined, and its effect upon the general tone of manners and morals fairly ascertained and estimated. It is true that women were excluded from general society, and we might, therefore, at first suppose that their influence on their contemporaries was quite insignificant; but when we read the numberless passages of consummate beauty scattered over the works of the Greek and Tragic poets, in which the feelings of conjugal and parental affection are described with resistless simplicity and pathos,

pathos, we feel assured that an audience who could listen with pleasure to such sentiments could not be devoid of those affections, the indulgence of which is a homage to the power of the softer sex.

A picture of the state of society would not, however, be complete, unless we ascertained the comforts which the members of it enjoyed, and the privations which they endured. Under this head the condition of the lower classes would especially engage our attention, and we should prosecute the inquiry by considering their rural economy and commercial intercourse with other nations. The state of their agriculture would be examined and illustrated by a comparison drawn between its operations and those of more modern practice. The first authors of the nation, both in poetry and prose, did not disdain to write professedly on the subject: it was, therefore, an art held in high estimation. Of the philosophy of agriculture, both as it regards the supply of the wants of mankind, (which may be called its material philosophy,) and as it influences the disposition and pleasures of those who pursue it as an amusement, (which may be denominated its intellectual philosophy,) the Greeks seem to have entertained just and exalted notions. Their poets sang its praises, and their statesmen and warriors investigated and executed its operations. When an art of such primary necessity as agriculture becomes a work not of labour or anxiety, but a pursuit of pleasure, we are warranted in assigning a high state of civilization to the society in which it is so practised.

We have thus given a slight outline (which we hope soon to see filled up by some consummate artist) of a philosophical history of Greece. Such a work would lay open the whole mind of the illustrious people to our view, and enable us to form a real estimate of their mental and moral character. Their most signal victories, glorious as they were, would sink into insignificance compared with the triumph which such an inquiry would call us to witness and admire, the subjugation of thought and fancy to their empire with a power, though diminished, yet felt and venerated at the present hour. To attempt such a work is no less than what we owe to the genius of the Greeks; it is the homage of gratitude to our benefactors; it is an acknowledgment of the mighty debt which we have contracted with them on the score of intellectual advancement. Without their warriors and without their statesmen, we might have been what we are; without their poets, philosophers, and historians, we never should. The present age seems particularly adapted to the undertaking. Our country is filled with excellent scholars, in the highest sense of the word; not mere grammarians and hunters of false quantities,
but

but scholars imbued with the noble spirit of the classic writings. Greece itself has been, and is still explored by our intelligent travellers, whose observations throw much light on the geography, the history, and even the manners of antiquity. We ourselves, as a nation, stand on an eminence as commanding as that which the sons of Athens and of Lacedæmon occupied, and in our valour, our freedom, our philosophic and poetic genius, we bear no remote resemblance to that extraordinary people. Like them we have stemmed the tide of barbaric warfare, and burst asunder the chains that would have confined our minds as well as bodies in hopeless subjection. We have met, like them, the Xerxes of the day, with our small band of brothers, and defied, with the arms and hearts of freemen, the myriads of slaves which he led against us. We are hailed with the gratitude of the civilized world for the accomplishment of an enterprize, similar to that for which Greece is immortalized—the vindication of liberty, and the preservation of social order. The sentiments of freemen should only be interpreted by the free. The wild ardour of debate, the popular collision of intellect, can be understood and explained only by those of whose government they are constituent parts; they would be unintelligible to a Frenchman or an Italian. We are the only nation that can produce names equal in philosophy and in poetry to the master-spirits of Greece, and we are, therefore, the only people that can approach on equal terms to judge and to pronounce on their merits. Our philosophy, like theirs, is daring, profound, and original; like theirs it has changed the course of public opinion, and exercises a manifest influence, an undisputed supremacy over the thoughts, and consequently over the actions of mankind. Our poetry has the same high character of force, of dignity, and of independence, and we can, therefore, come to the task of criticism unshackled by those arbitrary rules which modern fastidiousness has in some nations affixed to opinion. Like the Greek, our poets have given the full scope to their real powers, and have not clipped the wings of their genius, in order to enable men of paltry intellectual growth to accompany their flight. We should not call the healthy vigour of composition extravagance, lest the authors of our own country should appear shrunk and shrivelled beside them. We should not, in the true spirit of French criticism, make our own defects a measure of their excellencies, but we should at once see and comprehend the direction of the highest and wildest flights of imagination. In a word, whilst illustrating the intellect, the character, and the patriotism of the Greeks, we should in no slight degree do homage to the similar qualities of our own countrymen.

ART.

ART. IX.—*Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, performed in the Years 1819—20, in his Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper, under the Orders of William Edward Parry, R.N. F.R.S. Commander of the Expedition.* With an Appendix, containing the Scientific and other Observations. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. London. 1821.

IF 'the North-West Passage unto Cathay and lands Orientall,' which for two centuries and a half has scarcely ceased to be an object of anxious research, has not yet been completed, at least we may now say 'the ice is broken,' the door opened, the threshold passed, and the first stage of the journey accomplished. It may be recollected that, on the return of the first expedition, we stated 'our conviction of the existence of a communication between Baffin's Bay and the Polar Sea, and between that and the Pacific,' adding that, 'so far from that conviction being in the smallest degree shaken by any thing that Captain Ross had done, it was considerably strengthened by what he had omitted to do.' And though we could not take upon ourselves to declare positively, with Burleigh, that 'considering Groyneland is *well known* to be an islande, and that it is not conjoyned to America in any part'*—yet we entertained very little doubt that the whole of the western coasts of Davis's Strait and Baffin's Bay were one continued chain of islands; and that little was completely removed from the moment we were certified of the existence of those numerous inlets which Baffin, for want of a fitter word, named Sounds.† It was enough that

* Burleigh Papers. In the Lansdown Collection, British Museum, vol. c. No. 4. This discourse 'Concerning a Straighte to be discovered towards the North-west Passing to Cathaia and the Orientall Indians,' is in Burleigh's own hand-writing.

† If Captain Ross's voyage did nothing more, it at least removed all doubts of the authenticity of Baffin's third voyage, by the extraordinary coincidence of the chart of Baffin's Bay with the same portion of a polar chart annexed to the printed voyage of that old navigator who quaintly calls himself 'the North-West Foxe.' That Captain Luke Foxe did trace this part of his chart from that of Baffin there can be little doubt, as none but Baffin could have laid down such a chart, agreeing, as it does, most remarkably, even to a few minutes of longitude. We state this with great confidence. A map or chart may be faulty in a thousand ways, but can be correct only in one; and as no navigator but Baffin, before Foxe's time, ever was in the bay that bears his name, none but Baffin could draw a correct chart of it. All attempts that we have seen to lay down this bay geographically from the vague journal of Baffin, have utterly failed; some of them have made it to extend from thirty to forty degrees of longitude more than it actually does, while others, unable to trace any thing like an outline from Baffin's description, have left it entirely open to the northward for future discovery. That Foxe was in possession of Baffin's chart, which Purchas found 'somewhat troublesome and too costly to insert' in his collection, we can readily conceive. He tells us indeed that he got acquainted with Mr. Thomas Sterne, globe-maker, 'whom,' says he, 'I have found to have engrossed all those former voyages by relation, manuscripts, and maps,' and he ends his preface by saying, that, when 'brought before his Majestic (King Charles I.)

I received

that the mere opening of one of these sounds had been looked into and described, reprehensibly erroneous as the description was, to enable us to form a pretty correct notion of what, at least, it *was not*. No extraordinary degree of scepticism was necessary to deny the existence of mountains gratuitously asserted, or of continuous ice on the surface of a sea a thousand fathoms deep, and of the temperature of 36° —no great penetration was required to reject alleged facts physically impossible, and to disregard assertions that carried with them their own refutation.

In truth, the opinion we had formed of 'Sir James Lancaster's Sound of Baffin' was that of every unprejudiced reader; and, accordingly, we now find, from Captain Parry's instructions, that the examination of this inlet was to be considered as the first and most particular object of his research. The result is highly flattering to this distinguished young officer; and we may, perhaps, be pardoned if, on this occasion, we take some little merit to ourselves for having revived the subject of a North-West Passage; (No. XXXI.) for having kept alive the public attention to it, by collecting and examining such reports and facts as appeared to bear on the question, and to be favourable to its existence and practicability; (No. XXXV.) as well as for having first suggested (in the same Number, by way of higher encouragement) a graduated scale of rewards which, being since adopted by parliament, has conferred some little pecuniary benefit, in addition to an honourable mark of distinction, on the commander of the expedition, and his brave and meritorious associates.

On these grounds we certainly do feel some little exultation; and most of all that the honour of the discovery of an open passage from Baffin's Bay into the Polar Sea has been reserved for the British navy;—for that navy which, after maintaining its share of a twenty years' war with glorious success is, we trust, destined, under the auspices of George IV., to add to those brilliant geographical discoveries (for which the world was so much indebted to it during the reign of George III.,) that last and almost only remaining one—A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE FROM THE ATLANTIC INTO THE PACIFIC; the search for which commenced with Henry VII.,

I received his gracious favour with a map of all my predecessor's discoveries.' It may be remarked, that in this chart of Foxe three islands are laid down to the northward of Spitzbergen, called the Shefferde's Orcaes, in latitude $82^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$. Baffin was the ablest and most scientific navigator of his day, and is the first on record who practically deduced the longitude from observations compared with the moon's place in the heavens at a given time and place. He was, therefore, not only a good mariner but a good mathematician; and it appears from 'a brief discourse of Master Briggs,' that he died in the practice of his favourite pursuit, at the siege of Ormuz, being 'slaine in fight with a shot, as he was trying his mathematicall projects and conclusions.' Such was the man whom a mere dabbler in geography (Pinkerton) has had the effrontery to stigmatize with the name of 'impostor.'

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was warmly patronized by Elizabeth, and never wholly lost sight of in succeeding reigns. The grounds on which we build our hopes, we shall reserve until we have taken a short view of what the last voyage has accomplished, and of the facts and observations which it has supplied for the interests of geography and science.

The narrative of this Voyage is drawn up by Captain Parry in the form of a journal; and after a most attentive perusal we can confidently say, that few books, since the commencement of our labours, have afforded us more to praise or less to censure; and that not one has inspired us with more respect for the character of its author. In this work we find no display of self-importance, no attempt to deceive, or throw dust in the eyes of the public; no marvellous stories to disgust or confound the wise, and make the ignorant stare; no figures set down at random; no lines drawn *ad libitum*; no representations of objects, the mere fancies of the brain;—but, on the contrary, a plain statement of facts and occurrences, and a detail of scientific observations, made with unimpeachable accuracy, and recorded in the clearest and most simple and unaffected language.

The two ships, the *Hecla*, bomb, and *Griper*, gun-brig, were ready to proceed on the 4th of May, 1819; and as Lieutenant (now Captain) Parry was extremely anxious to arrive as early as possible in Davis's Strait, they were towed by a steam-boat (the wind being unfavourable) as far as Northfleet. On the 20th of the same month they passed the Orkneys, and on the 24th came in sight of the small solitary crag called Rockal; on which occasion Captain Parry observes,—‘There is, perhaps, no more striking proof of the infinite value of chronometers at sea than the certainty with which a ship may sail directly for a single rock like this, rising like a speck out of the ocean, and at the distance of forty-seven leagues from any other land.’

On the 15th of June they had a view of Cape Farewell at the great distance of more than forty leagues; this they attributed to the combined effects of a clear and humid atmosphere, together with the refraction and the loftiness of the Cape itself. Three days after, they fell in with the first stream of ice, in which were several icebergs, and experienced at once a reduction of 3° of Fahrenheit. The temperature of the bottom of the sea, or at certain great depths, which had hitherto been uniformly lower than, or just equal to, that of the surface, was now, at the depth of 260 fathoms, higher, being 39°, whilst that of the surface was only 37°, and of the air 35°; the latitude at the time of these experiments was 59° 40':—and it may here be observed, once for all, that the temperature of the bottom of the sea, or at considerable depths, was found invariably to be higher than that of the surface-water, when the

latter was at or near the freezing point, during the whole voyage; which is just the contrary of what takes place within the seas of the temperate and torrid zones.

On the 24th, in lat. $63^{\circ} 34' 24''$, long. $61^{\circ} 34' 28''$, the ships approached a long chain of icebergs, intermixed with floes of ice, the former apparently aground in 120 fathoms. Here the ice, which, to the westward, presented one uniform unbroken surface, without the least appearance of water, closed upon them. The roll of the sea forced the heavy masses against the rudders and counters with such violence as would have endangered the safety of the best ships built in the ordinary way; strengthened as these were, however, they escaped without the smallest injury. While thus beset, the people of the *Griper* killed a bear which had been attracted by the smell of some red herrings accidentally frying at the time, a practice purposely resorted to by the Greenland fishermen to entice these animals near them. It was not till the fifth day that, with every exertion, they succeeded in getting back to the eastward into clear water.

Proceeding to the northward along the edge of the ice, the ships crossed the arctic circle on the 3d July, having, on that day, passed at least fifty icebergs of large dimensions; and on the following, a more extensive chain and of superior size, against which a heavy southerly swell, 'dashing the loose ice with tremendous force, sometimes raised a white spray over them to the height of more than one hundred feet, and, being accompanied with a loud noise, exactly resembling the roar of distant thunder, presented a scene at once sublime and terrific.' Here Captain Parry again pushed the ships into the ice, with the view of crossing over to the western shore, but it fell calm, and they could make no way; and he remarks that it invariably happened, however fresh the breeze outside the ice, that it died away on entering it, even on approaching floes of small extent, and of little height above the sea. He was, therefore, again compelled to back out and stand farther to the northward, passing several icebergs, from which streams of the purest water were pouring down on every side. Between one of these icebergs, in lat. $72^{\circ} 57' 31''$, and a floe of ice drifting by a southerly current towards it, the *Hecla* had nearly, as the whalers' phrase is, been 'nipped,' that is to say, squeezed flat. This iceberg was about 140 feet high in one part, and, from the soundings obtained near it, must have been aground in 120 fathoms, so that its whole height probably exceeded 800 feet. The ships were now surrounded by an immense number of those masses of ice, of which Captain Parry says he counted no less than eighty-eight.

As they had now reached the latitude of 73° , after many ineffectual attempts to cross the stream of ice which occupies the
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central part of Davis's Strait and Baffin's Bay, and Captain Parry was unwilling to pass the latitude of Sir James Lancaster's Sound, to which his instructions, in a particular manner, directed him, he once more determined to make the attempt to penetrate through the icy barrier, in order to get into the open sea which the experience of the former voyage induced him to believe would be found on the western coast; and, on the seventh day after entering it, he happily succeeded in reaching the open water, not a little gratified to find that he had now passed every impediment which had hitherto obstructed his passage to the entrance of the Sound. The breadth of this barrier of ice was found to be about eighty miles, through which, by the aid of sailing, tracking, heaving by the capstans, and sawing, they made good, on an average, about twelve miles a day, or half a mile an hour.

The sea had now deepened so much that no bottom could be found with 310 fathoms of line; the ships, too, had acquired a pitching motion; the swell increased considerably; no ice was to be seen in any direction, and the temperature of the water had risen from 31° and 33° to 37° ; but it again fell, on approaching two or three icebergs near the mouth of the sound, to 32° and 33° . They seemed now, also, to have got into the great resort of whales—no less than eighty-two large ones having been counted in the course of the day. On the 30th July they made the high land round Possession Bay, just one month earlier than in 1818, though the Expedition of that year left England above a fortnight sooner—an advantage which Captain Parry attributes entirely to the confidence he felt, (as we have just observed,) that an open sea would be found to the westward of the barrier of ice; without which indeed it would have been little short of madness to attempt a passage through so compact a body.

On the 31st July they landed at the spot which they had visited the preceding year. The flag-staff was still standing; the ground was free from ice or snow; and the old marks of their shoes were as fresh on the banks of a stream of water as if they had been imprinted but a few days before; a circumstance which makes it almost certain that very little either of sleet or snow could have fallen since their last visit. Considerable tufts of moss and grass were observed in the valley, and tracks of bears and rein-deer; but the only living creatures seen were a fox, a raven, a few ring-plovers, snow-buntings, and a wild bee. The longitude by the chronometers differed only one minute and a half from that deduced from one of Earnshaw the preceding year; and observations for the variation and dip of the magnetic needle gave very nearly the same results.

Our navigators were now about to enter and to explore that great

Sound or Inlet which has obtained such celebrity from the opposite opinions held with regard to its extent and termination. 'We all felt,' says Captain Parry, 'it was that point of the voyage which was to determine the success or failure of the expedition, according as one or other of the opposite opinions alluded to should be corroborated.' This was soon to be decided, for an easterly breeze, and a crowd of sail, carried them rapidly to the westward.

'It is more easy to imagine than to describe the almost breathless anxiety which was now visible in every countenance, while, as the breeze increased to a fresh gale, we ran quickly up the Sound. The mast-heads were crowded by the officers and men during the whole afternoon; and an unconcerned observer, if any could have been unconcerned on such an occasion, would have been amused by the eagerness with which the various reports from the crow's-nest were received, all however hitherto favourable to our most sanguine hopes.'—p. 31.

Before midnight they were pretty well relieved from all anxiety respecting the alleged continuity of land round the supposed extremity of this magnificent inlet, and fully convinced that the intrepid assertions, descriptions, and *paintings*, the produce of the preceding voyage, were wholly gratuitous:—in this they could not be deceived; for the weather being remarkably clear, and the ships having reached the longitude of $85^{\circ} 12'$, the two shores of the passage were observed to continue full fifty miles apart, and not a vestige of land could be discovered to the westward. To a large opening into the northern shore, Captain Parry gave the name of Croker's Bay, being anxious to seize, as it would seem, the earliest opportunity of making some compensation for having transformed, as with a touch of Harlequin's sword, the magnificent and insuperable range of mountains, which a former expedition had assigned to one Secretary of the Admiralty, into a broad and uninterrupted passage, bearing the name of the other Secretary. In fact, neither mountain nor ice, nor other obstacle, real or imaginary, opposed the progress of Captain Parry.

In this noble strait or passage, the Expedition proceeded rapidly to the westward; and as no land was in sight in the direction of their course, no bottom to be reached with 170 fathoms of line, and the whole surface of the sea as free from ice as any part of the Atlantic, 'we began,' says Captain Parry, 'to flatter ourselves that we had fairly entered the Polar Sea, and some of the most sanguine among us had even calculated the bearing and distance of Icy Cape, as a matter of no very difficult or improbable accomplishment. This pleasing prospect,' he adds, 'was rendered the more flattering by the sea having, as we thought, regained the usual oceanic colour, and by a long swell which was rolling in from the southward and eastward.' A further advance, however, disturbed these

these pleasing prospects; land was seen ahead; and though a nearer approach enabled them to ascertain that it was only a small island, they had the mortification to discover that a floe of ice extended from it to the northern shore.

They had now reached long. $89^{\circ} 18' 40''$; and the weather being calm, the people employed themselves in endeavouring to kill one of the numerous white whales which were playing round the ships; the animals, however, were too wary to suffer themselves to be approached. They are described as generally about eighteen or twenty feet in length:—several times, it is stated, they were heard to emit a shrill ringing sound, not unlike that of musical glasses badly played; this sound was most distinct when the animal was directly beneath the boat, and several feet below it, and ceased altogether on its coming to the surface.

A large inlet on the southern shore, not less than ten leagues wide at its mouth, and without any land visible in the line of its direction, induced Captain Parry to stand down its eastern side along the edge of the ice, in a broad and open channel, in the hope that it might lead to a clearer passage to the westward, in a lower latitude than the parallel of Barrow's Strait. Our navigators had observed that, from the moment they entered Sir James Lancaster's Sound, the sluggish movement of the compass-cards, and the irregularity occasioned by the attraction of the ships' iron, had uniformly and rapidly increased as they moved westward; but in descending this inlet, their power of motion became less as they proceeded; and when they had reached lat. 73° , 'we witnessed,' says Captain Parry, 'for the first time, the curious phenomenon of the directive power of the needle becoming so weak as to be completely overcome by the attraction of the ship; so that the needle might now be properly said to point to the north pole of the ship.' For all the purposes of navigation, therefore, the compasses were henceforth little better than useless lumber. A needle, in which the friction was almost entirely removed by a thread suspension, was observed to move round with the ship, always pointing steadily to her head in whatever direction it happened to be. No magnetical observations, therefore, from this period, were attempted to be made on board, but the instruments were carried on shore, or (where it could be done) to an iceberg, or field of ice; and even here the directive power was so sluggish that the most delicately suspended needles required tapping with the hand to make them move. An observation, taken on shore, in lat. $72^{\circ} 45' 15''$, long. $89^{\circ} 41' 22''$, gave $88^{\circ} 26' 42''$ for the dip, and $118^{\circ} 23' 37''$ W. for the variation.

Prince Regent's Inlet (for so Captain Parry has named it) increased in width as they proceeded to the southward, and with it

their hopes of a passage, especially as the land on the western side trended more and more to the south-westward as they advanced.

'I have before observed,' Captain Parry says, 'that the east and west lands which form this grand inlet are probably islands: and, on an inspection of the charts, I think it will also appear highly probable that a communication will one day be found to exist between this inlet and Hudson's Bay, either through the broad and unexplored channel called Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, or through Repulse Bay, which has not yet been satisfactorily examined. It is also probable, that a channel will be found to exist between the western land and the northern coast of America; in which case the flood tide which came from the southward may have proceeded round the southern point of the west land and out of the Polar sea, part of it setting up the inlet, and part down the Welcome, according to the unanimous testimony of all the old navigators, who have advanced up the latter channel considerably to the northward.'—p. 41.

Unfortunately, however, where the land appeared to terminate on the S. W. side, a floe of ice was perceived to stretch away to the southward, beyond which no water was in sight; neither was any land to be seen to the south-west, though the horizon was so clear in that quarter, that, had any of moderate height existed, it must have been visible at the distance of ten or twelve leagues. Captain Parry saw no reason, he says, 'to doubt the practicability of ships penetrating much farther to the south by watching the occasional openings in the ice;' he deemed it, however, more advisable (and very properly, we think) to take the opportunity of a breeze of wind to return to the wide westerly passage which he had quitted; and on the 9th August he made sail accordingly to the northward. The southernmost point to which the ships had proceeded on the eastern side of the inlet was lat. $71^{\circ} 53' 30''$, long. $90^{\circ} 03' 45''$, and the distance from its entrance about one hundred and twenty miles.

Owing to contrary and baffling winds, with snow and heavy fogs, floes of ice, want of sun, and useless compasses, it was not till the 19th that they reached the northern shore of Barrow's Strait. Here, however, nothing occurred to interrupt their progress. The curiously formed buttresses of limestone which the southern fronts of land presented were free from snow; and the sea, which was equally free from ice, was 'so perfectly clear,' Captain Parry says, 'that it was almost impossible to believe it to be the same part of the sea which, but a day or two before, had been completely covered with floes to the utmost extent of our view.' Fogs and light winds, however, made their progress slow; but appearances were highly satisfactory. On the 22d, being in long. $92\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$, the continuity of the northern land was interrupted by a magnificent opening eight leagues

leagues in width, in looking up which, on a beautifully clear evening, neither land nor ice could be seen from the mast head; it was named Wellington Channel.

'The arrival off this grand opening was an event for which we had long been looking with much anxiety and impatience; for the continuity of land to the northward had always been a source of uneasiness to us, principally from the possibility that it might take a turn to the southward and unite with the coast of America. The appearance of this broad opening, free from ice, and of the land on each side of it, more especially that on the west, leaving scarcely a doubt in our minds of the latter being an island, relieved us from all anxiety on that score; and every one felt that we were now finally disentangled from the land which forms the western side of Baffin's Bay; and that, in fact, we had actually entered the Polar sea.' Captain Parry adds, 'Though two thirds of the month of August had now elapsed, I had every reason to be satisfied with the progress which we had hitherto made. I calculated upon the sea being still navigable for six weeks to come, and probably more, if the state of the ice would permit us to edge away to the southward in our progress westerly: our prospects, indeed, were truly exhilarating; the ships had suffered no injury; we had plenty of provisions; crews in high health and spirits; a sea, if not open, at least navigable; and a zealous and unanimous determination in both officers and men to accomplish, by all possible means, the grand object on which we had the happiness to be employed.'—pp. 51, 52.

On the 23d, a little beyond the western point of Wellington Channel, the ships had to 'bore' through a narrow stream of ice. The formation of the land to the northward of them had now assumed a different structure, and, instead of rising precipitously from the sea, offered a sloping sandy beach. It was now evident that the passage was studded with islands, and that their further progress, from the shoaling of the water, the occasional fogs, and the floes of ice, would require the greatest vigilance and circumspection. The islands were of moderate height and entirely clear of snow; yet it was remarked, with some degree of unpleasant feeling, that for a whole day (26th), neither sea nor land had presented to their view a single living creature of any description. Still, however, though the sea to the southward of them was for the most part covered with a compact and undivided body of ice, it was encouraging to observe that a channel of sufficient width was open between it and the shore of a large island, named, by Captain Parry, Bathurst's Island. On the eastern point of another island beyond this (called Byam Martin's) Captain Sabine and a party landed to make observations, and to examine the natural productions. They found the remains of four Esquimaux habitations, consisting of stones rudely piled in an elliptical form, like those seen at Hare Island the preceding year. Very little snow remained

on the ground; and the valleys were covered with luxuriant moss and other vegetation, similar to that noticed at Possession Bay. Recent traces of the rein-deer and musk-ox were seen in many places. The fixed rock was sandstone, and pieces of granite and red feld-spar were strewed on the surface. Captain Sabine found that the directive power of the compasses was weaker, (at least the cards were more sluggish,) than at the place of observation in Regent's Inlet, where the dip was nearly the same; but that, when they had settled, they indicated the meridian with more precision. The result is highly interesting.

'The latitude of the place of observation was $75^{\circ} 09' 23''$, and the longitude, by chronometers, $103^{\circ} 44' 37''$. The dip of the magnetic needle was $88^{\circ} 25' .58$, and the variation was now found to have changed from $128^{\circ} 58'$ *west*, in the longitude of $91^{\circ} 48'$, where our last observations on shore had been made, to $165^{\circ} 50' 09''$ *east*, at our present station; so that we had, in sailing over the space included between those two meridians, crossed immediately to the northward of the magnetic pole, and had undoubtedly passed over one of those spots upon the globe, where the needle would have been found to vary 180° , or in other words, where its north pole would have pointed due south. This spot would, in all probability, at this time be somewhere not far from the meridian of 100° west of Greenwich. It would undoubtedly have been extremely interesting to obtain such an observation, and in any other than the very precarious navigation in which we were now engaged, I should have felt it my duty to devote a certain time to this particular purpose; but, under present circumstances, it was impossible for me to regret the cause which alone had prevented it, especially as the importance to science of this observation was not sufficient to compensate the delay which the search after such a spot would necessarily have occasioned, and which could hardly be justified at a moment when we were making, and for two or three days continued to make, a rapid and unobstructed progress towards the accomplishment of our principal object.'—p. 62.

From this place to the farthest westerly extreme of another large island, to which Captain Parry gave the name of Melville Island, the navigation became more and more interrupted by ice, so as now to be effected only through a narrow channel of water between it and the shore, sometimes extended to four or five miles in width, and at others contracted to a few hundred yards. The weather too was observed to become daily worse, the sun being almost constantly obscured by dense fogs, a portion of the nights dark, and the frost severe. By the 4th September, however, they had succeeded in passing the meridian of 110° west longitude in latitude $74^{\circ} 44' 20''$, which entitled them to the first SUM in the Scale of Rewards granted by parliament, namely five thousand pounds. The ships, at this time, being just opposite a projecting point, it was called by the men BOUNTY CAPE.

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Beyond this point was another cape, to which the ice was so closely attached as to oppose an apparently impenetrable barrier to all further progress. Nothing, therefore, remained but to bring the ships to anchor; and it most fortunately happened that an excellent roadstead was at hand: to this was proleptically given the appropriate name of the Bay of the Hecla and Griper; not only as it was the first spot at which the ships had dropped anchor since leaving the coast of Norfolk, but that also to which they were doomed to return and pass a long, a wearisome and gloomy winter. As it appeared to mark in a very decided manner the completion of one stage of the voyage, the ensigns and pendants were hoisted; 'and it created in us,' says Captain Parry, 'no ordinary feelings of pleasure' (words which we trust will be read with no *ordinary feelings* of pride) 'to see the British flag waving, for the first time, in these regions, which had hitherto been considered beyond the limits of the habitable part of the world.'

It was now the 7th September, and the thermometer had fallen to 25° , the sea was covered with floes and large masses of ice, and the nights were so dark from ten till two, that it was absolutely necessary to make fast the ships during that interval: yet, as Captain Parry felt that the ultimate accomplishment of the grand object of the voyage mainly depended on the progress to be made in the present season, short as it was, he determined to struggle against all obstacles, and to extend his operations to the latest possible period. The closeness of the ice to the shore, however, would only allow of moving the ships to a more sheltered situation near the beach, as a security from the pressure of the great body of ice without, which was now observed to be setting fast towards them. They fortunately succeeded in pushing within two of those vast masses, which, at the distance of three hundred yards from the beach, were aground in twelve fathoms of water, and from twenty to thirty feet above the surface. The main ice was thus prevented from coming in contact with the ships, which, in such a case, must inevitably have been thrown on the shore, and crushed to atoms. One floe from the westward, catching a corner of the mass within which the Hecla was secured, turned it round as on a pivot.

On the 14th September, whilst vainly struggling to get to the westward, the thermometer descended as low as 9° , a decrease in the temperature as sudden as it was unexpected; and from this day, as it afterwards appeared, may be dated the commencement of their winter. Little prospect now remained of making any further progress, the heavy ice being close in with the shore, and the few contracted pools of water covered with young or bay ice, through which the ships could be moved with difficulty, even with the assistance of a strong breeze; they were in fact at the mercy of the
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great floes, which, closing in with the shore, drove them in whatever direction the impulse was given. Some idea may be formed of their perilous situation from what follows:—

‘We now seemed to have got rather within the drift of the main body of ice, which passed us to the westward at the rate of two miles an hour; but, at length, the point of a large field, which had hitherto not approached the shore nearer than two or three hundred yards, was observed to be rapidly nearing us. Immediately to the westward of the spot where the *Hecla*’s anchor had been dropped, some very heavy ice, which, for distinction’s sake, we called a berg, projected from the beach to the distance of a hundred and fifty yards. The ships had fortunately been forced by the ice, one on each side of this projecting point; for at eight P. M. the field came in contact with it with a tremendous crash, piling up the enormous fragments of ice in the most awful and terrific manner; this seemed to break, in some degree, the force with which the ice had been driving; a force which may almost be considered incalculable, as we could not see over the field in motion from our mast-head. We were at this time within a hundred yards of the point, and had, therefore, great reason to be thankful for having escaped being carried into a situation in which no human power or skill could have saved the ships from instant destruction.’—p. 91.

The *Griper* was absolutely forced upon the beach; and, as her situation was one of great danger, Captain Parry sent to take out Lieutenant Liddon, then in a most debilitated state, and convey him on board the *Hecla*: this young officer, with the true spirit of an English sailor, rejected his kindness, caused himself to be brought upon deck and, seated in his chair, gave the necessary orders, declaring that he would be the last man, instead of the first, to abandon his ship. Soon after, happily, by the retiring of the ice, and the rise of the tide, the *Griper* floated. It was now, however, too evident that further perseverance would be useless, and probably destructive both of ships and people: the 20th September had arrived, on which day the highest point of the thermometer was only 21°, and the lowest 10½°.

‘The advanced period of the season, the unpromising appearance of the ice to the westward, and the risk to the ships with which the navigation had been attended for some days past, naturally led me,’ Captain Parry observes, ‘to the conclusion that the time had now arrived, when it became absolutely necessary to look out for winter-quarters. Among the circumstances which now rendered this navigation more than usually perilous, and the hope of success proportionally less, there was none which gave more reasonable ground for apprehension than the incredible rapidity with which the young ice formed upon the surface of the sea, during the greater part of the twenty-four hours. It had become evident, indeed, that it could only be attributed to the strong winds which had lately prevailed, that the sea was not at this time permanently frozen over; for, whenever the wind blew less than a gale, that
formation

oration' took place immediately, and went on with such astonishing rapidity, that had the weather continued calm for more than four-and-twenty hours together, it seemed to me extremely probable, that we must have passed the winter in our present exposed and insecure situation.'—pp. 93, 94.

It was most fortunate that Captain Parry came to this resolution when he did, as a single day later might have been fatal to the expedition; for on arriving at Winter Harbour, at the head of the bay of the Hecla and Griper, the whole of its surface was found so completely covered with new ice, that they were obliged to open a canal with saws to admit the ships; an operation which occupied the greatest part of three days—the average thickness of the ice being seven inches, and the whole length of the cut 4082 yards, or nearly two miles and one third. On the last of these days (the 26th September) the mercury in the thermometer fell one degree below zero, and on the following day the sea was observed from the hills to be frozen over as far as the eye could reach; nor was any open water seen after this period. The canal, therefore, being now completed, the ships were tracked up into their winter-quarters, and the men, says Captain Parry, 'hailed the event with three loud and hearty cheers.*' 'Having now,' he continues, 'reached the station where in all probability we were destined to remain for at least eight or nine months, during three of which we were not to see the face of the sun, my attention was immediately and imperiously called to various important duties:' these consisted principally in putting into execution the best means for the security of the ships, provisions and stores, and for the maintenance of good order and cleanliness, so conducive to the health and comfort of the crews during the long, dark and dreary winter before them. 'The first operation, after removing all the heavy stores and timber on shore, in order to have a clear deck for exercise, was to house the ships entirely over, and to cover the roof with a thick wadding tilt, such as is used for covering waggons; to bank up the snow as high as the main-chains; and to provide for the warmth and dryness of the births by means of an oven and stove-pipe. Here, however, he had some difficulties to overcome which could not readily have been anticipated. It was found that when the temperature of the atmos-

* With very different feelings, and indeed under very different circumstances, in the same parallel on the coast of Nova Zembla, did the unfortunate Barentz and his companions enter that dismal spot, 'where,' says the writer, 'we were forced, in great cold, poverty, miserie and griefe, to stay all that winter.' The patient resignation with which these poor men bore their sufferings, the orderly conduct, good humour, and even cheerfulness, occasionally displaying itself in the depth of their misery, and the simplicity in which the story is told, render the account of this unfortunate voyage one of the most interesting narratives that was ever written.

phere had fallen considerably below the zero of Fahrenheit, the steam from the cooking coppers, as well as the breath and other vapour generated in the inhabited parts of the ship, began to condense into drops upon the beams and the sides to such a degree as to keep them constantly wet. For some time a current of heated air enabled him to get rid of a great part of the moisture; but when the weather became more severely cold it accumulated in the bed-places to a very serious and alarming degree, so that it was deemed expedient during the depth of winter to allow the frozen vapour to settle by the sides of the ships in a solid plate of dry ice.

The next consideration was how to regulate the distribution of provisions, so as to ward off that most dreadful of all diseases at sea, the scurvy, to which salt meat, want of vegetable food and exercise, cold and dampness, were too well known to be predisposing causes. The regulations established on this head appear to be excellent, and the supplies with which the expedition was furnished most judiciously employed. With regard to the article of fuel, a system of the most rigid economy was necessarily adopted. The men were separated into divisions, over each of which an officer was appointed, who was responsible for their personal cleanliness, and for their clothing being kept in good condition. The crews were mustered and inspected morning and evening, and once a week particularly examined by the medical men, that if the least appearance of scurvy should be detected, it might at once be checked. After breakfast the men were either allowed to take exercise on shore, or, if the weather was too inclement, to run round the deck to the tune of an organ, or to one of their own songs.

For some time after their arrival in Winter Harbour, hunting parties were sent out to kill rein-deer and grouse, but before the end of October all these animals had migrated from Melville island, leaving only the wolves and foxes to bear them company during the winter. On the 17th and 18th the deer were observed in vast numbers, preparatory to their departure over the ice to the coast of America, after which one or two only were seen. The wolves haunted them near the ships for the greater part of the winter, and the females enticed their dogs away; some of which never returned, and one of them came back dreadfully lacerated, having, it was supposed, had an encounter with the males. One fox was caught in a trap; it was perfectly white. A single bear was seen shortly after their entering the harbour; and another was heard just as they were leaving it; and one solitary seal was all that appeared.

A party who had been sent out for game, and had neglected their orders to return before sun-set, caused considerable apprehension for their safety. The effects mentioned in the following extract are precisely

precisely similar to those which occurred to a detachment of the French army sent out one night from Wilna.

'John Pearson, a marine, belonging to the Griper, who was the last that returned on board, had his hands severely frost-bitten, having imprudently gone away without mittens, and with a musket in his hand. A party of our people most providentially found him, although the night was very dark, just as he had fallen down a steep bank of snow, and was beginning to feel that degree of torpor and drowsiness which, if indulged, inevitably proves fatal. When he was brought on board, his fingers were quite stiff, and bent into the shape of that part of the musket which he had been carrying: and the frost had so far destroyed the animation in his fingers on one hand, that it was necessary to amputate three of them a short time after, notwithstanding all the care and attention paid to him by the medical gentlemen. The effect which exposure to severe frost has, in benumbing the mental as well as the corporeal faculties, was very striking in this man, as well as in two of the young gentlemen who returned after dark, and of whom we were anxious to make inquiries respecting Pearson. When I sent for them into my cabin, they looked wild, spoke thick and indistinctly, and it was impossible to draw from them a rational answer to any of our questions. After being on board for a short time, the mental faculties appeared gradually to return with the returning circulation, and it was not till then that a looker-on could easily persuade himself that they had not been drinking too freely.'—pp. 108, 109.

These excursions had afforded exercise and amusement in turns to the people; and Captain Parry, naturally desirous to fill up the hours of leisure and inactivity which resulted from their discontinuance, proposed to the officers to get up a play, occasionally, on board the *Hecla*, as the best and readiest means of preserving, through the long and dreary interval before them, that cheerfulness and good humour which had hitherto subsisted. To this proposal they immediately assented; and in these amusements, says Captain Parry, 'I gladly undertook a part myself, considering that an example of cheerfulness, by giving a direct countenance to every thing that could contribute to it, was not the least essential part of my duty, under the peculiar circumstances in which we were placed.' The first performance was *Miss in her Teens*, and it was acted on the 5th of November, the day on which the sun sank below the horizon not to rise again for three tedious months. The representation was received with rapturous applause, manifested in a true sailor-like manner, by three hearty cheers; and it evidently afforded so much amusement to the men as to determine Captain Parry to repeat the entertainment once a fortnight during the dark season. Even the occupation of fitting up the theatre, and taking it in pieces again, before and after each performance, was a matter of no little impor-

importance; 'for I dreaded,' says Captain Parry, 'the want of employment as one of the worst evils that was likely to befall us.' As the stock of plays on board (or rather of farces, for it does not appear that the green-room was in possession of a single piece of five acts) was but scanty, 'our authors,' says Captain Parry, set to work, themselves, and produced, as a Christmas piece, a musical entertainment, expressly adapted to our audience, and having a reference to the service on which we were engaged.' Captain Parry, we have reason to believe, was himself the author; indeed this officer seems to have united in his own person a greater number of qualifications than fall to the generality of mankind.

These amusements necessarily engaged the attention of the officers as well as the men; but Captain Parry conceived that something more might be desirable to divert the minds of the former from dwelling too eagerly on their present situation; and with this view he suggested, as an amusing occupation during the hours of constant darkness, the setting on foot of a weekly newspaper, to be called *The North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, of which Captain Sabine undertook the editorship; 'and I can safely say,' observes Captain Parry, 'that these weekly contributions had the happy effect of employing the leisure hours of those who furnished them, and of diverting the mind from the gloomy prospect which would sometimes obtrude itself on the stoutest heart:' it did more, and 'employed and cheered' not only the minds of the contributors, but of those who, from diffidence of their own talents, could not be prevailed on to add their mite to the little stock of which was weekly demanded; 'for even they (says Captain Parry) were not unwilling to read, and more ready to criticize than those who wielded the pen; but it was that good humoured sort of criticism that could not give offence.' This Gazette, consisting of twenty-one Numbers, has been printed by the officers in compliance with the wishes of their friends:—and when it is considered at what an early period the officers of the navy are sent to sea (generally at eleven or twelve years of age), and that the education which they receive on board can scarcely be supposed to be on the best or most enlarged plan, it will, we think, be admitted that many of the papers in the *North Georgia Gazette* are far superior to what might reasonably be expected, and such as would not discredit the more regular scholar and practised writer.

The officers indulged themselves generally for one or two hours in the middle of the day, when the weather would admit of it, in rambling on shore, even in the darkest period, though, as may well be imagined, there was little in these walks that could interest or amuse. They were however frequently, and as it were, habitually
taken,

taken, even when the thermometer was 30° , 40° , or even 50° below zero, and without experiencing much inconvenience from this intense degree of cold, provided there was no wind; but the lightest breeze made an exposure to it intolerable, even with the thermometer many degrees above zero. The dull and tedious monotony which day after day presented itself to our navigators, Captain Parry thus describes :—

‘ To the southward was the sea, covered with one unbroken surface of ice, uniform in its dazzling whiteness, except that, in some parts, a few hummocks were seen thrown up somewhat above the general level. Nor did the land offer much greater variety, being almost entirely covered with snow, except here and there a brown patch of bare ground, in some exposed situations, where the wind had not allowed the snow to remain. When viewed from the summit of the neighbouring hills, on one of those calm and clear days, which not unfrequently occurred during the winter, the scene was such as to induce contemplations, which had, perhaps, more of melancholy than of any other feeling. Not an object was to be seen on which the eye could long rest with pleasure, unless when directed to the spot where the ships lay, and where our little colony was planted. The smoke which there issued from the several fires, affording a certain indication of the presence of man, gave a partial cheerfulness to this part of the prospect; and the sound of voices, which, during the cold weather, could be heard at a much greater distance than usual, served now and then to break the silence which reigned around us, a silence far different from that peaceable composure which characterizes the landscape of a cultivated country; it was the death-like stillness of the most dreary desolation, and the total absence of animated existence. Such, indeed, was the want of objects to afford relief to the eye or amusement to the mind, that a stone of more than usual size appearing above the snow, in the direction to which we were going, immediately became a mark, on which our eyes were unconsciously fixed, and towards which we mechanically advanced.

‘ Dreary as such a scene must necessarily be, it could not, however, be said to be wholly wanting in interest, especially when associated in the mind with the peculiarity of our situation, the object which had brought us hither, and the hopes which the least sanguine among us sometimes entertained, of spending a part of our next winter in the more genial climate of the South-Sea Islands. Perhaps too, though none of us then ventured to confess it, our thoughts would sometimes involuntarily wander homewards, and institute a comparison between the rugged face of nature in this desolate region, and the livelier aspect of the happy land which we had left behind us.’—pp. 124, 125.

Thus occupied, the shortest day, or more correctly speaking the middle of the long night, came upon them unawares. At a little before and after the noon of that day, there was so much light as
would

would enable them to read small print when held towards the southern horizon, and allow them 'to walk comfortably for two hours.' However slowly the sun was now advancing towards the horizon, the very idea of having got the turn in their favour was highly exhilarating; and dreadfully cold and bleak as Christmas day was, they contrived to observe it by the performance of divine service, and a social dinner, at which their friends in England were not forgotten.

The old year closed with mild weather; but the month of January was miserably cold, the thermometer never once reaching so high as zero, and generally standing from 30° to 40° below it. 'On the 5d,' says Captain Parry, 'I received the first unpleasant report of the scurvy having made its appearance among us.' The person attacked was Mr. Scallpn, gunner of the *Hecla*, and a considerable degree of uneasiness was manifested at the unequivocal symptoms of the complaint. Every attention was paid to the case by the medical gentlemen; but the disease continued for some time to gain ground: by a liberal use of antiscorbutics, however, it was checked, and at length happily subdued. Nothing contributed more, perhaps, to this effect than a daily supply of fresh mustard and cress, which Captain Parry contrived to raise in his cabin, by boxes filled with earth, and ranged along the stove-pipe: by these means he was generally able to ensure, even in the severe cold which we have just noticed, a crop on the sixth or seventh day after sowing the seed. Though necessarily colourless for want of light, it was just as pungent and aromatic as when grown in the open air.

On the 11th January, the thermometer was at 49° below zero; yet the weather was perfectly calm, and the officers walked on shore without experiencing any of those dreadful effects said to arise from exposure to intense cold, by some who have written on the climate of Siberia—such as producing a sensation on the lungs, as if they were torn asunder. It would appear indeed that the human frame is capable of resisting both heat and cold, and of enduring with impunity a much more rapid and violent change from the one to the other than the people of this voyage were subject to. Captain Parry says, that in the severest weather not a single inflammatory complaint occurred, 'though in passing from the cabins into the open air, and *vice versa*, the men were constantly in the habit for some months of undergoing a change of from 80° to 100° , and in several instances 120° of temperature in less than one minute.'

On the 5d February, by the refractive power of the atmosphere, they had a slight glimpse of the upper limb of the sun, and on the 7th he displayed his full orb above the horizon. This was the signal for making a show, at least, of preparation for the ensuing campaign;

campaign; though they well knew that many tedious months must yet pass away before the ships would be loosened from their icy chains. The collecting of stones for ballast, to the amount of about seventy tons, was the first operation, which occupied a few hours a day, when the weather was sufficiently mild to enable them to work without the risk of frost-bites; this, however, was but seldom; and, on the whole, the month of February was by far the coldest which they experienced: the spirit in the thermometer on the 15th descended to -55° , and remained for fifteen hours not higher than -54° ; from which, in fifteen hours more, it gradually rose with an increasing breeze of wind to -34° ; but even in the highest degree of cold, while it remained calm, no inconvenience was felt from exposure to the open air. 'We amused ourselves,' says Captain Parry, 'in freezing some mercury during the continuance of this cold weather, and by beating it out on an anvil, previously reduced to the temperature of the atmosphere; it did not appear to be very malleable when in this state, usually breaking after two or three blows from the hammer.'

Shortly after their arrival at Winter Harbour, an observatory had been erected on shore, in which the clocks, transit, pendulum, and other instruments were deposited. On the 24th of February, the thermometer being from -43° to -44° , this house was discovered to be on fire. All hands were instantly at work to extinguish the flames, by heaping snow upon them. 'The appearance,' says Captain Parry, 'which our faces presented at the fire was a curious one, almost every nose and cheek having become quite white with frost-bites in five minutes after being exposed to the weather; so that it was deemed necessary for the medical gentlemen, together with some others appointed to assist them, to go constantly round, while the men were working at the fire, and to rub with snow the parts affected, in order to restore animation.' With every precaution, however, many severe frost-bites occurred; and no less than sixteen were added to the sick lists of the two ships. The greatest sufferer, however, was Captain Sabine's servant, who, with Serjeant Martin, happened to be in the house at the time the fire broke out. In his anxiety to save the dipping-needle he had run out without his gloves; in consequence of which, his fingers, in the course of half an hour, were so benumbed, and the animation so completely suspended, that, on having his hands plunged into a basin of cold water, the surface was immediately covered with a cake of ice in consequence of the intensity of the cold thus communicated to it: and notwithstanding the humane and unremitting attention of the medical gentlemen, it was found necessary to resort to the amputation of a part of four fingers on one hand, and three on the other.

The month of March set in mildly, so that the solid ice, which for some time had lined the ships' sides, began to melt. It therefore became necessary to scrape off this coating of ice; on which occasion Captain Parry observes, 'it will perhaps be scarcely credited, that we this day (8th March) removed above one hundred buckets' full, each containing from five to six gallons, being the accumulation which had taken place in an interval of less than four weeks; and this immense quantity was the produce chiefly of the men's breath, and of the steam of their victuals during meals.' This ice formed in a peculiar manner round the heads of the iron bolts, which readily conducted the external cold, so that a sort of iceberg in miniature was accumulated at each bolt-head. The few cases of scurvy which now appeared were evidently occasioned by the damp of the bed-places; and so fully were the officers' and medical men convinced of it, that many of the birth-places were taken down, and the men slung in hammocks; a plan which has been generally adopted in the ships now engaged on discovery; and as a further protection against the cold, a lining of burnt cork has been interposed between the ships' sides and the interior coating of fir plank.

The middle of April arrived without any sensible thaw. On the 30th, however, so rapid a change took place in the temperature of the atmosphere, that the thermometer rose to the freezing, or, as it may perhaps in this climate more properly be called, the thawing point, being the first time it had risen so high for eight months. This increased temperature, to the feelings, was so much like that of summer, that it required the authority of the Captain to prevent the men from throwing aside their winter-clothing. The difference in twenty days was from -32° to $+32^{\circ}$ or 64° .

On the 12th May, the first ptarmigan was seen, and next day the first tracks of rein-deer and musk-oxen, indicating their route directly to the northward. Thus, it was remarked, the period of their migration had occurred with the first fine weather which took place after the commencement of constant day-light. After this, the birds and quadrupeds became daily more numerous, and the hunting excursions were resumed. The snow too began now rapidly to leave the ground, and on the 24th, they were most agreeably surprized by a smart shower of rain. 'We had been so unaccustomed,' says Captain Parry, 'to see water naturally in a fluid state at all, and much less to see it fall from the heavens, that such an occurrence became a matter of considerable curiosity, and I believe every person on board hastened on deck to witness so interesting as well as novel a phenomenon.'

Captain Parry now determined on a journey into the interior of the island, and fixed on the 1st of June for his departure. They were

were out on this journey fifteen days, having crossed the island to its northern extremity without perceiving any land farther to the northward or to the westward. The ground being almost entirely covered with snow, they suffered much from snow-blindness; but near the ships they found the sorrel pushing forth its leaves with great vigour, and the ice of the harbour covered with innumerable pools of water. Indeed so rapid now was the thaw that, by the 20th of June, the ground in sheltered situations 'was covered with patches of the handsome purple flower of the *Saxifraga oppositifolia*, which,' says Captain Parry, 'gave something like cheerfulness and animation to a scene hitherto indescribably dreary in its appearance.' Deer and musk oxen, hares, ducks, and ptarmigans, were now in great plenty, and every thing indicated the approach of summer. By the middle of July the thermometer stood as high as from 56° to 60°; but it was not till the 1st of August that the ice was sufficiently removed to allow the ships to escape from Winter Harbour; and then it was soon perceived that they had only a very narrow channel through which to work their way to the westward, between the land and the ice. In short, they found the ice more heavy the farther they advanced westerly, and both ships were frequently in imminent peril of being dashed to atoms. On one occasion, the whole body of ice, in coming towards the shore, was received by the piece of a floe, close to which the ships were secured. 'It split across,' says Captain Parry, 'in various directions, with a considerable crash, and presently after we saw a part, several hundred tons in weight, raised slowly and majestically, as if by the application of a screw, and deposited on another part of the floe, from which it had broken;' it measured forty-two feet in thickness.

All their efforts proved of no avail to get beyond the south-west extremity of Melville Island. There is something peculiar in the situation of this point that prevents the ice from leaving the shore, as had in every other part of the voyage been found to be case; it was owing probably to the discontinuance of land, or to the prevailing northerly winds having driven down the main body of ice, and wedged it in among the islands. After struggling till the 16th, and the Griper having been once more thrown on shore, with little probability of being saved, Captain Parry determined to return to the eastward along the edge of the ice, with the intention of availing himself of any opening that might occur to get to the southward, and if possible, upon the coast of America. The farthest point they had reached in the Polar Sea was lat. 74° 26' 25", and long. 113° 46' 43".5.

It was not till the 26th that the ships got clear of Cape Providence, after which the channel opened out so as to allow them to run along with a fair breeze, with such rapidity and so little inter-

ruption, that in six days they completely cleared Sir James Lancaster's Sound; and having once more gained Baffin's Bay, they stood along the western shore with the view of surveying that shore which had been so imperfectly seen on the former expedition. They found it indented with several deep bays or inlets, similar to the *fjorden* on the coast of Norway. In one of these, about the latitude $70^{\circ} 22'$, they met with a tribe of Esquimaux, of a very superior race to those seen on the coast of Old Greenland in the expedition of 1818. Captain Parry sums up his interesting account of these people, by observing,

'Upon the whole, these people may be considered in possession of every necessary of life, as well as of most of the comforts and conveniences which can be enjoyed in so rude a state of society. In the situation and circumstances in which the Esquimaux of North Greenland are placed, there is much to excite compassion for the low state to which human nature appears to be there reduced; a state in few respects superior to that of the bear or the seal, which they kill for their subsistence. But, with these, it was impossible not to experience a feeling of a more pleasing kind: there was a respectful decency in their general behaviour, which at once struck us as very different from that of the other untutored Esquimaux, and in their persons there was less of that intolerable filth by which these people are so generally distinguished. But the superiority for which they are the most remarkable is, the perfect honesty which characterized all their dealings with us. During the two hours that the men were on board, and for four or five hours that we were subsequently among them on shore, on both which occasions the temptation to steal from us was perhaps stronger than we can well imagine, and the opportunity of doing so by no means wanting, not a single instance occurred, to my knowledge, of their pilfering the most trifling article. It is pleasing to record a fact, no less singular in itself, than honourable to these simple people.'—p. 287.

On the 26th September, Captain Parry took a final leave of the ice, and, without any occurrence requiring particular notice, arrived in the Thames about the middle of November.

'Such (he says) was the excellent state of health which we at this time continued to enjoy on board the *Hecla*, that, during the whole of our late navigation from Winter Harbour to the coast of Scotland, being a period of thirteen weeks, not a single case had been entered on our sick-list, except from one or two accidents of a trifling nature; and I had the happiness of seeing every officer and man on board both ships (with only one exception out of ninety-four persons) return to their native country in as robust health as when they left it, after an absence of nearly eighteen months, during which time we had been living entirely on our own resources.'—p. 309.

The interests of science have not been neglected on this voyage; though geographical discovery was the leading object, many new and important observations in meteorology, and some curious facts
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in natural history, have been recorded. Our notice of these, however, must be brief.

Temperature.—Prepared as our explorers were, for a very low degree of temperature during the winter months, they could not have expected, either from previous facts, or from theory, any thing like that intense cold which they experienced at Melville Island. The register of the thermometer was accurately kept for every two hours; but Captain Parry has given only, at the end of each month, a table showing the *maximum*, *minimum*, and *mean* temperature for every day in that month, and the following abstract at the end of twelve months.

Abstract of the HECLA's Meteorological Journal for Twelve Kalendar Months, during which Period she was within the Parallels of 74° and 75° of North Latitude.

Months.	Mean Temperature of Air in Shade.			REMARKS.
	Max.	Min.	Mean.	
1819, Sept.	+37°	— 1°	+22°.54	During the time that we were in Winter Harbour, it was always found that the thermometer on board stood from 2° to 5° higher than the one on shore, from the warmth created by the fires, &c. The <i>minimum</i> temperature for February was —50° on board, but —55° on the ice. On the ice, 14th and 15th of February, the thermometer was at —54° for seventeen hours. The mean annual temperature may be fairly considered as 1° or 2° below zero.
Oct.	+17.5	—28	— 3.46	
Nov.	+ 6	—47	—20.60	
Dec.	+ 6	—43	—21.79	
1820, Jan.	— 2	—47	—30.09	
Feb.	—17	—50	—32.19	
Mar.	+ 6	—40	—18.10	
Apr.	+32	—32	— 8.37	
May,	+47	— 4	+16.66	
June,	+51	+28	+36.24	
July,	+60	+32	+42.41	
Aug.	+45	+22	+32.68	
Annual Temperature			+ 1°.33	

The theory of Mayer, which Leslie has adopted, and on which has been constructed a formula for ascertaining the mean temperature of the globe, has now been found to assign a much less degree of cold to high latitudes than actually exists. It makes, for instance, that of the North Pole 32°, and of the parallel in which Captain Parry passed the winter, 36°; being, therefore, erroneous by fully as many degrees. Doctor Brewster came to a conclusion much nearer the truth. The ingenious Humboldt, in his Memoir on Isothermal Lines, had shown that, in high latitudes, the difference of temperature in the same parallels of the old and new world is very considerable; not less than 13° of Fahrenheit in the parallel

of 50° , and 17° in that of 60° , higher in Europe than in America. He has also shown that the isothermal lines decline under the Eastern meridians of Asia. It had indeed long been known, that during the season of the fishery, the temperature of the Spitzbergen seas in the latitude of 80° , is higher than that of 70° in Baffin's Bay. On these grounds, and from comparing the thermometric curve of 17° in 78° of latitude on the meridian of Spitzbergen with that of 65° on the meridian of Melville Island, Doctor Brewster, in a paper of great interest and ingenuity, observes, 'unless we suppose that the climate of these regions is subject to no law, we are forced to conclude that the pole of the globe is not the coldest point of the Arctic hemisphere, and that there are *two points of greatest cold*, not many degrees from the pole, and in meridians nearly at right angles to that which passes through the west of Europe.'

The exact position of these poles is not ascertained; but Doctor Brewster thinks they are situated in about 80° N. latitude, and 95° E. and 100° W. longitudes, or the one 5° to the north of Graham Moore's Bay; and the other 1° to the north of the Bay of Taimura, near the North-East Cape. The recent discoveries of the connection between electricity and magnetism, and the meteorological phenomena observed by Captain Parry, had suggested, in other quarters, the probability of the two points of greatest cold being the two magnetic poles; and the same idea occurred to Doctor Brewster, who thinks that, 'imperfect as the analogy is between the isothermal and the magnetic centres, it is yet too important to be passed over without notice.*' If, then, there be any truth in the above-mentioned theory, we may conclude that the place where the expedition wintered, is one of the coldest spots on the face of the globe.

The meteorological phenomena and other effects produced by this extraordinary degree of cold, we may briefly enumerate. It may first be observed, that such was the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, that, during the winter months, no snow whatever fell, nor was any thing in the shape of a cloud formed; but whatever little moisture might be in the air, was seen floating about in very minute *spiculæ*, assuming various forms of crystallization. It was frequently remarked, that these *spiculæ*, on the clearest winter days, came down and remained on the surface of the ground and the ice like very light snow, which, in falling, was scarcely perceptible, except when interposed between the eye and a dark object. These *spiculæ* were visible in the brightest sunshine, and to their floating about in the atmosphere may unquestionably be ascribed the numerous and beautiful parhelia, halos, *paraselenæ*,

* The same idea suggested itself, many years ago, to the late Sir Charles Blagden. prismatic

prismatic arches, and other meteorological appearances, which Captain Parry has described and illustrated by figures, with minute precision.

When the thermometer sunk to -34° , it became painful to touch any thing metallic, and required the utmost caution in handling the sextants, and other instruments, particularly the eye-pieces of the telescopes, which, if suffered to touch the face, occasioned an intense burning pain; and if the instrument, after being used, was brought into the cabin, the vapour condensing around it had the appearance of smoking, and the glasses were instantly covered with a thin coating of ice. But it was never observed that the admission of the external air into the warm cabins condensed the vapour into a snow shower, as has been asserted to be the case in the neighbourhood of Hudson's Bay; though, under such circumstances, the vapour was condensed into a visible form like a very thick smoke, which, on settling against the sides and ceiling, became a cake of ice. Even at a much less temperature than that above-mentioned, the breath of a person, at a little distance, looked exactly like the smoke of a musket just fired; and Captain Parry states that a party of men employed on the ice appeared as if enveloped in a thick white cloud.

During the low degree of temperature, a very considerable difficulty occurred in the taking of lunar distances, not merely from exposure to cold, but from the circumstance of its being necessary to hold the breath very carefully during the time of making the observation; for if the least vapour was suffered to touch the instrument, it immediately became a coat of ice, which dimmed the glasses and rendered the instrument unserviceable: the cold also cracked the silver on the horizon and index-glasses; and at -36° the mercury of the artificial horizons froze into a solid mass, probably from its impurity, as it ought to have remained liquid as low as -39° .

When the weather was warm, and the thermometer about -24° , or upwards, the smoke from the funnels was observed not to rise, but to skim nearly horizontally, and to continue so for miles even beyond the ships. The same effect, Captain Parry observes, is noticed in a meteorological journal in his possession, kept at Fort York, in Hudson's Bay; but the phenomenon there did not occur till the thermometer was down to -36° . It was also remarked that, during the continuance of intense cold, sounds were distinctly audible at much greater distances than they possibly could be heard in a higher degree of temperature.

The almost total absence of animated beings, during the intense cold, did not allow Captain Parry to ascertain the truth of those extraordinary statements made by Hearne and Ellis, respecting the

freezing and reviving of certain cold-blooded animals; and which many have called in question. We entertain, however, no doubt of the fact. An experiment, indeed, was made at the Royal Institution in December last, in freezing a frog to death by plunging it into a mixture of the temperature of 20° below zero, and shortly afterwards reviving it by exposure to a gentle heat; it so far succeeded as to restore the animal to life, but its legs remained paralyzed: another experiment failed altogether; but it must be recollected that the creatures were roused from a state of torpidity, and subjected to excessive cold almost instantaneously, whereas, when in a state of nature, they burrow under the banks of rivers and lakes as the winter approaches, and are gradually frozen. Leeches, we know, may be frozen stiff like pieces of ice, and readily restored; but a leech has no heart. A fact no less curious we are enabled to state on the authority of Captain Buchan of the Navy. In the interior of Newfoundland, he fell in with a frozen lake, the watery surface of which, during the powerful rays of a March sun, appeared one vast sheet of moving matter. In the evening, as soon as frozen over, all was calm and still; but on the following day, when the sun had dissolved the upper surface of the ice, all was again in a state of animation; and on a closer inspection, it was observed that myriads of flies were skimming about, and others embodied in the solid ice, and that these frozen insects, as they became loosened from durance, were re-animated by the rays of the sun. A similar fact is mentioned by Ellis, who says that a large black torpid mass like coal or peat, when placed before the fire, was dissolved into a cloud of living mosquitoes.

The *Aurora Borealis*.—The faint but frequent appearance of this splendid meteor rather disappointed the expectations of our navigators. The coruscations were neither so vivid nor so rapid, nor was the phenomenon attended with such a blaze of light, as those usually seen from about the parallel of 60° to the arctic circle. But their frequency enabled them to make many observations, some of which seemed to be at variance with opinions very generally adopted. It was never attended with the least crackling or rustling noise; it invariably dimmed the lustre of the stars; and instead of *Borealis* it might more properly be named *Aurora Australis*, appearing almost always toward the southern horizon. The observations made by Captain Franklin and his officers on the continent of America confirm those of Captain Parry. At Cumberland House, in lat. about 54° N., as soon as the frost began to break up, the Aurora was visible almost every night, especially in calm weather; but a gale of wind did not appear to disturb it in the least or to affect its motions. He attended particularly while the changes were most vivid and the coruscations most rapid, but could not hear
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the least noise, yet all the residents assured him they had frequently heard a rustling sound; indeed we are pretty well persuaded, numerous and respectable as the testimonies to this fact may be, that the opinion has arisen from mere association of the idea of sound in connection with rapidity of motion. It is somewhat curious that the same writers, who contend for the noise, assume the place of the Aurora beyond the limits of the atmosphere, some making it 60 or 70, and others 150 miles high,—distances that would render the conveyance of sound utterly impossible, (even if an atmosphere was not wanting,) and wholly incompatible with the celerity of its motions, which will frequently carry a flash from the horizon to the zenith in less than a second of time.

Captain Parry had no doubt of the Aurora being within the limits of the atmosphere, though in that region of it where it is much attenuated: but Captain Franklin and his assistants have placed this point beyond the possibility of question. By several observations of the angular altitude of the luminous arch made at the same moment of time, as marked by chronometers, and by two persons at the distances of 20, 50, and even 60 miles apart, and the Aurora between them, the result invariably gave from 6 to 7 or 8 miles of altitude from the earth's surface. Neither Franklin nor Parry found that the centres of the arches observed any particular rule, or that they were generally in the magnetic meridian, as has been stated; nor were the cylindrical beams always parallel with the direction of the dipping-needle. If any general rule seemed to prevail, it was that of the greatest extent and most permanent light appearing to cross the meridian, or to extend from east to west, and the coruscations to dart from south to north.

Atmospherical Electricity.—If, as there now seems some reason to suppose, the electricity of the atmosphere be communicated by the action of the solar rays, it will not be difficult to account for the nightly sheets of fire that illumine the regions of the torrid zone, the occasional thunder-storms of more temperate climates, and the almost total absence of electrical phenomena within the arctic circle; if we except the Aurora, which plays only in the upper regions of the atmosphere, more faintly, as we have already seen, but not less frequently, as we advance towards the magnetic poles: for the experience of eleven months in the parallel of 75° has proved, that in the lower parts of the atmosphere no indication whatever was observed of the existence of electricity. Neither in snow or rain, or fog or wind, whether the sky was clear, or covered with light fleecy clouds, generally tending to the arched form, was the most delicate gold-leaf electrometer affected at the mast-head on board ship, or at the summit of a pole 50 feet high on shore; nor was there any other indication of electricity. Either, therefore,
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it did not exist, or the opposite currents, meeting in this neighbourhood of the magnetic pole, were so nearly balanced as to destroy each other's influence, and reduce their powers to a state of neutrality. Some of the crew fancied that they saw a flash of lightning just as the ships were hauled into Winter Harbour; but as nothing like thunder or lightning appeared afterwards, during their long residence, it was undoubtedly a mistake. In the summer months, when the clouds became more dense and frequent, and when once, or perhaps twice, a slight shower of rain fell, the gold-leaf electrometer still remained quiescent.

Magnetism.—If we except the geographical discoveries made on this voyage, there is perhaps no observations that may lead to more important results than those made on the dip and variation of the magnetic needle. All the observations hitherto recorded on these two variable states of a suspended needle have been made at considerable distances from the imaginary point named the magnetic pole; but on the late occasion the ships passed this point both in longitude and latitude, and sailed many hundred miles on one parallel of latitude, interposed the whole way between the North Pole of the earth and the magnetic pole. The following results of observations made with great care, and either on shore or on ice, to avoid all extraneous attraction, are extracted from Captain Parry's journal:

Latitude, N.	Longitude, W.	Dip.	Variation.
1. 73° 31' 16"	77° 22' 21"	86° 3' 42"	108° 46' 35" W.
2. 74 25 31	80 4 30		106 58 3
3. 72 45 15	89 41 42	88 26 42	118 23 37
4. 73 12 11	89 2 8		114 16 43
5. 73 33 15	88 18 17	87 35 0	115 37 12
6. 74 39 51	91 47 36		128 58 7
7. 75 9 23	103 44 37	88 25 58	165 50 9 E.
8. 74 58	107 3 31		151 30 3
9. 74 46 56	110 33 59	88 29 .91	126 17 18
10. 75 23 25	112 29 30	88 36 .95	117 52 22

It would appear from this table to be no easy matter to draw curve lines which would intersect each other in any one point, whether on the earth's surface or beneath it,* and consequently the precise

* As many important discoveries are in progress with regard to magnetism, and some of Captain Parry's readers, and even of our own, may not understand precisely what is meant by *dip* and *variation*, we venture to add a few words explanatory of the subject. If a steel bar, or needle, be suspended, so as to move freely on an axis passing through the middle, and be balanced nicely in an horizontal position, and then magnetized, it will retain that position, provided the magnetic virtue be communicated to it somewhere from 10° to 20° south latitude, in or near the meridian of London; but if this needle thus suspended and magnetized, be then brought to London, or if first balanced and then magnetized in London, in either case it will no longer remain horizontal, but the north pole will dip or incline to the horizon in an angle of about 71°; and if the

precise position of the magnetic pole cannot be ascertained from these observations; but from the sixth and seventh observations (by which it appears the variation had changed, in the course of 12° of longitude, from $128^{\circ} 58' 7''$ *West*, to $165^{\circ} 50' 9''$ *East*), Captain Parry may probably not err much in supposing the magnetic meridian to pass through the 100th degree of west longitude in the latitude $74^{\circ} - 75^{\circ}$ N. In what degree of latitude the magnetic pole, if it be not a line or area instead of a point, may be situated, does not so clearly appear: a dipping-needle, in fact, is not a very perfect instrument, nor can the observations made by it be entirely depended on; we suspect, therefore, that there must be some error between observation 3. and observation 7., unless, as we have hinted, the source of magnetic attraction, be it what it may, be spread over an extended line or surface, instead of being confined to a point; if the latter, that point may perhaps be supposed to reside about latitude 72° in longitude 100° W.

It has been supposed by some, that as the dip of the needle takes effect at such an immense distance, this magnetic pole must be deep-seated in the earth; and from the progressive regularity of the variation, that it performs a revolution round the pole or axis of the earth in a given time, that is to say in seven or eight hundred years. Such an hypothesis can only be supported on the further supposition of a moveable body within that of the earth, a piece of machinery which, it must be owned, is rather incompatible with the general simplicity of nature; and not the less complicated from the probability of the existence of one at least, if not two other revolving poles, situated in the eastern part of our northern hemisphere. The recent experiments of Mr. Oersted, secretary to the Danish Academy of Sciences, bid fair to throw a new light on the mysterious subject of magnetism. It had long been suspected that a connection existed between magnetism and electricity; but this gentleman's experiments, which have been repeated and extended by the most eminent philosophers of Europe, go very far to prove their identity. We have seen that in the parallels of $74^{\circ} - 75^{\circ}$, no electricity whatever was indicated in the lower strata of the atmosphere, and that the coruscations of the Aurora in the upper regions

the same needle be carried northwards, towards Baffin's Bay, this angle of the dip or inclination will be found to increase at the rate of about one degree for every degree of latitude, till on arriving at 70° , or a degree or two higher, it will be found to stand, as we may observe by the table, in a perpendicular direction nearly. Again; if a magnetized needle be placed horizontally on a pivot, it will at the present day turn to the westward of the true north, making with our meridian an angle of about $23^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$; but about three hundred years ago, a needle so placed made no angle with our meridian, but its northern pole pointed directly to the pole of the earth. This declination from the pole, being very different in different parts of the world, is usually called *the variation of the needle*.

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had not the slightest effect on the magnetic needle: 'it might be supposed,' says Captain Parry, 'that in these regions (Melville Island), where the directive power of the needle had almost entirely ceased, it would be more easily disturbed by any adventitious cause, than in those parts of the globe where the directive energy was greater.' The fact however was not so. At Cumberland-House, in lat. 54° N., Captain Franklin observed the magnetic needle to be disturbed, not with that vibratory motion which has been ascribed to it, but by being drawn about a degree out of its usual direction when a brilliant Aurora approached the zenith; and it required from five to six hours after the Aurora ceased, to return to its usual direction. The absence in the one case of electric currents, and their existence in the other, (or some particular direction or distribution of these currents in this particular spot,) may, on the principle of their identity with magnetism, serve to reconcile both phenomena. But the experiments said to be made by M. Ampere go to explain much more than this, if it be true that, by a particular position of the connecting wire in the galvanic pile, he has succeeded in giving to a needle, by the passing of electric currents, the direction of both dip and variation; and that these two phenomena are capable of being explained by electrical currents passing in the atmosphere round the earth from east to west. The facts observed by Captain Parry are considered as corroborating the experiments now making on the identity of the magnetic and electric currents; a subject which may in the result prove of greater importance to physical science than any discovery since that of the principle of gravitation.

Astronomical Observations.—It would be superfluous to say one word in this place on the utility of observations of the moon's distance from the sun or fixed stars, for ascertaining the longitude. On the present expedition however, the advantages were so peculiar, and the officers availed themselves of them so sedulously that the number taken and the accuracy of the results highly deserve to be recorded: these advantages were, the steadiness of the ships when fixed in the ice; icebergs aground; an observatory on shore; cloudless skies; and the long duration of a circumvolving moon. In the examination of Captain Edward Sabine, taken on oath before the Board of Longitude, it appeared, that the longitude of Winter Harbour, by the mean of 686½ lunar observations, taken by himself and the other officers, was $110^{\circ} 48' 29''$, and that the rates of five chronometers, determined by a series of lunar observations during three successive months, were found, after another three months, to agree within less than three seconds of time, or 35' of longitude, when compared with the true time observed at the Calton Hill observatory, on the ships' arrival at Leith.

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After this extraordinary degree of accuracy, and in a climate too where the range of Fahrenheit's thermometer was not less than 100° ; and for nine or ten months at a temperature so low as to create a reasonable doubt whether a chronometer, with every precaution, would not stop altogether, or, if it continued to go, whether the irregularity of its rate would not render it utterly useless, we need not hesitate to say, with the late Sir Joseph Banks, that by the excellence to which chronometers had been brought, '*the longitude was actually discovered*, within the limits assigned by the Board of Longitude which entitled to the reward for its discovery by time-keepers.' Some of them, it is true, occasionally stopped, and the rates of others were irregular, owing probably to the congelment of the oil. Four of Messrs. Parkinson and Frodsham,* it is stated, were better prepared for this peculiar service than any others, not one of them being stopped by the cold; but the severest trials that any time-piece was probably ever subjected to from natural cold were undergone by two pocket chronometers of Arnold, which were used for three or four hours together in taking lunar distances at the low temperature of -20° to -40° , and even as low as -45° .

Natural History.†—From the notices of objects in this department of science, contained in Captain Parry's book, and from what we have seen, the specimens brought home are more varied and of a more interesting description than might have been supposed to exist in those dreary regions in which they were collected. Among the mammalia are the skins of the polar bear, the wolf, the arctic fox, the polar hare, the ermine, the lemming, or Hudson's Bay mouse, the musk-bull, and the rein-deer; of these the first six are perpetual residents, the two last migratory.

Of birds, thirty-two different species were collected, consisting of land and water-birds; among the first were the snowy-owl, the raven, snow-bunting, musquito-hawk, rock-grouse, ptarmigan, plover, sandpiper, &c. The water-fowl consisted of several species of gulls, the wild swan, brent-geese, ducks of four or five different kinds, divers, guillemots and auks.

Of fish, the sea was uncommonly barren. Six kinds only appear to have been caught, and of each of these not more than two

* There is a dispute as to the real maker of these valuable chronometers; Mr. Molyneux, who has long been distinguished for the excellence of his workmanship, having set up a claim, which is denied by Parkinson and Frodsham. As far as we are able to judge from their contradictory statements, we should say the real operator was neither of them, but some third person.

† By an unaccountable delay on the part of some of those to whom the specimens were delivered for the purpose of being scientifically arranged, described, and published in the Appendix, the volume has appeared without any part of the Natural History.

or three individuals. Of the genus *merlangus*, or coal-fish, were caught three species; and a small fish brought on board by a party who lost their way on Melville Island, from a lake in the interior which abounded with them, was supposed to be a species of char, and was accordingly named *Salmo Melvillensis*.

We can say little of the plants, except that the number of different species collected on Melville Island are said to have exceeded one hundred, many of them entirely new. Those most common were several species of grasses, a most luxuriant moss, sorrel (*rumex digynus*), very abundant, scurvy-grass (*cochlearia*), saxifrage (*saxifraga oppositifolia*), poppy (*papaver nudicaule*), draba, ranunculus, and, somewhat in the shape of a shrub, the dwarf willow. It was quite astonishing to behold, on the return of summer, the rapidity with which the various plants of the island pushed forth their leaves and flowers the moment the snow was off the ground. In a few days, from one uniform scene of glaring whiteness, several parts of the island exhibited a carpet spangled with the most lively colours, chiefly from the poppy, the purple saxifrage and the lilac draba. Whether it was the abundance of these flowers, that tempted the musk-oxen and rein-deer to make the long journey over the ice, or whether they came to these secluded and peaceable islands to drop their young, is not known; but the musk-ox in particular seemed to riot and gamble as it galloped along and cropped the flowers. In a valley formed by the stream of a ravine, between Winter Harbour and the western extremity of Melville Island, Captain Parry's party observed the most 'luxuriant pasture ground that they had yet met with on Melville Island. It consisted of about a dozen acres of short thick grass, intermingled with moss, which gave it almost the same lively appearance as that of an English meadow.' A whole herd of musk-oxen were grazing in this place, 'in which there were many small ponds of water, and our surprize (says Captain Parry) in some degree ceased at the immense distance which these animals must travel in the course of their annual visits to these dreary and desolate regions; as such a pasture, affording undisturbed and luxuriant feeding during the summer months, may, in spite of the general appearance of the island, hold out sufficient inducement for their annual emigration.'

The rock formation of the islands presented nothing very extraordinary. The peaks of the high mountains which bound the western side of Baffin's Bay appear to be of granite; next to them in proceeding to the westward, were castellated mountains of compact limestone, then shelly limestone, and lastly sandstone, among which, near the beach of Melville Island, were collected several specimens of a tolerably good coal.

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The knowledge acquired on the late expedition has afforded a sanguine hope for the complete solution of the interesting problem of a north-west passage. Captain Parry has recorded his opinion in favour of its accomplishment, and his suggestion has no doubt been adopted on the present voyage. We have a few words to offer on this part of the subject. By casting an eye over the polar chart, with the recent discoveries laid down upon it, it will be pretty evident that the Polar Sea is an immense circular basin, communicating with the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by channels which divide America from Asia on the one side, and America from Europe on the other; and that, by tracing the northern coasts of Europe and Asia, (about one half the circle,) we shall perceive that, with the single exception of Cevero Vostochnoi or North-east Cape, (of which nothing certain is known,) very small portions of either continent pass beyond the 70th parallel of latitude. Proceeding in the circle round the northern coast of America, and assuming that the two points laid down on the authority of Hearne and Mackenzie, and the Icy Cape on that of Cook, are correctly placed, (at least sufficiently so for our purpose,) we may conclude that much of that continent does not even reach the 70th parallel. The extent therefore of this polar sea may be considered as about 2400 geographical miles in diameter, or 7200 miles in circumference.

Several islands are known to be scattered over this extensive sea. The largest is undoubtedly that of Old Greenland, a part of which juts into it, but to what extent northerly has not yet been ascertained: the others are Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen, those of New Siberia, or the Land of Liakhov, the North Georgian islands of Parry, and those which form the western land of Baffin's Bay. Besides these are a number of small alluvial islands formed at the mouths of the several rivers of the two continents; but whether there be any more, or of what description, nearer to the North Pole, we must of course remain ignorant till the sea in question has been further explored. If, however, we suppose that clusters of islands continue to be scattered over it on all sides, to the very pole or its vicinity, we shall in that case probably not be far from the fact in concluding the whole of this extensive sea to be shallow, choked up with ice, and unnavigable: but if, on the contrary, the islands should terminate to the westward with Melville Island, (and no land was visible in that direction from the highest hill,) and land should not be found, or sparingly found, within ten or twelve degrees of the pole, it would not be unreasonable to presume that, in this case, the sea would be of great depth, and much less liable to freeze and generally more free from ice than where it is shallower. Captain Parry seems to have no doubt of
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an open sea to the westward of Melville Island; as whole fields of ice, interminable to the sight, were observed to be moving bodily to the westward for several days together.

There are other circumstances stated by Captain Parry which, we think, rather warrant the conjecture of an open sea at no great distance both to the northward and westward of the North Georgian Islands. We find, for instance, that the fields and floes of ice which occupy the middle of Davis's Strait and Baffin's Bay, as well as those which occurred in different parts of Barrow's Strait, and as far west as Melville Island, had all flat and comparatively smooth surfaces, in most parts of which, Captain Parry tells us, a sledge might be driven without much inconvenience; but beyond Melville Island to the westward, where there was no visible land, the ice exhibited a rough irregular surface, covered with what the Spitzbergen whalers call 'hummocks,' appearing like haycocks in a field; and the farther from the land the greater these hummocks evidently were. The same appearance is frequent, we may say constant, towards the northern extremity of Spitzbergen; and it is worthy of remark that the ice assumed this form also towards the south-westerly extremity of Prince Regent's Inlet. Now, as it appears to us that these hummocks could be formed only by an open and agitated sea tossing one mass of ice upon another, and drifting them down by the prevailing northerly winds till wedged in by the peculiar situation of islands, we are inclined to infer from this circumstance, and the probability of a deep ocean to the northward, that whatever ice may occasionally be formed on the surface of such an ocean, it never arrives at any very considerable thickness, but is broken up and dispersed by every gust of wind, and the sea left open and navigable as in all the deep parts of Baffin's Bay, Sir James Lancaster's Sound and Wellington Channel.

Another circumstance would seem to prove the absence of at least any large and high masses of land to the northward of the North Georgian Islands, and of Spitzbergen; namely, the total absence of icebergs in both these seas; masses which can be formed only against the precipitous sides of high land rising abruptly out of a deep ocean, such as is the case on the steep shores of the west side of Baffin's Bay:—here then we have two positions, which we deem to be indisputable;—hummocks that cannot exist without a neighbouring sea; and icebergs that cannot be formed without high land.

These facts tend to corroborate the very general opinion which, from the time of Dr. Hooke, has been entertained of the probability, at least of the possibility, of an open sea at the North Pole. But Dr. Brewster, in his ingenious and highly interesting paper noticed above,* after comparing the results of the expedition under

* On the Mean Temperature of the Globe.

Captain Parry, with those he had drawn from a previous theory, is of opinion that 'the hopes which have been so reasonably entertained of reaching the Pole itself,' are thereby 'encouraged;' his conclusion being that 'the mean temperature of the pole of the globe will be about 11° , incomparably warmer than the regions in which Captain Parry spent the winter.' 'If the pole,' he adds, 'is placed in an open sea, the difficulty of reaching it entirely ceases; and if it forms part of a frozen continent, those intrepid individuals, who sustained the rigorous cold of Lancaster Sound, would experience no hardship under a comparatively milder climate.'

In this opinion, which is certainly that of all the Greenland fishermen, from the earliest periods to the present time, we entirely concur; and we are not therefore surprized, that when the ships on the late expedition opened out Wellington Channel, at the western extremity of Barrow's Strait, free from every particle of ice, as far as the eye could reach, on a remarkably clear day, there were not wanting those who felt an anxious desire to try for a passage in that direction, which, if found, would not, in point of distance, have exceeded that of a direct westerly course. Captain Parry says—

'Wellington channel, to the northward of us, was as open and navigable, to the utmost extent of our view, as any part of the Atlantic, but as it lay at right angles to our course, and there was still an opening at least ten leagues wide to the southward of Cornwallis Island, I could fortunately have no hesitation in deciding which of the two it was our business to pursue. If, however, the sea to the westward, which was our direct course, had been obstructed by ice, and the wind had been favourable, such was the tempting appearance of Wellington channel, in which there was no visible impediment, that I should probably have been induced to run through it, as a degree more or less to the northward made little or no difference in the distance we had to run to Icy Cape. The open channel to the westward did not, however, reduce me to this dilemma.'

Desirable therefore, as it may hereafter be, to look at the state of the Polar Sea, beyond Wellington Channel, we conclude it will hardly be thought advisable for the expedition now pending to attempt it in the first instance. Neither do we think that the strenuous, but unsuccessful endeavours, of the late expedition, in two different seasons, to penetrate to the westward beyond the south-west end of Melville Island, afford any hope that the passage will ever be effected in that particular parallel of latitude. It can scarcely be doubted then, that the attempt is now about to be made, as recommended by Captain Parry, in a more southern latitude, and close along the northern coast of America, where they may reasonably hope to meet with a better *summer* climate, and a longer season for their operations, by at least six weeks.

There is another reason for trying a coast navigation; Captain Parry found by experience, that the navigation among the ice of the Arctic seas could only be performed with any degree of certainty, where there was a continuity of land. This being the case, a manifest advantage will be gained, in making the attempt along the northern coast of America, as he will there be certain of a continuity of land. Aware as we are, that climate depends not solely on degrees of latitude, but is modified by circumstances of locality, unconnected with geographical position, yet it can hardly be doubted, that many advantages will be found in the parallel of 69° or 70° , which did not exist in that of 75° . Among others may be mentioned, in addition to the increased length of summer and abridgment of winter, the great probability, we might say certainty, of obtaining fuel,* provisions, and antiscorbutic plants; the frequent communications with natives, and the chance of sending home information of their proceedings; together with the comparative facility with which the officers and men may be preserved, in the event of any irreparable accident happening to the ships: these are undoubtedly important considerations, which strongly recommend the trial of this route.

But then comes the question to be solved, as to the best and shortest route to get upon the coast of America? From the appearance and circumstances at the southern part of Prince Regent's Inlet, there was not a man in the late expedition, who was not convinced that it opened out into the sea which washes the northern coast of this continent. The only objection to this route, is the delay which would necessarily be occasioned by proceeding so far to the northward as Sir James Lancaster's Sound, in order to get into the Regent's Inlet. It is probable however, that either Hudson's Strait, Cumberland Strait, Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, or Repulse Bay, or all of them, may afford navigable passages into the Polar Sea, and particularly the Welcome, down which, according to the testimony of all the navigators who have entered it, flows a tide of considerable velocity, being, as Captain Parry supposes, part of that flood setting easterly along the coast of America, of which the other part takes a northerly direction, as he found it, up Prince Regent's Inlet.

It must, however, be admitted that, probable as this may appear, our knowledge is not sufficiently accurate to justify more than

* By information, which Captain Franklin has received from the *Red-knife* Indians, who are to accompany him from Bear Lake to the sea coast, with which they are well acquainted, fir-trees of considerable size border the banks of all the rivers within a day's journey of the sea; and plenty of brushwood fit for fuel grows on most of the low islands off the coast. We know from Allisen, who wintered round the North Cape, in lat. $71^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$, that fir, birch, and willows, grew there to the size of a man's thigh.

a strong

a strong ground of hope that a passage will be found in some or all of these directions; should this hope on examination prove fallacious, the time spent in the examination may be supposed to bring the season so nearly to a close, as to limit the progress of the first year's exertions, by the old route of Sir James Lancaster's Sound, to some of the harbours of Prince Regent's Inlet: at the same time it is to be remarked, that a passage through Hudson's Strait and the upper part of the bay is practicable a month or six weeks earlier than it appears to be across the central barrier of ice in Davis's Strait or Baffin's Bay.

Arrived on the coast of America, and no obstruction from land occurring, we see no reason why the passage to Icy Cape, which does not exceed 1500 miles, might not easily be accomplished in one season; about 600 of these were actually run on the last voyage in six days. Supposing the theory of Dr. Brewster to be correct, which assigns the greatest degree of cold to the magnetic meridian, the most serious obstruction from ice will probably occur from 90° to 100° of W. longitude; or (setting aside that theory) about midway of the coast, as being the most distant point from the two oceans; it being well known from experience that the proximity of a permanently open sea is a circumstance which, of all others, in high latitudes, tends the most to temper the severity of the climate. On either ground, therefore, it can scarcely be doubted that the climate will be found to improve, and the obstruction to become less, as the ships advance towards the Pacific. Besides it is well known that the westerly coast of every continent and large island (even of our own) enjoys a higher temperature by many degrees than the eastern coast in the same parallels of latitude. On the west coast of America, in 60° N. the climate is infinitely milder than in Newfoundland in 45° N.; and while in the frozen regions of Hudson's Bay, under the parallels of 60° , the ice and snow scarcely ever disappear, navigators have found, under the same degree of latitude on the west coast of America, a delightful climate and a well clothed country. Between 60° and 61° of latitude, Captain Cook found that most delicate of all birds, the humming-bird; and just at the same spot, the companions of the ill-used *Malaspina* (whose voyage is still withheld from the public) give a glowing description of the country and climate.

We take for granted, what scarcely admits of a doubt, that the action of the sun's rays, so much more powerful, and radiated from so much more land along the continuous coast of America, than along the passage discovered by Parry, will produce the same effect of opening a clear channel of water between the coast and the fields of ice. We find this fact indeed asserted by a gentleman belonging to the North West Company, who has resided many

years upon the Mackenzie River; and it is known to be so along the shores of the islands of Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen, Old Greenland, and on every shore approached by the two last expeditions; and it is not therefore to be doubted that the same effect, to a greater extent, will be found to take place in the low latitude of the northern shores of North America.

It is not unreasonable then to hope that no very serious obstruction may occur on the coast of America; but there are those who question the existence of a passage through Behring's Strait. We often hear of Cook's having met with an impenetrable barrier of ice. Cook, however, met with no such thing; his experience had taught him that the position of the ice varied from year to year, and many times in the course of the same year; but so far from ascertaining or thinking the ice of Behring's Strait *impenetrable*, he returned, without trying its penetrability late in the season, to the Sandwich Islands to refit his ships, and lay in provisions for a new attempt in the following summer. Cook was too sensible not to know that the accomplishment of a passage at that advanced season of the year was hopeless; and too prudent to persevere, in the beginning of September, for no other purpose but to be caught in the ice and compelled to winter on the coast of America; an event for which he was wholly unprovided. Of the feeble attempts of his successors we shall say nothing; they candidly avow that, after an absence of three years from England, they considered the most certain, though the longest, passage home, to be the best. All we know of the impenetrable ice is that Cook had passed beyond Icy Cape before he fell in with any; that Kotzebue, in August, saw none on the western shore of Behring's Strait as far as the eye could reach from the entrance of the inlet in lat. 68° N.; and we have recently learned that a Mr. Grimes went, in 1819, in a small brig, to trade for furs in Kotzebue's Inlet; that he passed the strait on the 18th of July, and remained in the neighbourhood a whole month, during which time the sea was perfectly free from ice. We shall speedily know more of this, as Captain Ricord, of the Russian navy, (the same who rescued Golownin from the hands of the Japanese,) hired Grimes's vessel, and proceeded in her last summer to explore the seas to the northward of the strait,—which our accounts from Petersburg state he actually passed (with the two Russian frigates sent on discovery) in July, 1820, and that no intelligence of their return had reached the capital in the middle of March last.

A notion has been propagated, we know not on what precise ground, that Behring's Strait is closed to the northward by some land, supposed to connect the two continents of Asia and America, like the bridge of a pair of spectacles. The only reason that we can

can find assigned for this unnatural connection, is the circumstance of herds of deer being observed to migrate to this supposed connecting strip of land, and to return at stated periods: such a circumstance we now know would prove nothing, since deer migrate from America to Melville Island, which is upwards of 300 miles from that continent. Of Captain Burney's attempt to set aside the validity of Deshneff's voyage from the Kovyma to the Anadyr, by closing the strait in the same manner, we have already given our opinion; but on this point too we have been favoured with some information from our intelligent correspondent at Petersburg. From him we learn that, in the winter of 1819-20, a party of Tchutsky, under the command of a Russian sailor, set out from the north-east point of Asia (at the extremity of Behring's Strait) on sledges drawn by dogs, and with rein-deer for food, directing their course by a compass to the north. They travelled the first two days over ice whose surface was pretty smooth, but on the third day it became so rugged, or, as the Greenland fishermen say, so 'hummocky,' that with difficulty they were able to make any progress. Alarmed at this unusual appearance, and more so at a tremendous noise, resembling claps of thunder, (occasioned, as the Tchutsky well knew, by the breaking up of the ice,) which became more loud and frequent as they advanced northerly, and being at the same time enveloped in a thick fog which prevented them from seeing the danger that threatened them, the party on the fourth day positively refused to advance a step farther, lest they should all perish in the ocean. By the relation of this journey sent to Count Romanzoff, at whose expense it was undertaken, it appears that the distance travelled, as calculated by the Tchutsky, was 200 werst. This bay then of Captain Burney, in which Behring's Strait is supposed to terminate, must not only be not a very deep but an unusually shallow one, supposing land to have existed at the spot where the Tchutsky stopped. The result of this expedition was not, however, satisfactory to Count Romanzoff, who authorized Captain Ricord, as already mentioned, to hire Grimes's schooner and explore the strait to the northward.

Connected with this subject, we may take occasion to mention one of the most daring enterprizes of a single individual since that of Ledyard, whose activity and intrepidity he appears to have imbibed. Captain Dundas Cochrane, a commander in the navy, after perambulating every province of Spain and Portugal and a great part of France, volunteered to prepare himself as a Mahomedan for a journey from the source to the termination of the Niger, but on stipulations that could not be complied with. He therefore travelled on foot to St. Petersburg and was introduced to the Emperor, to whom he proposed a journey on foot across Siberia, following

the northern land which he supposed to be joined to America, or, finding that not to be the case, to procure a passage across Behring's Strait, enter Kotzebue's Inlet, and prosecute his journey on foot along the northern coast of America to one of the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Emperor readily acceded to his project, and he set off with a passport and an order from the Minister of the Interior to all to whom he might apply to afford him every possible assistance. In September last, information was received at Petersburg of his having reached the Altai mountains on the confines of Chinese Tartary; and that from Irkutsk he was bending his way to the northward to avoid interruption from the Chinese, and with the view of reaching Kamskatska as the most likely place to procure a conveyance across Behring Strait. Coupling, therefore, this extraordinary expedition with one sent officially by the Russian government, under the orders of Lieutenant Baron Wrangel, to ascertain with certainty the existence and precise position of the North-East Cape of Asia,—the land expedition of Lieutenant, now Captain, Franklin, in America, and that of Captain Parry, we cannot but indulge a hope that, in no great lapse of time, the geography of the northern regions of Asia and America will be accurately determined.

The chances of a failure must inseparably be annexed to all enterprizes of the nature of that on which Captain Parry is employed, and in proportion as the expectations of the public have been raised by the result of his last voyage, would such a failure be felt; indeed we have no doubt that any thing short of reaching the Pacific would now be considered as a failure, and cause disappointment, even if it should be discovered that no communication exists between the Atlantic and Pacific. One thing, however, we will fearlessly assert, that, if a passage is to be effected by human means, Captain Parry is the officer most likely to accomplish it. Should he fail, we sincerely believe that it will be useless hereafter for any other to attempt it; and we are quite sure, that, whether he succeeds or not, his exertions will be honourable to himself and satisfactory to his employers.

This is a conclusion which, we think, we are fairly warranted to draw from the work before us. No one, we are persuaded, can rise from its perusal without being impressed with the fullest conviction, that his merits as an officer and scientific navigator are of the highest order; that his talents are not confined to his professional duties; but that the resources of his mind are equal to the most arduous situations, and fertile in expedients under every circumstance however difficult, dangerous, or unexpected. We are proud, and justly proud, of the name of Cook; but we venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, and without meaning to derogate

gate one tittle from the merits of that renowned navigator, that in no part of his career of discovery had he occasion to call into action all those personal exertions and mental energies, which were perpetually demanded in, and essential to the safety of, the late expedition.

In the southern Atlantic, Captain Cook entered the loose and floating ice on the 12th December, in lat. $62^{\circ} 10'$; met with icebergs on the 21st, in lat 67° ; and, by the end of the same month, had returned to lat. 58° . On the 26th January he was again within the antarctic circle; and on the 30th had reached lat. $71^{\circ} 10'$, whence he returned to the northward the same day, deeming it (as he says) 'a dangerous and rash enterprize' to struggle with icebergs and fields of ice. 'I, (he continues,) who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption.' Captain Cook was perfectly right; for as his object was the search of a continent, and not of a navigable passage, though it was the middle of summer, with constant day-light, mostly clear weather, and the thermometer always above the freezing point, yet it would have been an unnecessary sacrifice to pursue that search any farther; he therefore immediately fell back on the abundant resources of the Marquesas and Otaheite islands. Thus, too, in the northern hemisphere, after an unsuccessful attempt of twelve days in or near the ice, and after reaching lat. $70^{\circ} 41' N.$ he returned, on the 29th August, to the Sandwich islands, to recruit his people with the refreshments supplied by them in profusion, not deeming it, (he says) at so advanced a period of the season, 'consistent with prudence to make any further attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year.'

But how stands the case with regard to Captain Parry? After working his way, and struggling almost without intermission for three months, through such fields and floes of ice as were never before encountered by ships with impunity, he was frozen up for ten months in the high latitude of 75° , during three of which the sun never shed one cheerful ray, and the thermometer was generally from 40° to 50° below zero; deprived of all refreshments but what the ships themselves afforded; and without any vegetable substances but the little which he contrived to produce in his cabin, at the time even of the lowest temperature:—under such circumstances it required no small share of mental energy to preserve the health and spirits of the people entrusted to his care, and to prevent a state of despondency so conducive to that most dreadful of all maladies, the sea-scurvy: and his efforts were crowned with such success, that he was enabled to bring home every man (with the exception of one who carried out with him an incurable disease)

in as high health as when they left England, and the two ships as perfect nearly as on the day in which they left the docks.

It is due to the officers to remark, that the example set by their excellent commander was most cheerfully followed by all; and to the men, that their conduct throughout the trying situation in which they were placed, was most exemplary. On Lieutenants Liddon, Beechey and Hoppner, Captain Parry bestows the most flattering applause. The labours of Captain Sabine of the Royal Artillery speak for themselves; and the Appendix, in which they are arranged, will long be resorted to by men of science, as a most valuable detail of facts and well-digested observations, collected and made in a part of the globe where, in all human probability, it may never again fall to the lot of man to repeat them, or to make others.

These facts and observations, accompanied by the clear and distinct statement of the various circumstances by which they were affected, are worthy of the narrative of the voyage by which they are preceded; and we do not hesitate to say that, taken together, they compose a volume which may proudly maintain its station on the same shelf with those of Cook and Vancouver, the first in rank, as in value, of voyages undertaken for the improvement and extension of nautical and geographical knowledge, in our own or in any other language.

ART. X.—*A Chemical and Medical Report of the Properties of the Mineral Waters of Buxton, Matlock, Tunbridge Wells, Harrogate, Bath, Cheltenham, Leamington, Malvern, and the Isle of Wight.* By Charles Scudamore, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Physicians; of the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London, &c. &c. London, 8vo. pp. 265. 1820.

EVERY man who becomes, as the phrase is, hypped, or as it would have been called 100 years back, troubled with the spleen, considers, and with justice according to the theory of the present day, that his disagreeable feelings arise from one or more of the digestive organs not executing their functions properly, and after a trial of the 'blue pill,' and decoction of sarsaparilla, of Abernethy, turns his attention to the waters of Harrogate, Cheltenham, &c. It was, therefore, desirable, that the world should be in possession of some such treatise as this before us, both as giving the invalid a general view of their effects, and as a book of reference for medical men at a distance. It is not, as they have sometimes seemed to suppose, sufficient for them to know, that

that there are aperient waters at such a place, which are of service in carrying off a redundancy of bile; they ought to be acquainted with their specific differences, that they may be able to ascertain which is best suited to the case before them; and of this the medical attendant, who has a previous knowledge of the patient's constitution, will probably be a much better judge than the physician resident on the spot.

We remember some years since asking a very young student in medicine what were the ingredients of the compound aloetic powder; his answer was, 'Indeed I do not know—I know how to produce certain effects by certain cabalistic letters, for instance, P. I. C. (the initials used in one of our hospitals to signify Pulvis Ipecacuanæ Compositus) is a diaphoretic; P. J. C. (Pulvis Jalapæ Compositus) is an aperient; and D. C. cum T. G. A. (Decoctum Cinchonæ cum Tincturâ Guaiaci Ammoniatâ) a tonic and stimulant; as to the component parts I know nothing.' The prescription of the physician who sends a patient to drink any mineral waters, without knowing their component parts, is just as empirical as that of our young friend.

We were already in possession of a work by Dr. Jameson, intended to supply some of this most desirable kind of information; and if the science of chemistry had not since received such vast improvements, especially in what regards the analysis of mineral waters, it might still, perhaps, have been sufficient for our purpose: but the discovery of Dr. Murray alone throws a new light on this whole department of science, and teaches us to trace the effects of certain mineral waters to the operation of such ingredients as were scarcely suspected to exist in them so long as the clumsy and erroneous method was adhered to of evaporating the waters to dryness, before the separation of their several solid contents was attempted. Dr. Murray ascertained that these solid contents are essentially different from the substances originally held in solution in the waters: those substances being mutually decomposed during the process of evaporation, and thus producing new combinations of totally different properties. Thus, for instance, a water holding in solution certain proportions of muriate of lime, and sulphate of soda, (so the gods call it, but men Glauber's salt,) both very active medicines, would, if evaporated to dryness, present a residue containing neither of these salts; the relative affinities of the several acids for the different alkaline or earthy bases being altered according to the *quantity* of the water, by which they are held in solution, so that instead of muriate of lime, and sulphate of soda, we should have sulphate of lime and muriate of soda (common table salt), two substances nearly inert in medicine, and from which, consequently, no just
conjecture

conjecture can be formed as to the virtues of the water supposed to be impregnated with them. Thus a completely new principle having been introduced into this branch of the science, a revision of the analyses formerly given of mineral springs is manifestly called for. And as these circumstances had rendered a new work on the subject a desirable acquisition, we were glad to find, that it had been undertaken by a writer, whose observations on a subject so closely connected with the present, as that of gout and gravel, have deservedly attracted so much attention.

In his introductions to the treatises on some of the Bath waters, we cannot think Dr. Scudamore very happy. They are too much like those lady-like descriptions which we meet with in Watering Place Guides : for instance—

‘Bath is situated 107 miles west from London, and 12 east of Bristol. This ancient and elegant city is singularly favoured by nature and art, whose joint co-operations have conspired to give it importance and celebrity. The beauty and peculiarity of its situation are perhaps unequalled by any town in England. Planted originally in the bottom of a deep and narrow valley, it continued for ages to be confined to the dimensions which the Romans had first marked out; and, till within the last century, the ancient Roman walls (inclosing a space of about fifty acres) formed the boundaries of Bath. But the fashion and celebrity which it latterly obtained, induced many builders and speculators to extend the streets in all directions, by additional houses, which were instantly occupied upon completion.

‘The country round Bath consists of lias and oolite limestone. With this latter the houses in Bath are constructed. They are remarkable for their exterior neatness and beauty, and being raised over the sides of the broad acclivity of Lansdown (which rises to the north) in irregular groups of streets, squares, parades, circusses, and crescents, they present to the eye an appearance equally singular, magnificent, and beautiful.’—p. 127.

This is very fine for Messrs. the Guide Writers; but for Dr. Scudamore, all, except the mineralogical description, is quite *infra dignitatem*, and savours too much of book-making: indeed we suspect that he was not quite pleased with it himself, as in a note he confesses the plagiarism from Rees’s *Encyclopædia*.

His account of the waters themselves is clear and exactly what it should be. He gives an analysis satisfactory to the chemist, and a general and popular description of their properties and medical history for the world in general: nevertheless it seems to us that it would have been more advantageous both to the medical reader and the invalid to have them classed according to their *properties*, rather than their topographical situation. The physician finds that his patient is likely to receive benefit from a water of a certain description, he therefore wishes to meet with a full account

account of waters of that class; and if he found them all under their respective heads, he could make his choice with greater facility, than when, as at present, the information is clogged with a mass of matter to him uninteresting: and, if waters of similar virtues are to be met with in places the most remote from each other, this, so far from being any disadvantage, is the greatest convenience; since of the several springs that suit his case, the patient may be sent to any one, which is nearest, or the most agreeable to him. The physician does not, we apprehend, resolve to send his patient, e. g. to Cheltenham, and then inquire for how many different diseases he may there find relief in its various springs; but, having fixed on the sort of waters required, considers at how many different places such a water may be found, and for this purpose the arrangement we propose would surely be the most suitable. With this view we shall adopt a division into

ALTERATIVES.

Buxton

Matlock

Malvern

APERIENTS.

Harrogate

Cheltenham

Leamington

TONICS.

Bath

Tunbridge

Cheltenham

Isle of Wight.

The active ingredients in the Buxton water appear to be sulphate of soda, muriate of lime, and muriate of magnesia: upon the average, somewhat more than half a grain of each in the gallon; and certainly a chemist, who knows only the theory of medicine, will feel some difficulty in persuading himself that so very minute a proportion of each can have any very important effect on the system: hence our author observes that 'the properties of this water are not held in the same general high estimation as the baths.' There is, however, no doubt that mineral waters in general do really produce effects greater than could be looked for from their impregnation: of this we have a striking instance in that of Bath, which possesses strong stimulating powers, that have usually been attributed only to the iron it contains, though that does not exceed one sixth of a grain in a gallon; so weak, indeed, is the impregnation of this water that one is inclined to attribute some part of its effects to the silica, and to the azotic gas it contains, though it is difficult to explain how they can produce any: besides, some part of the stimulating properties of the Buxton water may be imputed to one or both of these two circumstances—the quantity of fluid taken into the stomach, or the invalids having unknowingly drank at their meals the water from the pump behind the Angel Inn, which contains some considerable portion of iron. Of the benefits derived by dyspeptic invalids from very weakly impregnated waters we shall speak

speaking generally in the conclusion of our notice of this work; but it must not be forgotten that there is a most important principle to be kept in view (as Dr. Paris has well observed in his *Pharmacologia*) in the administration of all *compound* medicines: e. g. that the *combined* effects of several different drugs of similar properties is generally much greater than the mere *sum* of their separate effects: they seem mutually to strengthen each other to a disproportionate degree by their combination.

All that can be said of the internal effects of the Matlock and Malvern waters is that they may be employed in all those cases where a pure diluent drink is advisable: that scrofula is one of those cases, seems to be indicated by the remarkable fact of the reputation which nearly *all* mineral waters, however different, sulphureous, chalybeate, saline, and nearly pure, have obtained for the cure of that disease.

The effects of the aperient waters are much more observable: that of Harrogate, as may be seen from the following analysis,

<i>In one gallon</i>		<i>Of gaseous contents.</i>	
<i>Of solid contents.</i>			
Muriate of soda .	730.72	Sulphuretted hydrogen	13.716
— lime .	55.10	Carbonic acid . . .	9.529
— magnesia .	32.35	Azote and Carburetted	} 5.800
Sulphate of soda .	8.32	hydrogen &c . . .	
Carbonate of soda .	16.71		
Loss	4.80		29.045
848.00			

contains but a small portion of the active aperient, salt, but this deficiency is supplied by the sulphureous impregnation, and 'although of old sulphur was chiefly esteemed as a remedy for cutaneous diseases, yet its use is every year becoming more extended towards other disorders, and it is found to be an active and important agent in exciting the action of the liver, and thus bringing about more regularity of action in the alimentary canal.' Indeed, though sulphur was formerly employed only as a remedy for cutaneous diseases, yet as such diseases are generally connected with a deranged state of the liver and alimentary canal, it was in fact employed, although unknowingly, as a remedy for that derangement. Thus sulphur was used in hæmorrhoids, before it was known that they frequently proceed from congestion in some part of the hepatic system—*heretofore* they considered only its visible effects; *now*, having searched deeper and gained a knowledge of its cause, they direct their attack against the root of the evil rather than the fruits. Hence, then, in any marked case of congestion in the circulation of the vena portarum, with an enlarged

larged abdomen, and sluggish state of the bowels, depending either upon the deficient and defective quality of the bile, or upon the failure of its due excretion, this water, in conjunction with the blue pill and cathartic extract, becomes a valuable curative agent, and it is satisfactory to find that its beneficial effects are permanent, continuing, long after the discontinuance of the water, to secure an improved state of health to a patient who has suffered from habitual torpor of bowels, a result, certainly, of great importance. It claims also great regard as an alterative agent, independently of its purgative operation; and this appears to be chiefly due to its gaseous impregnation of carburetted hydrogen, sulphureous and azotic gases. In obstructions of the spleen or liver a patient will visit Harrogate with almost certain advantage.

At Leamington there are several spas, consisting of *saline alteratives*, *saline aperient*, *sulphuretted saline*, and *chalybeated saline* waters: by saline alteratives, we mean particularly those which contain a strong impregnation of muriate of lime, with a very small proportion of aperient salt, and which would, therefore, have rather an alterative than an aperient tendency.

At Cheltenham there are likewise waters of the same description: of their specific differences the physician resident on the spot will judge, so as to suit the patient; but, as a general rule, all disordered conditions of the digestive organs, comprehending the several kinds of dyspepsia, hepatic obstruction, and torpor of the bowels, will receive the greatest benefit from these waters: of the general difference between the spas of the two places, and their respective value, Dr. Scudamore shall speak for himself.

‘The waters of Leamington, as compared with those of Cheltenham, are, according to my view of their comparative composition, considerably different in their medicinal character. The saline class are much more highly impregnated with muriate of lime; the sulphuretted in the one instance powerful, and the other almost negative; the chalybeate of very superior activity. But it does not follow that the invalid should, from this statement, give a necessary preference to the springs of Leamington. On the contrary, in all these cases in which the most saline, or, in familiar language, the most cooling aperient waters are required, Cheltenham will deserve the preference. In general terms, I am disposed to consider that the use of the waters of Cheltenham should sometimes be introductory to those of Leamington; as being less stimulating.’—p. 234.

Dr. Scudamore is led, in speaking of the Cheltenham waters, to mention the controversy which took place last summer respecting their efficacy and the alleged adulterations of them, and which produced (according to the newspaper phrase) so great a sensation in the place. It appears that a Dr. Neale, who was
settled

settled at Cheltenham and did not obtain so much practice as he had hoped, determined literally to follow the adage of *fishing in troubled waters*: he agreed, it seems, with a Captain Matthews, the proprietor of what is called the old Spa, to recommend those waters at the expense of the rest; for this service, as it afterwards came out, he was to receive a *douceur* of £100. Accordingly he bestowed most liberal abuse on the other wells, and, not content with depreciating their natural properties, he roundly accused the proprietor of administering factitious waters; and in the form of a letter to a friend in Scotland, expatiates with considerable humour on the credulity and weak subservience to fashion, which he attributes to the visitors of Cheltenham. His employer, however, seems to have shared the fate of those who make use of elephants in war, who are indeed destructive enough in all conscience, but are apt not to be very particular as to the objects of their fury, and to trample down friends and foes alike: for the suspicion being once raised respecting the adulterations of these waters bore equally hard upon all the Spas; so that an alarm was excited lest Cheltenham should be completely deserted by its visitants.

With regard to the question of the natural virtues of the several springs, Dr. Neale's case rests entirely on his adoption of Dr. Fothergill's analysis of the old Spa, together with Brande's, of the Montpellier; by which means the former appears to great advantage. The fallacy (whether accidental or wilful) of this statement was easily exposed; but Dr. Scudamore's is the most satisfactory explanation of it that has appeared. Dr. Fothergill's analysis was made upwards of thirty years since, when the principles on which mineral waters should be examined, were far less accurately understood than at present; not to mention that the well from which he took the water has since been deepened from about ten to seventy feet; so that it is manifestly fallacious to compare this analysis with those made of the other springs by Brande and other chemists of the present day, as exhibiting a correct account of the properties of the several waters respectively. The results obtained by Dr. Scudamore from an analysis of all the springs, according to the present method, are widely different from Dr. Neale's; and it is remarkable that the very well he recommended as containing the smallest proportion of *muriate* of soda (of which he expressed a most extravagant degree of alarm) appears to contain that salt in rather a larger quantity than any of the rest.

With respect to the alleged adulteration of the waters, though to say that none ever took place might be a somewhat bold assertion, yet it does not appear at all probable that any is practised
at

at present; because at each of the pump-rooms a bottle of strong solution of salts is openly kept to be added to the waters by those who require it; so that, unless it is believed that the springs have originally no impregnation at all, there seems no conceivable motive for making any clandestine admixture.

With regard to the Cheltenham salts, as they are called, the question whether they are *bonâ fide* prepared exclusively from the Cheltenham waters, or whether the demand for them has (as Dr. Neale insinuates) tempted the proprietors to purchase Glauber and Epsom salts elsewhere in aid of their manufactory, is a question of as little importance, in a medical point of view, as it would be to a patient whether the calcined bone he was taking really was (what Boyle recommends) the thigh-bone of a hanged man, or some other.

Under the head of Chalybeates we shall find each of the three aperient waters that we have mentioned. In the strongest of the Chalybeates at Harrogate the carbonate of iron seems to be united with muriates of lime and magnesia which give the water considerable alterative as well as tonic properties. Cheltenham likewise affords saline, as well as pure chalybeates, but none at all equal in strength of impregnation to the chalybeate salines of Harrogate and Leamington, the former of which, according to Dr. Scudamore's analysis, contains as much as 2.40 and the latter 2.25 grains of iron in a gallon, whereas the same analysis gives only a trace of it in the saline chalybeates of Cheltenham. At Harrogate and Leamington there are besides pure chalybeates; and these, though less strongly impregnated with iron than the former, have this advantage, that, from their containing little or no impregnation with other ingredients, they have a greater consequent capability of acting as a chalybeate medicine. From Dr. Berger's account of the aluminous chalybeate at Niton, in the Isle of Wight, this seems to be a very useful water, as may be expected indeed from the analysis which he gives of it.*

The Bath water seems to partake of the nature and properties of the Harrogate saline chalybeate, but is not so strongly impregnated with iron, both containing the muriate of lime and magnesia, but that of Bath containing of oxyd of iron only $\frac{1}{2}$ of a grain

* In a pint (with the water of crystallization)

Sulphate of iron	41.4
— alumina	31.6
— lime	7.2
Muriate of lime	2.16
— magnesia	1.38
Sulphate of soda	22.96
Silica	.70

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in a gallon, whereas that of Harrogate contains more than $\frac{1}{2}$ in a pint. This, therefore, as well as the other, must contain considerable alterative as well as tonic properties. There is an observation of Dr. Murray on the operation of muriate of lime, which may be applied to that of oxyd of iron—that, in a dilute state of solution, it may pass more easily through the absorbents, while, in a more concentrated state, it may be excluded; it is a well known and remarkable fact that waters, thus weakly impregnated, have a most perceptible chalybeate *taste* in every particle of them: and it is not, perhaps, much to be wondered at, that a mineral, which has so extensive a power of affecting the palate, should possess equally extensive influence over the whole system: hence the reason, perhaps, that in some cases where oxyd of iron has been abundantly employed, no proportionate effect has been produced, its doses having been too large, and in too concentrated a form; and hence, too, it is conceivable that in a more dilute state, in which it may exist in the Bath waters, besides its immediate stimulating operation it may produce effects as a permanent tonic, more important than we should otherwise expect from the quantity. This theory need not necessarily be so understood as to imply the doctrine of the mechanical adaptation of the particles of bodies to the shape and caliber of the tubes they have to pass (a doctrine adopted by Boerhaave, but now rejected), it may be considered as relating to the chemical action on the orifices of the vessels, which an over-excitement may irritate into resistance and effectually close: and, in this view, the doctrine would receive considerable illustration from the action of carbonic-acid gas on the windpipe, which, it is well known, offers a convulsive resistance to the admission of the gas in an undiluted state, while it freely allows its passage when mixed with common air. In like manner it is conceivable that medicines may, in a diluted form, be received into, and act on, parts of the system which would resist and reject them if more concentrated. With regard to the diseases, in which this water is useful, we agree with our author, that in paralysis proceeding from extreme atony arising from the influence of causes which have impaired the energy of the brain and nerves, this water may be of great service; where, however, there is any plethora or obstruction, it seems contrary to common sense to recommend it. In flying gout too it may be of service, as soon as the digestive organs are properly prepared for it, by giving that tone and energy to the system, which converts a lingering chronic disease into an acute and decided form—and hence is often successfully employed for bringing on a fit. Where a stimulating alterative is wanted, but the more powerful influence of the chalybeate impregnation is not desirable, our author proposes
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to get rid of the iron by first boiling and then allowing the water to cool; and, with this preparation, it may be a most useful remedy in some cutaneous diseases; although, in cases of lepra, it would be more advantageous while the iron is held in solution in it, as that complaint is usually connected with debility of the stomach. Dr. Falconer conceives that the external use of it in several cases of what is commonly called St. Vitus's dance was the principal circumstance that led to a cure; according to our experience this disease is more frequently cured by active aperients or metallic tonics taken internally than by any other method. In all cases, where it is *really* indicated, this water has wonderful efficacy, considering the small proportion of its component parts; and this, together with the serious mischief so often arising from an imprudent use of it, affords a strong argument in answer to the objections against weak mineral waters; clearly showing that their efficacy is not in the simple ratio of their chemical impregnation.

The Tunbridge water, although celebrated as the first chalybeate of this country, does not contain more iron than that of Harrogate, yet the effects of the metal are more remarkable in it than in the other; this Dr. Scudamore attributes to the purity of the water, which enables it to exert its specific action more decidedly on the stomach. A gallon of the water appears to contain about 2.29 of a grain of oxyd of iron, 8.05 of carbonic acid, 4.75 of azote, and .50 of oxygen; the other component parts we omit as being of small value; but surely the combined action of these powerful stimuli will be sufficient to account for the tonic effects of the water. The diseases in which it may be useful are, for the most part, the same with those in which the use of the Bath water is indicated. Dr. Scudamore has given us many directions for the management of ourselves, both medical and dietetic, in which, perhaps, he might have spared himself some trouble; for, whatever rules he may lay down, it would be better that every one should address himself in person to a physician who may be conversant with the water to be used, and take his rules for medical treatment and diet from him.

Of the efficacy of the most approved waters, such as Bath, Tunbridge, Harrogate, and Cheltenham, we have said little: it is a fact too well established, and we have therefore confined ourselves very much to the active ingredients in each, in order to give our non-medical readers something like a satisfactory account of them, that they may be enabled to explain the grounds of their hopes of relief. Certainly, if we considered faith as the chief agent in the business, and there were no good grounds for it, we should have

done better to leave them in their state of 'blissful ignorance;' but as, in spite of cavillers, we conceive that there are *material* agents sufficient to account for the effects of the greater parts of these waters, we think it better to explain the fact.

All that remains now is to devote a few lines to the consideration of the baths of several of the places we have mentioned, among which we find the following series:—

The hot bath of Bath, which ranges from 96 to 110°, or at the spring head, 115.

The tepid bath of Buxton, from 80 to 82.

And the bath of Matlock, which is about intermediate between Buxton and the sea. The rheumatic patient, therefore, may with advantage take a course of bathing, beginning with Bath, after that to Buxton, then to Matlock, where he may hope to accomplish his cure: of course we suppose all proper preparations to have been made previously to his beginning the course. Dr. Scudamore here touches on the common objection, that a warm bath may be prepared at home, without subjecting the patient to the inconvenience of a long journey, at a time when he is so little able to bear it. 'One obvious and important advantage however derived from a spacious bath of a temperature somewhat above that of the air, over a confined one of the same temperature, must be referred to the opportunity which it allows of free motion, and the uniformity of temperature in so large a body of water could not be imitated in an artificial bath.' This power of motion in the *warm* bath seems likely to be of the greatest use in diseases of the tendons; and in baths of a lower temperature, it assists in producing the necessary re-action. We shall give the Doctor's own words, as descriptive of the effects of the Buxton bath—

'It is in a rheumatic state of the constitution, unattended with fever; when the various textures concerned in muscular motion are so much weakened, that the patient experiences lameness, stiffness, and irregular pains, more particularly in damp weather, before rain, and from a change of wind to the east, that we see the happiest effects of the Buxton bath. The distensions of the bursæ mucosæ, which form soft swellings near the large joints, become relieved, and commonly receive a cure, in a surprising degree of success, from the influence of pumping on the affected parts, in conjunction with the general bathing. This observation applies both to the effects of gout and rheumatism. It will sometimes happen that the patient (more particularly when rheumatism has been the disease,) whose infirmity is such that he is conveyed with difficulty to the bath; whose disabled state makes him require assistance at every moment, and with difficulty is lifted into the bathing-chair to be let down into the water,—derives benefit so quickly, that in three or four days he is capable of walking to the bath, and making his own immersion

mersion; and the subsequent progress of his recovery becomes wonderfully rapid.—pp. 30, 31.

The immersion in the Matlock bath, from its being below the temperature of the blood, at first produces a slight shock, but less than the cold bath, and it is soon followed by a re-action and an agreeable glow; and its use becomes applicable in a frame less weakened, than what we have lately described, and when there is sufficient energy to produce the re-action. The baths at Harrogate and Cheltenham likewise are well worthy the attention of the invalid on the spot, not only from their superior convenience and comfort, though that is no small inducement in the affair of bathing, but from their sulphureous and saline impregnation; and, upon the whole, with regard to medicated waters in general, we cannot conceive but that an impregnation of sulphuretted hydrogen, or azote, must have some stimulating effect on the skin, although we must confess that we cannot venture quite so far as Dr. Garnett in his bold assertion, that ‘medicated matter is taken into the mass of the blood, perhaps in a more active and less altered state, than when taken into the stomach.’

It may not be amiss to add a word here on the subject of waters of very weak impregnation. The Buxton water, for instance, although more celebrated as a bath, has, as we are told, a degree of efficacy as an internal remedy, which its component parts would not lead us to expect; now allowing it the full benefit of what we have conceded in page 219, we may still find some other causes for it. The greater number of those who resort to mineral springs are persons who suffer from derangement of the chylopoietic viscera, and the benefit which they receive adds greatly to the character of the waters, nay, in some cases, is almost the sole foundation of it; now we may well suppose, that such patients, removed perhaps from the air of the metropolis, to a purer atmosphere, obliged, according to the fashion of the place, to keep early hours, to restrict themselves in point of diet, and to take some alterative medicine, may experience some improvement in their health, although they take nothing but the pure element for their morning draught; and when we add to this, that the spirits, instead of being oppressed by business, are supported in the most wholesome way, namely, by exercise taken in the most enlivening manner, we shall not wonder that such invalids derive more benefit from the water than a chemical analysis will account for. Nor is this a reason for neglecting to *visit* the spring; it is very well to say—‘We can manage all this dry-shod,’ as Dr. Neale calls it, ‘at home;’—true, but will you? It may be alleged, however, and not without some truth, that this doctrine is more proper to be held by the physician than by the patient; who, if he once

lose his confidence in the actual efficacy of the mineral waters themselves, will be apt to think of sparing himself a journey to the watering-place, and pursuing the requisite regimen at home instead; though this will probably end in his doing neither the one nor the other. Undoubtedly men are unwilling to think, or, at least, to own, that they have so little self-command, as to be obliged to subject themselves to a kind of compulsion from external circumstances, in order to adhere to such a plan of life as they are convinced is expedient: so that the physician may find it necessary to preach up the virtues of a medicine which is not efficacious, by way of inducing them incidentally to submit to those which are. It often indeed happens that patients are in the same predicament with the Athenians of old, of whom Thucydides complains, in the person of one of his orators, that it was impossible to do them good in an open and direct manner, and that it was necessary to deceive them into the pursuit of their real interests.*

However, let the patient, whose eye these observations may meet, consider that if he has it in his power to visit the springs which have obtained repute, he will certainly be on the safe side by doing so; since it is only possible, or at least probable, that he may derive the same advantage from an imitation of the same medicine and regimen at home; so that, in the latter case, he will not be giving himself the fullest and fairest chance for recovery. He should remember that there is a presumption in favour of the efficacy of such springs as appear to plead experience in support of their virtues; and that, therefore, it is incumbent on him to prove that they *do not* possess any useful properties, rather than on their advocates to prove that they *do*. Now it is peculiarly difficult, in such a case, to prove a negative; it was thought long ago by many that the modes of analysis then in use were sufficient for the detection of every efficacious ingredient; the contrary has since been proved: and how do we know that we are even yet entitled to pronounce decidedly against the existence of any thing more in a mineral water than we are able to detect. It is the smatterer in science who is the most liable to this kind of hasty dogmatism. If in former days men were too ready believers in the specific virtues of various medicines, the fault of modern times is to run into the opposite extreme, by believing in nothing but what can be satisfactorily explained, and pursuing a system of simplification, beyond what the existing state of science will warrant.

* *ἢν ποιήσῃ, ἢκ τι σφραγίσ, μὴ ἀπατήσαντα, ἀδύνατον.*

ART. XI.—*Reports of some recent Decisions by the Consistorial Court of Scotland, in Actions of Divorce, concluding for Dissolution of Marriages celebrated under the English Law.* By James Fergusson, Esq. Advocate, one of the Judges. Edinburgh. 1819. pp. 248. Appendix, pp. 222.

IT is impossible to glance at the discussions contained in this interesting volume without perceiving that they embrace some of the most important, and, perhaps, some of the most difficult, questions which can be agitated in a court of law: a circumstance which, it is conceived, will fully acquit us with our readers for bringing the work under review, notwithstanding the time that has elapsed since its publication. Under certain modifications, which somewhat vary the complexion of the different cases, but which can better be explained in the sequel, our attention is directed in all of them to this great and general issue—whether marriages solemnized according to the law of England, a law which does not allow the dissolution of marriage by judicial sentence, may nevertheless be legally dissolved by the decree of a Scottish court, on grounds which are competent to that effect according to the law of the latter country? Such an inquiry, even if it regarded the condition and interest of foreigners only, could not be considered as a trivial one: but if any uncertainty should be admitted to exist, either as to the legal constitution or dissolution of marriage, or any questions connected with them arising between natives of the same country, and subjects of one united realm, the consideration would be alarming indeed to the interests and feelings of the community. Now it appears from the ‘Reports’ before us, that, to a certain extent, a collision has actually taken place between the courts of England and Scotland on this matter. For it has been repeatedly adjudged by the Court of Session in Scotland, which is the ultimate tribunal for civil law within that country, in the exercise of that controul which they possess by review over the inferior courts there, that an action of divorce for adultery, to the effect of dissolving the conjugal relation, may be maintained in Scotland at the suit of English parties, whose marriage was contracted in England, and solemnized according to the rules of the English law. On the other hand, it was lately decided in England, on a prosecution for bigamy, and agreeably to the unanimous opinion of all the English judges, that an Englishman, whose prior marriage had been contracted and solemnized in England, but who had afterwards been divorced by a judgment of the Scottish Consistorial Court, was, nevertheless, in consequence of a subsequent marriage in England, during the life of the person from whom he had been so divorced, liable to the pains of

bigamy under the statute of James I.; and he was tried and convicted accordingly.*

What decision the English courts would pronounce in other cases depending on the solution of the above question, where the laws of the two countries may be supposed to interfere, such as an action for alimony brought against the husband in England, notwithstanding a previous divorce obtained by him in the Scottish courts, or the still more important claims of children, the issue, by another marriage, of a person so divorced, in questions of legitimacy and competition for patrimonial rights, does not appear from the present discussions, and is yet probably undetermined. The only point of civil right hitherto agitated, which has received an adjudication in the Scotch courts, is the competency of the divorce; but it is evident that, among a people so closely incorporated as the inhabitants of Britain, many other matters of deep concern are involved in that question, and many considerations arise which invest it with importance.

When we attend to the great interest which this inquiry must create, and the consequences which may follow in its train, there is reason to lament that none of the cases which form the subject of the present Reports were carried by appeal to the ultimate resort in the House of Lords; since it is impossible, perhaps, to imagine an occasion where it would have been more desirable to obtain a decision from the highest judicial authority in the empire. Unhappily for the settlement of the law, and the satisfaction of the public mind, that tenaciousness of right and privilege which invigorates the suitor in almost every other judicial contest is, in many cases of the present description, altogether wanting. Here alone the litigious spirit is weak, and the ingenuity, if roused at all, is usually exercised in extenuating some relevant plea; or, perhaps, in the still more reprehensible endeavour, by mutual if not concerted efforts, to obscure the facts and mislead the judge. Should the object of the suit be agreeable to the secret wishes of both parties, although no collusive acts may be discovered, and perhaps none have taken place, all that is done or thought of on either side is to go through the necessary forms and ceremonial of law, so that the decree of the judge may proceed with somewhat of the wonted solemnity. So far from being a real adversary, the defendant is at best but a willing victim of the law. Whatever obstacles may occur are usually interposed, not by the suitors, but the court, who will, as far as depends upon them, guard against abuses of their authority, by receiving no concession at the expense of the law, and by thwarting all attempts

* In the case of Lolly at the Lancaster Assizes. The precise date does not appear.

to defraud it. But, even 'though wisdom wake,' the means which it can thus employ fall short of that ample security which is afforded on other occasions. No sooner is a judgment obtained which suits the view of the parties than all procedure suddenly stops: no desire is shewn to have the case reviewed, no redress sought by the losing side, no complaint to superior courts; all is silent and acquiescing. Some of the most important cases which form the subject of the present Reports, and some of the leading points discussed in them, appear to have been decided by a single judge of one division of the Court of Session, in a preliminary stage, at which few if any cases of magnitude or interest are ever permitted to rest; and would not probably have reached that court of review at all, had not the decree of the primary tribunal been unfavourable to the claimant.

'The reader,' says Mr. Fergusson, in his introduction, 'will not fail to perceive that the judges in the primary tribunal have in these causes been obliged to struggle with difficulties of no ordinary kind. For there is but one instance in all the actions that have been maintained before them for the dissolution of English marriages where the *lex loci contractus* has been seriously pleaded by the defender, and not one where the *lex domicilii* has ever been really maintained at the bar. Indeed, all the parties, in all their pleadings, have with the greatest anxiety excluded from view a point which, to the radical court, has seemed extremely material; namely, whether a distinction does not exist between those circumstances which are necessary to found *jurisdiction*, and those which determine whether the municipal or the foreign rule of law is to be applied. If this conduct has proceeded from a mutual wish of both pursuers and defenders that the divorce should take place, it is evident that they had a joint interest to suppress the objection arising from the want of a real domicile here; and they have certainly accomplished their purpose with singular ability and address.'

In these circumstances, and in the obvious expediency which exists that this part of the law should be clearly understood by the nation at large, it is evident that a publication of the cases themselves must be highly useful; and the execution of this task by one whose opportunities, station and professional knowledge, particularly qualify him for the undertaking, was, in our opinion, at once a duty and a service to the community.

The present work seems to be the first publication of any decisions pronounced in the Scottish Consistorial Court, or of decisions pronounced by any except the supreme courts of justice in that kingdom; and the author has, in his preface, satisfactorily shown, that owing to the circumstances which attended these actions of divorce, and the nature of the court into which they came, there is, on one hand, much of the proceedings which could not appear in the reported decisions of the Court of Session, which

acts as a court of review; and that, on the other, a full account of what took place in the original court could only be expected from one of the judges in that tribunal itself.* We conceive, indeed, that there are other and very powerful reasons which give a peculiar value to this publication; namely, that the subject of which it treats may be expected almost necessarily to attract the attention, not of lawyers and courts only, but of the legislature: for if those points, which have already been determined by the courts of justice in the two parts of the united kingdom, shall be considered as ultimately fixed, some measures, not within the province or the power of such tribunals, would appear to be requisite for reconciling the opposite rules by which they are severally bound to administer the law—measures which would, in that case, be essential for the happiness of individuals, and the peace of families, throughout the nation.

Had this been strictly a subject of law, or requiring to be treated in a forensic style, we should not have selected it for general notice; and, in the account which we think it our duty to give of the questions discussed in the volume before us, we shall endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid the use of technical language, and the formalities of legal disquisition. Before stating those particular cases which the learned author has selected for his Reports, we shall premise a few observations respecting the court in which they have been determined, and the nature of its jurisdiction.

COMMISSARY COURT.—When the judicial power which came to be vested in the Roman Catholic clergy was, in common with the other privileges which they held under authority of the Pope, abolished at the time of the Reformation, there would have been either a general failure of justice, or an assumption of jurisdiction by some other tribunal, in those causes and matters of which the bishops and their officials had gradually acquired an exclusive cognizance, if an immediate provision had not been made for the dispatch of such cases. This was accordingly done in Scotland under royal authority; first, by a new nomination of Commissaries, one for each diocese; and again, soon after, by the establishment of a Commissary (or Consistorial) Court at Edin-

* It is observed by Mr. Fergusson, in his Introduction, that no proposed institute of Consistorial law, or body of Decisions by the Scotch courts in consistorial causes, has been yet published; and we cannot help viewing this as a very considerable defect, in a department of the law so important, and at the same time so peculiar, as that committed more immediately to the jurisdiction in question. As the records of the Commissary court are stated to be extant from an early period, and the reports of cases adjudged in the Court of Session are published in continuous series for more than 200 years, the materials cannot be supposed wanting for the compilation of a more enlarged digest of the consistorial law and decisions, than the present work could be expected to furnish, or appears to have otherwise been attempted.

burgh, consisting of four judges, with more ample powers, which were defined by subsequent instructions or ordinances, and ratified by various acts of the legislature. To this court in particular was committed, in 1666, the power of deciding in all suits for declaring nullity of marriage, and in all actions of divorcement, to the exclusion not only of other civil courts in the first instance, but also of the inferior or provincial commissaries by whom that jurisdiction had been possessed during the papal government. And further, by their original constitution, in 1563, the commissaries of Edinburgh were authorized to review the sentences of all other commissaries within Scotland. These powers they have possessed ever since. Again, when the right, or practice rather, of taking appeals to the Bishop of Rome was prohibited at the Reformation, all parties engaged in such appeals were, by act of parliament, in 1560, authorized to sue or defend the same before the Court of Session, or other temporal judges of the realm: and by a later statute, in the reign of James VI. (1609. chap. 6.) it was provided that the Court of Session should have power to judge of all decrees and sentences of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, ‘alleged to be wrongously pronounced by them;’ and his majesty grants them a supreme commission for this purpose, authorizing them to advocate causes to themselves, (assume jurisdiction,) from any of the Commissaries, on lawful complaint made to them, but not otherwise. On this footing the jurisdiction still continues. In those which were formerly termed spiritual causes, the Commissaries possess a privative or exclusive jurisdiction; in certain other cases, not necessary to be here mentioned, they hold a concurrent jurisdiction with other civil courts. They are a supreme court, in respect of the review exercised by them over the other commissariats; but, so far as they are themselves subject to review by the Court of Session, they are inferior and subordinate. As, however, the Session had no original jurisdiction in consistorial causes prior to the statute 1609, they can only judge of them upon appeal, and do not entertain such actions in the first instance. Nor do they, even upon appeal, pronounce the sentence themselves, but send the case back to the Commissaries, instructing them what judgment to give, or in what manner to proceed.

JURISDICTION OF THE COMMISSARIES.—The nature of that jurisdiction which is vested in the Consistorial Court is peculiar and anomalous; of which the reasons might easily be found in the character of those tribunals which they superseded, and the circumstances out of which they originally grew. Whatever pretensions were made by the Roman Catholic clergy in support of their jurisdiction, and under whatever names they found it convenient

nient to shelter its exercise, it appears to have been little else than a system of encroachment on the civil power.

When the Reformation put an end in both countries to the popish courts and authority, the jurisdiction was not claimed by the civil or ordinary courts, nor had it ever been vested in such of them at least as were then established. In England, where the episcopal form of church government continued, the chief alteration then made was in the manner of appeal from the ecclesiastical courts, which were now subjected to the regal in place of the papal authority. Accordingly, by 25 Henry VIII. c. 19. an appeal lies from the court of the archbishop to the king in chancery, as supreme head of the church, and who exercises this jurisdiction by delegates appointed under the great seal. In Scotland, where the episcopal was abolished for the presbyterian church government, the jurisdiction exercised formerly by the bishops was, as already observed, committed in the first instance to Commissaries named by the crown; and their decisions were made subject to review by the Court of Session, as the king's supreme court of civil jurisdiction in Scotland.

As to the extent or sum of jurisdiction possessed by the Consistorial Courts within the two countries, and particularly in causes matrimonial, which is the only subject of concern at present, it is of course regulated by the several laws of each kingdom. When the Council of Trent, in 1563, pronounced a curse on those who maintained the dissolution of marriage by judicial sentence, this doctrine, it is well known, did not obtain a reception in all Catholic countries; and, although the discipline respecting marriage, as prescribed by that council, was in the end adopted by the English church, there is some reason to suppose that, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, divorce, or dissolution of marriage, for adultery, might be obtained by law in the courts of England; and that the opposite rule was adopted on the authority of Archbishop Bancroft and other divines, in the case of Foljamb, decided by the Star Chamber in the 44th of Elizabeth.* According to the law of England, however, as now completely settled, no divorce can be pronounced by any court of law of a marriage which has been legally constituted; but the

* 'A divorce for adultery was anciently a *vinculo matrimonii*, and, therefore, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the opinion of the Church of England was, that after a divorce for adultery the parties might marry again. But in Foljamb's case, anno 44 Elizabeth, in the Star Chamber, that opinion was changed, and Archbishop Bancroft, upon the advice of divines, held that adultery was only a cause of divorce a *mensa et toro*.'—*Salkeld*. Title, *Divorce*.

But see Milton's 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' from which it would appear that the latter rule was not conclusively established in the English law, even at a much later period—an inference which may, perhaps, be supported by the terms of the statute
2 mes I. chap. 11.

sole redress which can in that case be given, is separation of the married persons.* A total divorce, or sentence annulling the marriage, can only be granted in those cases where the union was unlawful from the beginning. Parties who are separated by a sentence annulling the marriage are of course, even by the law of England, respectively free to contract a new engagement. On the other hand, where persons lawfully married are, on account of infidelity, or other flagrant violation of conjugal duty, on the part of one of them, allowed by judicial sentence to live in a state of separation, as the nuptial tie is not unloosed, neither party can lawfully marry again during the life of the other, but by doing so would, besides other consequences to themselves and the issue of such union, be guilty of bigamy, and incur its pains. Now, in these important respects, the law of Scotland is directly opposite, in so far as there are two cases, namely, that of adultery, and of wilful desertion for a certain period of time, in either of which a marriage legally constituted may be dissolved by sentence of a competent court. At what period previously divorce for adultery was first introduced into the Scottish law, is a matter involved in considerable obscurity. It appears from the Appendix to the present Reports, which furnishes us with much curious information, that the records of the Consistorial Courts prior to the Reformation, that is to say of the courts held by the Catholic bishops and their officials, (or commissaries,) do not exhibit any instance of a dissolution of marriage granted on account of adultery. Such collections, indeed, do not exist now in any considerable number; so that the evidence afforded by them would not be conclusive, perhaps, in a question concerning the ancient state of the law; and there is some reason to think that divorce was known to the common law courts prior to the Reformation. But, at all events, from the institution of the present Commissary Court in the time of Queen Mary, and of which the records are preserved with little or no interruption, adultery on the part of either spouse has ever been held a competent ground of divorce, and for absolving the parties from their relative obligations.† The only other ground on which, by the law of Scotland, such a divorce can be obtained, is the wilful desertion, (as it is called) of either party; and which, by special statute 1573, ch. 55., is declared, if it shall continue for four years, to be sufficient authority for an action of adherence; and if the judgment in that action is not obeyed, then to be a warrant for divorce. Suits of

* Separation *a mensa et toro*.

† The sole exception to this general freedom derived from the divorce is one introduced by a later statute, in the time of James VI. (1600, ch. 20.) which forbids marriage between the person divorced and the partner of his or her guilt.

divorce,

divorce, proceeding on this ground, have accordingly been frequently brought in the Commissary Court since the date of the statute.

Lastly, so far as regards the state of the Scotch law on this subject, it appears that the inferior divorce, or separation of married persons under authority of law, is fully recognized, and has often been granted in cases where there has been some gross breach of duty on one part, but not such as to found a legal claim for dissolving the marriage. Neither does it appear that this more limited claim for a separation, even in cases which would authorize divorce, has been altogether unknown to the practice of the Scotch courts; but actions of this description have certainly been rare.

It would be presumptuous in us to institute any comparison between the Scotch and English systems on this great point of law. The case is one, indeed, to which the judgment and feelings cannot be indifferent: and the soundest exercise of them may lead different persons to exactly opposite conclusions. In the ordinary state of intercourse between nations independent of each other, such an opposition produces little inconvenience; and the questions which may arise upon it are few and of little interest. But it is quite otherwise with countries which are not only united by allegiance to the same sovereign, by a common legislature, but still more intimately connected by contiguity of soil, by uniformity of language, by all the social and domestic relations, and by a proximity daily increasing in habits, manners, interests, and pursuits. As this incorporation becomes more and more complete, —and it is for the advantage of both that it should if possible be entire,—those questions which result from a difference of municipal law become at once more frequent and of greater importance.

From the information given in the work before us, and an abstract of cases contained in the Appendix, we may discover that, for a considerable time subsequent to the Union, those questions which have been recently discussed attracted little attention; and it does not seem unwarrantable to state that, down to the beginning of the present century, the decisions pronounced by the Scotch courts in actions of divorce for the dissolution of marriages solemnized abroad, whether between foreign parties or between natives of Scotland, were by no means uniform in their tenor; and that the material points lately in question had never received a full discussion, or a formal and deliberate adjudication. But so great was the influx of these cases between English parties into the Scottish Consistorial Court, about the year 1811, that the judges of that tribunal, alarmed at the circumstance, considered it their duty to proceed with every possible degree of caution, in the exercise of their jurisdiction. Those persons

persons who arrive in a foreign territory with no other apparent object but to purchase a legal indulgence denied to them by their own law, and who return again to their home as soon as they have obtained the decree which secures it, come at least into court under suspicious circumstances. When, in this situation, the plaintiff immediately proceeds to sue, and the defendant offers perhaps a faint and imperfect resistance, it is not unnatural to suppose that a collusive understanding exists between them; or even that a more deliberate and depraved course of action may be pursued, for the purpose of furnishing the necessary groundwork of accusation, and the materials of evidence.

Such artifices may be used by one party, indeed, without impeaching or disqualifying the other, who may have been without blame, and even ignorant of their existence: but, at all events, it was proper and necessary, when cases of this kind became unusually frequent, to examine whether the claimant was thus guiltless; whether he had been truly wronged; or only attempted, by some concealed compact, to convert the law into an engine for breaking the law: further, it was peculiarly necessary, in such circumstances, that every part of the case should be proved by unsuspected evidence. But above all—for the evidence could be too easily commanded—the purity of justice required that every plea in law, however shaped by the parties, (and even though altogether suppressed by them) should be taken up and canvassed by the court itself. In discharging this latter part of their duty, accordingly, the Commissaries of Edinburgh, at the period alluded to, were led to think that the grounds of distinction between Scotch and foreign marriages had not been completely brought out, or sufficiently examined in any cases of prior date: and, after many pleadings before them, and much deliberate argument, they came to certain opinions and judgments on this leading part of the question; most of which judgments were afterwards brought under the cognizance of the Court of Session by the usual methods of review. Of these decisions, both by the original courts and Courts of Appeal, we shall now give a brief statement.

The first case in which the important questions here laid before the public were distinctly stated, and met with a full discussion, was that of *Utterton against Tewsh*, which came into the Commissary Court in 1811.* This action was brought by the wife. The marriage and cohabitation were in England; but the defender had afterwards deserted his wife's society, and lived in criminal intercourse with others both in England and Scotland. He was personally cited to the action within Scotland. The Commissaries, from motives already explained, embraced this opportunity of

* First of Mr. Fergusson's Reports.

examining the whole grounds of law applicable to such cases; and appointed the pursuer, as the parties were English and the marriage an English contract, to set forth the reasons, both in fact and law, on which she held the court competent to entertain her suit. Among other pleas, she stated, what alone is necessary to be here mentioned, that the defender was amenable to the jurisdiction by reason of his *domicil* having been in Scotland for more than forty days before citation;* and that questions of personal state or condition are determinable by the law of the country where those acts, out of which the questions originate, took place. To these pleas the defender made a very general answer, virtually declining the argument altogether, and leaving the whole matter to the court. The Commissaries were of opinion that, in the circumstances of the case, they had no jurisdiction, and dismissed the action. Against this judgment a complaint was made, in the form of appeal, to the Court of Session; and the Lord Ordinary, one of the judges of that court who sit by rotation to hear causes and give judgment in the first instance, being of opinion that the interlocutor was erroneous, remitted the cause to the Commissaries, with instructions to sustain their jurisdiction and proceed in the usual manner. As this decision was acquiesced in by both parties, the action immediately came back to the Commissaries, who accordingly proceeded in terms of the remit, and on a proof of the facts libelled pronounced a decree of divorce.

Before proceeding to the subsequent cases reported by Mr. Fergusson, it is proper to notice certain others immediately connected with the subject, and of which he has given an account in his Appendix. And first, we refer to a proceeding which took place in the interim before the House of Lords, on an appeal, in the case Lindsay against Tovey, which had been decided in the courts below previously to that of Utterton against Tewsh. Lindsay, the pursuer, was a Scotchman, and, being with his regiment at Gibraltar, there married the defender Tovey, daughter of an English officer. They afterwards resided at different places in England and Scotland alternately; but entered voluntarily into a contract of separation in 1802; after which the pursuer resided in Scotland when not called abroad on military duty. In 1804, he commenced an action of divorce before the Commissaries for dissolution of the marriage, on account of the defender's alleged infidelity; in which action she stated a preliminary plea against the jurisdiction of the court. The Commissaries found that they had

* By the law of Scotland, a residence for forty days constitutes a presumptive domicile, or home, to the effect of founding jurisdiction even against a foreigner, by a written citation left for him at his dwelling place, and although it should happen that he is not found to receive a citation personally.

a proper

a proper jurisdiction in this instance, and their interlocutor was affirmed by the Court of Session; but, on being carried by appeal to the House of Lords, it appears from the printed report of the proceedings* that great doubts were expressed by the judges who delivered their opinions on the case, how far it was competent for the Scottish Consistorial Court to pronounce a decree dissolving an English marriage. As it was a question of such magnitude however, and had not, it was conceived, presented itself to the Scottish courts in the serious aspect which it now appeared to bear, and as it was not the direct point then under appeal, but arose incidentally in a question of jurisdiction, their lordships agreed that it ought, in the first place, to be reconsidered by the courts below. And it was accordingly remitted for that purpose (9th June, 1813.) But, immediately after this remit to the Court of Session, the pursuer died, and the whole procedure was at an end.

Another case decided in Scotland, which came incidentally before the English courts, not in the course of judicial review, but in a criminal proceeding already alluded to, was that of Sugden against Lolly, in 1812. Both parties were English, and they had been married at Liverpool. In conformity with the rule of decision which had been laid down by the superior court in the case *Utterton against Tewsh*, the Commissaries allowed a proof of the facts averred, and afterwards gave decree of divorce in the usual form. But on the return of the husband, Lolly, to England, after the date of this divorce, and his subsequent marriage there to another person, he was, as before noticed, indicted for bigamy on the statute; and though he pleaded the decree of the Scotch court, by which, according to the acknowledged law of Scotland, his previous marriage was utterly dissolved, and he was free to contract a new engagement, (the partner of his crime alone excepted,) he was nevertheless found guilty, and received the sentence of the English law, viz. transportation to Botany Bay. This judgment passed upon a considerate opinion delivered by all the judges of England, that, as marriage is by the English law indissoluble, persons married according to that law cannot be divorced otherwise than by an act of the legislature.

We shall next notice a case, *Gordon against Pye*, decided in 1814, of which also Mr. Fergusson has given an account in his Appendix. Here too the parties were natives of England, and had been married there. No appearance was made for the defender: but as this case was the first which occurred after the remit from the House of Lords in that of *Lindsay and Tovey*, and involved the general question which was considered to have been kept open by that remit, it received from the Commissaries a de-

* *Low's Reports of Cases on Appeals and Writs of Error in the House of Lords.*

liberate and anxious consideration. It appears that they were equally divided in opinion as to the judgment which was fit to be pronounced, and, agreeably to a rule of their court, that decree shall in such circumstances be given for the defender, the action was accordingly (3d January, 1814) dismissed as incompetent. On application, however, by the pursuer, to the Court of Session, the Lord Ordinary (14th July, 1814) remitted the cause to the Commissaries, with instructions to sustain the action, and proceed in the usual course. No attempt was made by the defender to obtain the opinion of the other judges; and this case, like the former one, immediately returned to the court below, and the divorce proceeded.

Next in order may be mentioned the case Edmonstone against Lockhart, being one of those reported by Mr. Fergusson.* Both parties were Scotch. In the year 1805, Mr. Edmonstone, the pursuer, being then stationed in England with a regiment of Scots Militia, was married, according to the English ritual, to the defender, a relation of the commanding officer, and residing in his family. The pursuer, in contemplation of the marriage, had tendered a resignation of his commission; a marriage settlement was executed in the Scotch form; and, after their union, the parties lived at the pursuer's residence in Scotland, where the defender was guilty of that criminal conduct which became the ground of the present suit. To this action the defender pleaded, that her marriage, having been celebrated under the English law, was indissoluble by judicial sentence. Here again the Commissaries were equally divided in opinion; and, according to the practice of court, judgment was given for the defender. Application was made to the Court of Session for a review of this judgment, and the case was there considered along with certain others of the same class then depending, and to be afterwards explained. It was in the end (5th March, 1816) remitted to the Commissaries, with an instruction to alter their interlocutor and sustain the action. But the pursuer entered into a compromise by a legal deed of agreement, in consequence of which the whole judicial proceedings came to an end, and among others an appeal to the House of Lords, which the defender in this case had shown a purpose of taking; so that the opportunity of receiving a direct judgment on the point from that supreme judicatory of both kingdoms was again unhappily lost.

It is to be observed that hitherto, since the remit from the House of Lords in the cause Lindsay against Tovey, the general question as to dissolution of an English marriage had occurred only in the last mentioned case of Edmonstone against

* Report Third.

Lockhart; that in this case, although the marriage had taken place within the English territory, the parties were both Scotch, and married in the prospect of returning immediately to their native country; and further, that the ulterior proceedings in the action had been stopped by an extra-judicial settlement. But if the remit from the House of Lords is taken as a new date, no direct decision had yet been given as to a marriage solemnized in England between natives of England, who at the time of their union were living under the English law, and contemplated no other.

The occasion on which this main point next came to be discussed was in the action Duntze against Levett, being one of those reported by Mr. Fergusson,* and which came before the Consistorial Court in 1814. In this case both parties were English, and were married in England, where they continued to live together for eight years; after which the defender, forsaking his wife's society, went to Scotland, cohabiting there with another person, and moving from one place of residence to another. He was regularly cited to the action, but made no appearance. The Commissaries dismissed the suit; but on application by the pursuer to the Court of Session, the Lord Ordinary, having consulted the other judges of the Second Division, who were of opinion that some further inquiry should be made as to the nature of the defender's residence in Scotland, remitted the cause to the Commissaries with instructions to allow further proof. The Commissaries, being of opinion that the new evidence adduced was not sufficient to prove that the defender had acquired a fixed residence in Scotland, refused the claim for divorce, but allowed the pursuer, if she chose, to restrict her suit to the lesser remedy of separation. The reasons for this appear to have been stated at great length in the interlocutor. Of this judgment the pursuer complained anew to the Court of Session; and that court, having considered the case upon the report of the Lord Ordinary, in the end remitted the cause to the Commissaries, (21st December, 1816,) instructing them to alter their interlocutor, and proceed in the divorce.

Next in order of time was the case Butler against Forbes, reported by Mr. Fergusson,† and which likewise came before the court in 1814. Both parties were Irish, but their marriage had been celebrated at Port Patrick in Scotland. They immediately after returned to their native country, and lived there during the whole period of their cohabitation; after which the defender went to Scotland, where he resided, without any household establishment or fixed abode, from December, 1813, to March, 1814, carrying on during that time an adulterous intercourse, which was

* Second Report.

† Report Fourth.

the foundation of the action. He received a personal citation at Edinburgh, but made no opposition to the suit. Judgment was given in the Commissary Court for the defender (16th February, 1816,) by an interlocutor which recited the reasons of decision at large, being the same in substance as in other cases already noticed. An appeal was presented to the Court of Session, where this case was considered along with that of Duntze against Levett, above explained, and was remitted by their lordships (1st June, 1816,) with an instruction, as in that case, to allow a proof that the defender was *domiciled* in Scotland when the action was raised; and thereafter to proceed according to law. In obedience to this remit a proof was allowed by the Commissaries, when it appeared that the defender's residence had been of an unsettled and transient nature at different lodging-houses and hotels. On this proof, the Commissaries (13th September, 1816) pronounced an interlocutor, refusing the pursuer's claim, for special reasons therein set forth—being substantially the same as those contained in their deliverance on the parallel case of Duntze and Levett, already specified. On a second appeal to the Court of Session, however, the Commissaries were instructed (21st February, 1817) to alter this judgment, and proceed in the divorce.

The concluding case in Mr. Fergusson's series* is that of Kibblewhite against Rowland, which also came before the court in 1814. The defender made no appearance. According to the pursuer's statement both parties were citizens of London, where the marriage took place, and where the defender practised as an attorney. • In August, 1814, he left home, as the pursuer alleged, on a jaunt to the English lakes, but afterwards proceeded to Edinburgh, whence he wrote to a female in London, directing her to come to him; she joined him accordingly, and they lived together at Edinburgh till the pursuer was personally cited to the action, in the hotel where he lodged, on the 5th of October following. The defender as soon as he received this citation returned to England. On this statement and case, the Commissaries being all agreed in opinion pronounced a judgment, (26th July, 1816,) refusing to sustain the reasons of divorce nearly on the same grounds as in former cases. It was taken, however, to the Court of Session for review, and was finally remitted by their lordships, (21st December, 1816,) with an instruction to the Commissaries to alter their interlocutor, and proceed in the divorce.

We have given this account of the leading cases in the Scottish courts, that the progress and import of the decisions there given may be understood the more distinctly. For a further explanation of the pleas maintained in them, and the arguments

* Fifth Report.

used, we must refer to the work before us, where they are treated at length and with much ability. An outline, however, is indispensable. For, whether it be considered as a mere question of law, in which character alone the courts of justice could deal with it, or still more as a matter of political expediency, in which respect we may consider it as yet undetermined, the subject is remarkable and full of interest. It is the greatest case which has occurred between the two countries, since that which arose in the time of James I. regarding the rights of Scotsmen after the union of the crowns, as natural born subjects of the king of England.* We shall therefore take a brief survey of the argument on different sides of the question. But before doing so it will be useful to notice certain points which, though they have been mixed up at different periods in the discussion, do not appear to be necessary ingredients of it, and by separating which, and laying them altogether aside, this difficult inquiry may be somewhat relieved from its perplexity.

JURISDICTION.—Of these incidental topics, we shall, in the first place, notice the question of jurisdiction. From the preceding detail of cases, and the terms in which several of the judgments are couched, it is evident that one of the reasons for which it had been held or pleaded that the divorce could not proceed, was a supposed incompetency or want of jurisdiction in the Consistorial Court. And as it appears to have been the occasion of not a little ambiguity in the earlier discussions, it is important to understand how far it has any real bearing on the principal issue. The term Jurisdiction is of wide and doubtful signification. In one sense a court may be said to have jurisdiction, if it can receive a particular complaint, and enforce the attendance of the person against whom it is made, so that the one may have an opportunity of stating his claim, and the other of opposing it. But, when the parties have thus appeared, the defender may be able to satisfy the court, or it may be evident to the judge himself, that the cause is one which does not belong to the cognizance of that tribunal; or that the question, though it should, in a strict sense, be competent there, ought, for particular reasons, to be left to the decision of another court. In short, it may be clear that parties have been properly placed at the bar of a court competent to hear their controversy—but as to the ulterior proceedings of that court, and the exercise of its jurisdiction, in settling their dispute, these are at least questions of another

* Case of the *Post nati*. 6 James I. (1609.) That was a general question, as to the state or condition of every Scotch subject, namely, whether native or alien in England? and it was determined that the condition was ruled by the allegiance, so that one born under the king's allegiance could not be an alien.

kind, and which various circumstances may affect. So that it would be easy to figure cases where a long and eager contest may be carried on before a court of law, which shall terminate in a judgment dismissing the action for want of sufficient jurisdiction, or as unfit on other accounts for its adjudication. Jurisdiction, it is plain, cannot have the same meaning on all these different occasions. In a large and somewhat vague sense, it is the right of hearing and delivering a judgment or opinion concerning any matter of law brought before the judge: but, according to a stricter and perhaps more accurate use of the word, it is the right and power of ending that particular controversy, and giving an adjudication in the whole of that matter. It is very necessary to discriminate, therefore, when any argument is drawn from the supposed possession or want of jurisdiction: for the power of hearing a complaint, and the power of granting that particular relief which is sought, must be kept altogether separate in such an inquiry. Substantially, indeed, and with relation to the party aggrieved, they are often very nearly the same; for to him jurisdiction is only important so far as it may satisfy his wants: but they are by no means identical or equivalent in the sight of the law.

We have made these obvious remarks in order to prevent confusion in the subsequent illustration of this subject; and to avoid that ambiguity which would necessarily be occasioned, by using the same word to denote the power of inquiring and the obligation to decide, the right of cognizance and the rule of judgment. It does not appear that any objection to the jurisdiction of the court was pleaded in any of these cases as a bar to the action; it seems only to have been stated as a reason for refusing the divorce. In the original grant of jurisdiction to the Commissary Court, no distinction is made between the divorce of a Scotch and that of any other marriage, nor has the practice of the court established a difference in this respect. In one sense of the term jurisdiction, therefore, it seems very clear that these judges possess it: but in its other sense, the question of jurisdiction and that of the rule of decision are tantamount to each other; so that it will be sufficient to treat the matter under either of these views, and most expedient to do so under the last, namely, as a question, whether the English or Scotch law should furnish the rule in the given case?

It is proper to observe that the distinction here insisted upon is well and forcibly stated on various occasions in the course of the present Reports.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.—Another topic has been introduced into the discussion of these questions, which, according to our views of the matter, might in a great measure be thrown aside; namely,

namely, the argument drawn from principles of general law, or the law of nations. Chancellor D'Aguessau, and others after him, have well observed, that what the professed writers on that subject have usually called the Law of Nations ought to be called the law between, or among, nations;—*international* law, according to the expression now commonly used. Nothing, in reality, can be more undefined than the nature and rules of this public law, nothing more indeterminate than even the meaning of the words. Till the real notions which we would express in using them can be rendered more precise, the discussions on this subject must always end in disappointment and confusion: in this view some distinctions will be useful.

Of the different kinds of public law, that which has regard to each nation internally, or by which its policy and government are regulated in matters common to all its subjects or people, may be distinguished without difficulty, both from its more private system of municipal law, and from the public law of other communities equally independent. This sort of public law may be carried to as great degrees of improvement and perfection as human institutions admit: for it is done by an interior power, the products of which may grow and be consolidated without disturbance. But among separate nations, connected with each other either as political bodies or through the medium of individuals, a new and different rule of conduct is called for; and necessity or convenience gives rise to something like a system of regulations for the government of this external intercourse. To this set of rules, partly drawn from precedents which have been acknowledged by the civilized states of modern Europe, and partly resting on principles of what is considered by the greater number to be right and expedient, abstracted from the peculiar interest of one or a few, has lately been given the general name of *International Law*. But it is necessary to make some further distinctions. For the inquiry may either be concerning some matter which has a respect immediately to the state itself, and the sovereignty which represents the community; or a matter which has its immediate application to individuals, forming part of the community, but having some dependance on or connexion with the laws and constitution of another country; to which last, although with less propriety than to the former, the rules of international law are, in like manner, sometimes said to be applicable. Under the former is comprehended what relates to war, foreign trade, and imposts, with other matters of a like general nature. The great obstacles to the growth and maturity of this kind of public law are sufficiently evident: for its sanctions resolve into the exercise of power; which can at any time annul the code and all the authority on which it

rests. Perhaps a single nation cannot enforce the law, and it is seldom that many will combine to do so : justice, accordingly, does not always overtake the offender ; and the improvement of the system is counteracted by many interruptions. It may be questioned, therefore, if this part of international law can ever be made efficient ; for the revolutions of states and governments are in reality more rapid than the experience of those evils which are occasioned by its violation.

But international law, as we have observed, is now not unfrequently understood in a different sense, as comprehending another description of cases, and regulating another set of questions ; namely, cases and questions which have an immediate concern with individuals only and matters of private right, such as personal privileges, contracts, and other subjects properly of municipal law ; but as to which it is conceived that civilized nations have agreed, and are by a sort of courtesy bound, to regard the laws and regulations of each other. When used with reference to such matters, international law, or the law of nations, may be supposed to mean either a certain class of laws, which, being founded on very general principles, are the same or nearly the same in different nations ; or certain rules more arbitrary in themselves, but which for convenience different nations have adopted and receive as law. Maxims or laws of this kind have the appearance of resting on a broader basis than any single system of municipal law ; but as to their effect and authority they are nothing different : they form indeed an important subject of jurisprudence ; and this great advantage attends them, that they admit of being ascertained with more precision, and supported with greater steadiness, than any rules of what has been more justly called international law ; for in things where individual interests only are concerned, it is seldom that difficulties are thrown in the way by views of state-necessity. Nations, therefore, may severally carry this part of their jurisprudence to great perfection ; may establish liberal and just rules for giving effect to dealings between their own subjects and the subjects of another power ; and may protect and maintain these rules when they are devised. But though they are principles which ought to enter into the composition of every municipal law, still the rules are not strictly *international*, for reciprocity may be wanting ; nor, indeed, is it essential ; on the contrary, if an attempt is made to enforce it, retaliation, that worst of all lawgivers and judges, immediately appears to break down the ramparts of right. If the point at issue is connected with public policy, the rules of justice will be peculiarly endangered ; as happens most frequently on occasions of commercial intercourse. But when this cause of failure and suspension

pension does not occur—as in ordinary contracts between the citizens of two friendly but independent states—the system of law with relation to such cases may be regulated in each nation with certainty, and upheld with uniformity. It is not often that such matters become the subject of positive agreement by treaty, so as to place them in the rank of questions properly international, except as to the law of succession, to which extent it has not been unusual for friendly nations to naturalize the subjects of each other, as was done previously to the revolutionary war, between the British and French nations; on which subject we believe that a case is now or was lately depending before the Tribunal of First Instance at Paris. Yet examples of the former kind are also to be found. Such, for instance, were the reciprocal ordonnances of the Scotch and French governments in the sixteenth century, conferring sundry privileges in each nation upon the subjects of the other.* Such also were the mutual edicts issued about the middle of the last century by the King of France and the Duke of Lorrain, (King of Poland,) in pursuance of a convention between them, by which it was ordained that the judgments rendered by the courts of law in each country should receive execution in those of the other.† But it is more frequently without such formal recognitions, and under the silent protection of sound judicial reasoning, that this branch of law grows up and comes to maturity. In every civilized country, having any considerable intercourse with other nations, it must, in progress of time, form an important and valuable chapter of the law; and it is a part of true policy as well as justice, to give a steady and consistent effect to such rules; for they constitute the standard of right in these particular cases; and, under an equitable and enlightened system of law, courts of justice will not look abroad with too much anxiety for the purpose of dealing out to the subjects of another state that exact measure which is there dealt in return, nor consider the violation of justice by another hand as a reason why she ought also to suffer by their own. Compliance with the principles recognized in one municipal law thus requires, in certain cases, a regard to the rules which form part of another; but the construction and interpretation are not different or hostile; it is not a surrender of private law, but the application of it to a new case.

* Statute of Queen Mary, 1558, ch. 65. where the French Ordonnance is engrossed. Long before that time, however, viz. in 1513, Louis XII. had naturalized all the people of Scotland.

† The French edict was registered in the parliament of Paris, 12th August, 1738. It is remarkable that in one important case which might be thus regulated by international law, no provision has yet been made between the two parts of the British kingdom, viz. for enforcing the attendance of witnesses in one country on commissions for taking proof granted by the judges of the other.

Of those matters and occasions where the law and judicial proceedings of one nation may come, either as ground of decision or material of proof, before the courts of another, two of the most frequent as well as the most important are these—contracts and covenants made in a foreign country, or to which a foreigner is party; and foreign decrees offered in evidence. We have only to consider the reason for which effect is given to these acts, in order to be satisfied that it takes place altogether on the ordinary rules of our own law, and not from any interchange or consent of nations, far less in deference to the authority of their constitutions. A foreign contract receives effect, because the party has consented to bind himself in a matter and after a manner not forbidden by the law: it is his voluntary deed, and the obligation is one imposed by himself. A foreign decree, again, is admitted in proof, on account of its intrinsic weight and unexceptionable nature as a document for that purpose: it is always good evidence, and often the best which can be got or conceived in the matter at issue. It is plain that the two cases now mentioned have an immediate and intimate connexion with the subject of this article: but in considering, as we shall have occasion to do, their influence upon it, all the more general and indefinite inquiries as to universal or international law may be laid aside. Marriage is not a contract depending on international law more than other lawful covenants, which, from their general foundation in human society, are everywhere found. It is different from all others only by its greater importance.

COLLUSION.—Lastly, the subject must be treated without any regard to the question of collusion. Parties always have it in their power to obviate and prevent this objection. For it is clear, in the first place, that even a fraudulent purpose, though it be found to exist somewhere, cannot be a bar to the action, unless the person otherwise entitled to seek the remedy has been a partaker in that fraud. And secondly, although it be granted that the inclination of both parties should be the same, and a secret sympathy lead them to use the corresponding means for gratifying that wish; all this may be without any visible concert, or even any real machination; so that there shall be no external act on which to rest the objection, and no evidence to support it. Accordingly, in the later cases which came before the courts in Scotland, this plea was relinquished; or rather this objection, originally raised by the vigilance of the judges themselves, was, after due consideration, cast away.

HAVING somewhat cleared the way, by these preliminary remarks, we come now to take a view of the question itself. Some further advantage will be gained by dividing it into two parts
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nearly equal in importance; but of which the first alone is, or properly could be, treated in the volume before us; and beyond which we have little inclination to travel.

The first of these questions, which has now been determined, is, What rule of judgment shall be applied by the Scottish courts in any of the cases supposed, when brought before them? The second question, which has been determined in one case to a particular extent only, is, What effect shall their judgment when pronounced receive in the courts of England?

I. Under the first head, we shall present a short account of the argument on different sides of the question, without observing the particular order of the topics or the succession of cases, as they occur in these Reports.

An action of divorce for adultery, when brought before the Consistorial Court in Scotland by parties who have been married under the English law, may be there decided on some one of the following principles; viz. according to the law of Scotland, where the suit is carried on—according to the law of England, where the marriage took place—according to the law of the country, whatever that country be, where the parties to the suit have their residence—or, lastly, according to the law of that country where the contract was violated; that is to say, where the adultery was committed. This last principle, however, does not appear to have been contended for exclusively in any of the cases, or pleaded as affording by itself a sufficient rule and warrant for the decision, although it has been advanced in aid of some other. Under this latter character it will be examined in the sequel, and therefore may at present be excluded. To the three cases which are thus left for discussion we shall give the names, Law of the Jurisdiction, Law of the Contract, and Law of the Residence. But though it will tend to perspicuity that the argument should be arranged under these heads, it would be impossible to keep it thus uniformly distinct. The question is, of one or more rules which is the just one? and in this, as in other cases of selection, the superiority of any one thing can be illustrated only by alternate contrast and comparison with the rest.

1st. *Law of the jurisdiction*, or, in other words, law of that country where the suit is brought.

This may be considered as the natural view of the subject; as the rule entitled to preference and possession, till it is displaced by some other showing a better title. It is in some measure therefore incumbent on those who plead for any different construction, to prove the necessity and justice of it in opposition to the known law of the land. Courts are accustomed to decide between their own subjects, and according to their own rules, long before they
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are called upon to examine the claims and consider the laws of strangers. These, indeed, may come to be a subject of observation in the case of covenants and agreements, when pleaded, whether by the native or the foreign party; and it has been justly settled both in the English and Scottish courts that, in any question respecting a foreign contract, not only shall it be entertained by the courts of Scotland, if not a question respecting land and things real, which are confined to a local and fixed seat, but further, regard shall be had to what was actually covenanted by the parties, in conformity to the law under which it was constituted, although it be unknown and even opposite to the rules of the Scottish system, provided it is not of that class which the latter has, on general grounds, condemned and forbidden as immoral or dangerous. But the principle which acknowledges a foreign law goes to no greater extent. It may be asked, indeed, why respect should not be had to foreign rules in the enforcement of such a contract, as well as in the constitution of it; instead of guarding it with sanctions, and redressing the breach of it by means not in the contemplation of those by whom it was contracted—why, in short, a contract lawfully constituted should not continue to subsist with and be attended by all its innocent conditions and effects everywhere? But it is to be observed that the constitution of a contract is a voluntary act—a free consent lawfully expressed, and binding to certain precise or acknowledged obligations. As to the mode of its constitution then there is no room for question; it is a thing past, and there is no demand, as there is no occasion, for interposing a new authority: but if an action is brought in Scotland for the enforcement of it, although the same principles justify the enforcement generally, yet the manner of it must correspond to the customary process of the court where it is sued, on the same grounds that the manner of the constitution necessarily corresponded to the known solemnities of the place where it was made. No remedy can be given there, no sanction provided, no execution issued, but those which are entrusted to their courts by the law of the land. If then process and execution, peculiar to their law, be competent for enforcing a foreign contract, on what ground shall the remedies, peculiar to our law, for the avoidance of such a contract, not be equally competent? If a wrong be committed, and the contract is broken by either party, they cannot look to the consequences which would have ensued on such a breach in the jurisdiction abroad—they can give no redress but what is competent there: and to that redress the party has an equitable right. A court which should refuse to give the remedies within its power would

would refuse justice, and leave those unprotected who are subject to its jurisdiction and pray for its help.

But further, personal state or condition, whether it be that of marriage or legitimacy, or whatever else, is something above any mere covenant or ordinary agreement. It is attended with rights and consequences far more general, more lasting, and more important. The possessor of that character, wherever he goes and in whatever outward circumstances he is placed, has a natural and just claim to have those rights which are attached to the condition supported in their greatest lawful extent, and by all competent means. Relations so formed are fundamental as society, and universal as the human frame and constitution; nor are the obligations created by them peculiar to any place or to any system of municipal law. They are bounded under those systems, and distinguished in them, only by views somewhat different, of general expediency; but wherever the possessors go they are entitled to the utmost protection which the laws of that place afford. Not only therefore has marriage, when it is once constituted, no longer any local site or boundary, but it is in all respects different both from contracts which are the expressed will, and from questions of intestate succession and others, which are the presumed will of individuals. Relations of this kind are, indeed, established by positive agreement; but they cannot be dissolved, nor altered, nor modified by the will of the related persons, nor, as to consequences, depend any how upon their pleasure. In this view the question is properly and strictly one of public law, and one of the both most important in that class, since the manners and moral habits of the whole community may be materially affected by its decision. If divorce be refused in cases like the present, strangers may in Scotland bid defiance to the laws of Scotland; the guilty will be exempted from its penalties, and the innocent be deprived of its protection. This is not, like an ordinary civil contract, matter of indifference to the country where the persons come; the latter has an interest even paramount to that of the parties themselves, so far as the interest of the few must yield to that of the many. An appeal to foreign rules and foreign doctrines of expediency, therefore, in a matter of such vital importance, would not only compromise the judicial power, but introduce disorder and versatility into the administration of the law: nor would these evils be prevented by introducing a distinction between the residence which is transient and that which is more permanent, so as to give effect to the right in one case and withhold it in the other. The distinction would be difficult and the attempt dangerous. There are no marked lines by which to make such a separation; in many, perhaps in most cases, it would be necessary to decide upon presumptions;

sumptions; and the law, in this most critical of all its interferences, would be vague and unknown. Safety, therefore, no less than simplicity, calls for the observance of one rule, and its application to all cases. Great injustice, indeed, might be the result of any other course; for not only might parties in that case evade their own law, not only be uncertain of their rights under that of the country where they go, but by removing from place to place they might contrive to live nearly without law. Or should they not be involved equally in the immorality and guilt, should the wife be the innocent party, she might, notwithstanding, by the obligation which she owes of following her husband, become the victim of his authorized cruelty, be disappointed altogether of legal redress, and either be cast off at his pleasure, or compelled to suffer the last wrongs of a wife by remaining the helpless and neglected witness of his infidelity.

‘ultimum est nuptæ malum
Palam mariti possidens pellex domum.’—*Seneca.*

Finally, the above arguments are supposed to have additional weight in cases where the breach of the conjugal obligation has taken place in Scotland itself; because on one hand the right to prosecute has been there acquired, and on the other the justice of the country has been more directly and openly insulted.

Objections to the Law of the Jurisdiction.—As the law of the jurisdiction may be supported in opposition to any other, by reasoning such as the above, so there are considerations to be placed against it, which bear in a peculiar manner as objections against this principle of decision.

Thus it may be urged that there is no question in cases like the present of denying redress altogether, or of leaving foreigners in these circumstances without any relief; but the true and only question is with respect to the extent of that relief to which they are entitled. If a wife, for example, should apply to the Consistorial Court for protection against her husband's cruelty and maltreatment, or to obtain from him the immediate means of subsistence and support, no distinction could be made between a native and a foreigner; the interference of the court would be instant as the necessity would be obvious. But the question now at issue is different in two respects. First, the necessity is not equally urgent, while at the same time the consequences of interference are far more extensive and hazardous. Secondly, when the case is more closely examined, the hardship, even upon the innocent party, of denying the claim for this particular redress, is by no means so great as at first sight it appears to be; for the divorce is not one of those remedies to which a wife would in such circumstances have a right elsewhere, and above all in her own country; so that

that she is not put in a worse condition than she held there, by the obligation of following her husband to the place of the new jurisdiction. It is a remedy on which she did not calculate; she is deprived therefore of no privilege, but is merely debarred from taking an accidental advantage which must have always been foreign to her thoughts. Some other topics of objection to the plea of the jurisdiction come properly to be considered under the particular rules in support of which they form the leading argument. But so far as the question is supposed to be connected with the locality of the offence, as rendering it a fit subject for action before the Scottish courts and for decision by the Scottish law, it is answered that the action of divorce is not a criminal prosecution for punishment and public example, but a civil suit at the instance and for the sole benefit of the injured spouse. Besides, although the crime shall have taken place in a foreign land, it is no less a ground for the suit, and no less admissible to proof, than if it had happened within the limits of the Scotch territory; which proves not only that the jurisdiction is otherwise founded, but also that the preservation of public morals is not the original aim or the true purpose of the proceeding. Again, though it be true that the enjoyment of rights arising from personal state and condition is not confined to the particular country where that state has been constituted, yet these rights cannot be considered without a reference to the laws under which they were established, or with a view to which, as defining the obligations of the parties, their engagement was contracted. It is not enough therefore that the parties should have merely such a residence in Scotland as serves to found jurisdiction, since it would be anomalous and unreasonable to regulate the conditions of personal state by the laws of a country where that state had not been constituted and was not to be held. Nor would the tribunals of one kingdom determine in this manner the most common and trivial engagements of trade or copartnership between the subjects of another.

Lastly, it is objected that if the law of the jurisdiction should regulate every such case, great and unavoidable inconvenience might be the result; for if no previous change of residence is required, no renunciation of the law under which the marriage was contracted, and no voluntary subjugation to the municipal rules of another kingdom, this most injurious and absurd consequence would follow, that foreigners, even if shipwrecked on the Scottish coast, might be liable, merely through that casualty, to the Scottish law. Nor would it in reality be less incongruous that a native of England, whose fortune and interests have been always situated there, should, while he is for the first time placing his foot on the Scottish border, be carried by a personal citation before

fore the Consistorial Court at Edinburgh, and have decree of divorce passed against him according to a law of which, perhaps, he knows nothing and has never heard. That one who is visiting a foreign country should be compelled to answer in a civil suit, brought against him from any the most distant quarter of the globe, might be to him the extremity of hardship, and is not requisite in the common case for the security of the claimant. It is true, indeed, that what are termed by the English law transitory, in opposition to local, actions, follow the person and may be brought in any place. Yet this is to be understood under a reasonable limitation; nor will it be sufficient that they are brought merely at any place where the party is accidentally found, or purposely entangled when unprovided with the means of defence. But further, when it is proposed not only to sue him, but even to fasten upon him the foreign law and obligation, the hardship is infinitely greater. Nor is it enough to say that if his guilt is proved he has sustained no injury and has no room to complain; for, whatever may have been his immorality and vice, still the measure of punishment must be ascertained in order to be legal, and previously known in order to be felt as just. Besides, the individual defendant is not the only party whose interest is to be consulted; for there may be children whose rights are involved in the event, and who must in these cases, however innocent of the guilt, be sharers in the penalty.

Such is a general view of the reasons which may be given for the law of the jurisdiction, and of the objections to which it is more peculiarly exposed. We shall observe the same order under the two remaining heads.

2. *Law of the Contract*; in other words, law of the country or place where the marriage was constituted.

Although marriage be a state or condition, the privileges of which are not left to the will and appointment of parties, but are regulated by the laws of all civilized countries, yet nevertheless that state is in every case constituted by a voluntary paction. There are indeed personal conditions, as those of major or minor, sane or insane, and others, which do not depend on the will of the parties, but are, without any controul on their side, constituted or provided for by the law. But the relation of marriage is in Scotland always created by the act and agreement of the individuals. The conditions therefore expressed or implied in that original agreement, if conformable to the law under which it was made, ought in justice to govern thereafter the rights and interest of those concerned. If it were not so ruled, the contracting parties would in reality be making an engagement of which they knew neither the meaning nor the consequences. Other laws then, and other courts,

courts, are bound on general principles of equity to respect the contract thus legally formed, and the essential conditions which have been attached to it, if not directly opposite to those paramount rules of religious and moral government, which are recognized by themselves as governing principles, and necessary for the well being of society. On these principles, indeed, the Scotch laws would refuse all effect to polygamy or concubinage, as they have done to the state of slavery when attempted to be enforced in that country. But nothing of this occurs in the present case. Marriage is a contract indissoluble by the law of England—a law which is well known to the subjects of that kingdom, and which, by entering into the marriage state, they expressly bind themselves to obey. Nor is there any thing in such a condition which the law of Scotland can object to as either immoral or unjust; on the contrary, it is, in spirit and in principle, the law of both countries; marriage is in Scotland as in England a supposed union for life, and even in the former country the exceptions to its indissoluble nature are few, and extorted by some sort of necessity. The sacred quality of the conjugal relation is fully recognized in the system of that law, and in the high punishments which it inflicts for the crime of adultery. It tolerates divorce in certain cases, but even in these does not favour it. Every view therefore conspires to forbid any unnecessary extension of divorce even in Scotland—a remedy properly classed, by one of the judges in the Consistorial Court, among the mournful privileges of her law. Neither would it be safe, on other grounds, that a husband should have it in his power, by placing his family at pleasure in any foreign land, thus to invert the obligations of the conjugal engagement, and alter so important a part of its conditions. Any rule which should enable the husband, by a mere change of his dwelling place, to disappoint the rights of his wife, and perhaps the interests of their offspring, would be fraught with injustice; and it would be no less contrary to the general good of society; for it is important to the community, that no doubt should exist as to the nature of the conjugal relation, no uncertainty prevail as to the terms on which it is to subsist; and that marriage when once contracted should be known to retain its fixed character, in whatever place the parties shall reside, and wherever they may go.

But further, in considering what is the fit rule of decision, we must never forget its connexion with the other very important inquiry—what effect is the decision entitled to receive in other countries? and particularly what authority can it justly claim in the country where the relation was constituted? Let it be supposed that a Scotchman should repair to a country where divorce may be obtained on evidence of a voluntary separation for a few months

months perhaps, or a few weeks—and such is said to be the law in some of the North American states—that the parties should have had it in view to take advantage of this rule, and after accomplishing that object should forthwith be found again in their native land—would they be thereby disengaged, and at liberty to contract new engagements under the law of Scotland? If not, the foreign law which had applied its own canon, without regard to the obligations in which the parties were bound to each other by their solemn contract, must have committed an act of injustice. But such, in all respects, is the case of an English marriage dissolved in Scotland. According to any rule of interpretation but that of the contract, persons may, at the same time, be married in one place and unmarried in another; be entitled by this law to important privileges; be obnoxious by that to degradation and punishment—a situation productive of unspeakable distress and disorder inextricable. But such conflicts can only be avoided by giving effect to the law contended for—a clear and consistent rule which can be the cause of no after shock or perplexity; for parties contracting are thus made to fulfil what they voluntarily undertook, receive, wherever they pass, that measure of justice which is dealt to them at home, and, when they return thither, return with the same rights which they carried out, unembarrassed by change of circumstance, and undisturbed by foreign power. At all events, and whatever exception may in certain cases be admissible, the rule of the contract is the only just and safe one, where the parties, at the time of their engagement, had no view to the law of another country as their future home. If, indeed, a Scotchman shall marry in England, or an Englishman marry in Scotland, according to the rites of either law, but without any purpose of residence, and having no other connexion with that which is to him a foreign country, it is at least a different question whether the law, which has fortuitously regulated the solemnity of his nuptials, ought likewise to regulate his permanent obligations and his claims. In the former case the contract cannot properly be termed an English contract, nor in the latter can it be termed a Scotch one. The rule is not to be interpreted in a literal or judicial sense. The *place* or country of the contract is not the ruling principle, but a short way of expressing it; the place is an indication of the contract, but not the measure of it. A contract is the act and mind of the parties who make it—the place regulates the form: this latter, indeed, may be said to represent the other. So it is at least in the usual case, because the law of the territory and that which was contemplated by the engaging parties are commonly the same. But this presumption is not, in the case of foreigners, absolute; the exception in their favour would not therefore be inconsistent with

with the rule now contended for. Not so with English parties; they cannot oppugn or rebut the presumption that by marrying in England they intended to contract an indissoluble engagement. Natives of whatever country must be supposed to know, and to intend, the whole obligations of their law, and to them the conditions which it imposes are indefeasible. To abrogate these conditions therefore by any judicial authority would be to annul the rights created by that contract, to the prejudice of the opposing party, of those who derive any title by the marriage, and of the public interest.

Objections to the Law of the Contract.—While the law of the contract is enforced by arguments like these, on the other hand, there are objections which strike in a peculiar manner against the application of this rule.

For it is argued that marriage, with the rights consequent upon it, is by no means dependent on the mere purpose of the individuals who contract it, nor the subject of private stipulation only; on the contrary, it is matter of public ordinance, because it is of general interest; it is taken altogether under the guardianship of the law, and wherever it is held, it must be held under the conditions, and subjected to all the provisions and accidents appointed for it by the public authority. Whether marriage is, even by the English law, indissoluble, according to the just sense and spirit of that term, is matter of great doubt. Perhaps the sole amount of what is expressed by the canon is that the power of dissolving that tie is not vested in the ordinary courts within England, nor is any procedure known to them by which that object, even supposing it not forbidden by any more general maxim of the law, could be accomplished. That it was otherwise at a period not of the remotest antiquity there is authority for believing. At all events it is certain that even now an English marriage may be dissolved by interposition of the legislative power, and that a proceeding for this purpose, originating on the application of private parties, is well known in that kingdom; which proves sufficiently that divorce, though it may not in England be demanded as an absolute right, is not held to be immoral in its purpose, or contrary to the principles acknowledged in the law of the land. When it is said that the conditions of the marriage contract, expressed or legally implied, are inherent and unchangeable, and that this principle determines the present point, two mistakes are committed. It is forgot, in the first place, that the question is not as to a condition or right arising out of the contract, but as to a remedy for the breach and violation of it. In the second place, it is forgot that the after divorce is not an act of the parties, or either

of them, but an act of the law. Parties make no provision as to the right of divorce, nor is the Scotch ritual different from the English in that respect. And even if they were inclined to forego a right like this, which is provided for the public benefit, they could not accomplish their purpose: they can neither create such a privilege in their favour, nor renounce it to their disadvantage. The conditions of the contract are, indeed, unalterable by the will of the parties; and such is the law of both countries; but here is no attempt made to infringe them by that will. In these respects the case is altogether different from those which are sometimes referred to on the subject, where voluntary transactions taking place abroad, and authorized by the foreign law, have been sustained in British courts, though contrary to our positive institutions, if not contrary to our sense of morality and abstract justice—such as the stipulation for a higher interest than our legal rate, and others of a similar nature. Now a contract, however lawful in itself, and however much the terms of it may originally depend on the will of the contractors, but much more a contract which resolves into the creation of a personal state and relation, known to all civilized societies and clothed with privileges by every law, is not to be identified as it were merely with the place where it is made; it is not a slave of the soil, not fatally linked and riveted to the spot of its birth; neither does it afterwards go abroad with all those qualifications and accidents which particular policy may have given it at home. That a particular relation should be so accompanied, not only with its substantial conditions, but with all its modifications and consequences, is impracticable, or would be the source of infinite disorder. Nor is this distinction confined by any means to the case of the conjugal relation, but is common to other personal conditions as well as to more ordinary contracts. Powers and privileges may be committed to a parent or a master by the laws of one country, which, though blameless in themselves, will no longer have any authority if he seeks to enforce them in another. Indissolubility, even if it were to be considered as properly a condition of English marriages, is not of their essence, not an indelible character impressed upon the contract, but, like the various modes of its constitution, a local qualification only, which has no natural influence and can have no legal effect in other realms. It may be asked whether, if a marriage between English parties has been celebrated in Scotland according to the English forms, and shall be afterwards dissolved in Scotland, the decree of divorce would be received to that effect in England? If it would, then the exclusion of divorce does not depend on the solemnity or the ritual of the engagement. If it would not be received, then it is not the *place* of the contract which regulates,

regulates, but something else.—Or it may be asked, whether a marriage celebrated between Scotch persons within Scotland, but according to the rites of the English episcopal church, could or could not be effectually dissolved by the Scotch court—a case which would prove a touchstone to the rule contended for?—Nor would the adoption of the rule in question be consistent with the public good in any country; for by thus in a manner importing the peculiar and contradictory laws established in other kingdoms and places, which, though opposite to our own and to each other, may not be immoral or unjust in themselves, the most incongruous results would necessarily follow; the law on these important subjects could no longer be interpreted with uniformity even in the same courts, and unavoidable disorder would be introduced into society.

3. *Law of the Residence.*—Lastly, it remains to take some notice of the argument for and against the Law of Domicil; that is to say, the law of the country or place where the parties have their fixed and ordinary abode at the time when the action is commenced.

In favour of this rule it is observed, that marriage ought to be regulated by the laws of that place where the state is to be held; and the contracting parties must be supposed to have contemplated that law, and that only. A stranger who happens to marry abroad with an intention, perhaps, of returning next day to his native home, has no thought about the foreign law further than concerns the solemnity required for the legal constitution of his marriage; he thinks of home, of the consequences which there attend that solemn engagement, of the rights which it confers and the obligations which it imposes there. If the courts of his own country should, from some strange and preposterous construction of the maxim which authorizes a regard to foreign contracts, apply to him on his return those rules to which he would have been subjected had he remained in the foreign territory, what should we call it, but a perversion of all rules and a mockery of all justice? According to the sound distinction on this general head of the law, as laid down by Lord Mansfield*—and which is pointed out, indeed, by the obvious dictate of reason—although the common rule be, that ‘the place where the contract is made, and not where action is brought, is to be considered in expounding and enforcing the contract,’—‘this rule admits of an exception where the parties at the time of making the contract had a view to a different kingdom.’ Agreeably to this interpretation a marriage by English parties at Gretna-Green, in Scotland, has been held nevertheless

* Case of *Robinson versus Bland*—reported by Blackstone,

to be an English marriage; and so at an earlier period it was held by Lord Hale, that a Quaker marriage was valid, though not regularly solemnized by the English law. But if this be the true construction; if, when parties have contracted the relation of marriage during a transient residence abroad, such be the rule of justice in determining the rights consequent upon it, what reason can there be why, in case of a like transient residence abroad after its completion, the same rule should not be admitted and applied in a question of its dissolution? Where, indeed, the country of the residence has also been that of the marriage, the course of proceeding will appear to be more obvious and certain. The union of these two, or indeed of any two, circumstances among those in question, such as the law of the jurisdiction with the law of the contract, or the law of the jurisdiction with that of the residence, adds an apparent strength to the case and rule contended for, whatever that may be; for it lessens the difficulty by removing some of the contending pleas. In the greater number of cases the law of the residence and that of the contract are the same, and the reasons which recommend either rule are at bottom of one quality and kind; for the law of the contract, when its terms are not precisely fixed by convention, will be construed as being that of the country where the parties live and have made themselves responsible. There may be an apparent contradiction between these, arising from an after-change of residence; but the true foundations and groundwork are, the agreement of the persons contracting on one hand, and on the other those limitations on that agreement which are imposed by law for the good of the society wherein they live. Mutual consent in the compact of marriage is controuled in some respects for the general advantage, but where not so controuled it starts up again as the regulating principle. Now persons who are contracting this bond must certainly be held to intend the law of that place which they have chosen as their home, as the seat of their other ties and interests. This principle, when it is put to the trial, will be found capable of governing throughout. Let it be supposed that the parties shall afterwards be within the precincts of a territory where some different law is administered, and that one of them is cited by the other before a tribunal of that country—Will it not depend on the circumstances in which they have been found there, what course shall be followed by the judge? One kind of residence, it has been observed, is sufficient for jurisdiction merely. But surely it must be a very different kind, which renders a person not only amenable for criminal acts, directly infringing the laws of that land and the safety of its inhabitants, but subject also, in matters of private right, to its particular rules and civil constitution. This principle

principle is fully recognized in questions of succession. A person does not change his legal condition by the mere act of travelling. Till he has acquired some real and established connexion with the place and the community, he has no interest in them, nor have they in him, to provoke or justify the interference of their municipal law. Would our courts entertain an action, even at the instance of a slave seeking freedom from a foreign master, if the parties were merely passing through the territory? At all events many pleas may be figured, such as claims for debt contracted in their own country, or rights depending on a construction of its laws, where it would be unjust to pronounce between strangers, and unjust even should the defendant waive the objection; because the interest of other parties who are absent may be endangered by the proceeding. Those who contract marriage are not fixed to the place of its constitution more than those who form other personal engagements; and, when they abandon one country and take up their dwelling in another, they must be supposed to contemplate the laws of that new abode which they have chosen. An Englishman may remove to Scotland, transferring his family establishment, his fortune and his pursuits, to the latter country. When he does so, the same reasons which formerly subjected him to the English law will now subject him to the Scotch. In truth it is still the same rule, the same general principle, which governs—it is the law of the residence in both. Here is no hardship and no difficulty. The law of the jurisdiction becomes now the law of justice, not, indeed, for the purpose of annulling rights which had been legally acquired by the parties elsewhere, but for the solution of those questions and claims which may emerge after their subjection to a new government and judicature. If they were not thus amenable to the law of the country, and responsible according to its rules for the breach even of their civil engagements, they would exist as a kind of insulated body detached from the rest of the community, and the object either of its opprobrium or its envy—a situation hostile at once to the morals and the comfort of society. This rule of decision might be further enforced by the example of prescriptions or limitations of actions, which will be regulated by the law of the residence, although it may happen that the debt had been constituted where that exception had no place; for it is now a question, not of the constitution of an obligation, but of its extinction.

Objections to the Law of the Residence.—On the other hand it may be objected to this rule of decision, that the intentions and mind of any person in fixing his place of residence, or in leaving one residence for another, are in many cases extremely doubtful, and that the proof is in all cases uncertain; for it is no easy matter

to connect the fact of the removal with the mental views of the actor. Who shall say what time and circumstances are enough, or what too little, to constitute a residence, or to prove a real change of it? Or who shall prevent a person from taking all those outward measures which create legal presumption, while he secretly meditates quite another scheme? Collusion would thus find materials and those provided by the law itself. What is still worse, the important rights of marriage, and the interests both of parent and offspring, would be left to the mercy of an uncertain rule, and to the hazard of subtle and dubious construction. On this account it might even be more easily yielded that the law, not of the place where the parties reside at the time of the action, but of the place (if it be different) where they resided at the time of the marriage, is the proper rule and ought to govern the decision. This at least is more consistent and precise; for it not only tallies with the presumed intention of the persons contracting, who must have looked to that law when they undertook their obligations, and is therefore in this respect equally just with the rule above contended for; but further, and in which respect it is greatly superior, it furnishes a permanent measure of justice between them, not altered by capricious changes of habitation, nor subject to evasion by pretended ones.

To this latter modification, it admits of being objected in reply, that a change of residence is not always capricious, but often proper, advantageous, and even necessary; nor is the case of exception or danger to be taken for the foundation of an important rule. Besides, it is not a matter in which the parties themselves are exclusively concerned; for the interest of the society with which, on a change of residence, they come to be connected, is no less to be considered. And as to the difficulty of proving that real change of abode which is required, it is not exclusively applicable to the present case, but exists to an equal degree in many others where patrimonial interests of the greatest moment are involved. It is a difficulty too, which is much overrated when it is supposed to launch us into a mere ocean of presumptions; for the law has prudently placed the burthen of proof on the person who alleges a change, and unless the evidence adduced in support of that allegation be satisfactory, the former residence will be held also as the present. But to reject altogether a proof thus drawn from acts and circumstances of an external nature, merely because it involves questions of construction more or less difficult, would be to refuse evidence in some of its most legal and best established modes, and sacrifice the substance of justice to a futile desire for unattainable certainty.

It will be evident to the reader from a perusal of these proceedings,

ings, that the Commissary Court have from the first taken up this matter as one of very serious import, which it was their duty on that account thoroughly to sift and examine; that they have accordingly used every means to determine the whole question and have in the examination of it displayed learning and diligence of no ordinary kind. In proof of this, as well as in illustration of the general subject, many passages might be extracted both from the Reports themselves and from the documents furnished in the Appendix; but in our attempt to exhibit a connected view of this legal controversy, we have already occupied much of the reader's time, and allowed ourselves, we fear, little room for quotation.

From the account which we have given of the particular cases, it will be observed that the opinions formed by the court of original jurisdiction, and before the ultimate decisions pronounced by the court of review, underwent a change in the progress of the inquiry. In the first case, that of *Utterton against Tewsh*, the Commissaries found that they had no jurisdiction. In the next, that of *Gordon against Pye*—for the case of *Lindsay against Tovey* did not come to a decision after the remit by the House of Lords—they likewise dismissed the action, considering the question fit to be ruled by the law of England, as the place both of the contract and the residence. In that which followed, namely, *Edmonstone against Lockhart*, they refused the divorce, singly on the ground that the marriage had been solemnized in England. In the fourth, that of *Duntze against Levett*, they dismissed the pursuer's claim, because the real residence of the parties was in England. And in the two next, that of *Kibblewhite against Rowland*, and that of *Butler against Forbes*, they refused the divorce on reasons of the same import; namely, that the real residence of the defender was in the one case England, in the other Ireland, according to the law of both which countries marriage is indissoluble.

Such were the decisions of the Commissaries, till successively altered by the Court of Session and the court of review. We do not discover that, in any of the cases thus reviewed, the reasons or grounds of judgment were set forth in the interlocutors of the supreme court; but, on two several occasions, the opinions of the judges in the Second Division (or chamber) appear from a note of the speeches given in the Appendix to these Reports* to have been divided in opinion on the point of law. During the discussion, also, in the case of *Levett*, and two others, which were considered along with it, we find that the following questions were

* Appendix, pp. 392 and following. Ibid. pp. 436 and following.

put by the judges of the Second Division to the other ten judges of the court:—‘Is it a valid defence against an action of divorce in Scotland, on account of adultery committed there, that the marriage had been celebrated in England? Or that the parties had been domiciled there, when the marriage had been celebrated in Scotland? Or will it materially affect the defence, that the parties, though married in England, were Scots persons, who had thereafter cohabited in Scotland, and continued domiciled there?’* It is evident from the terms of these questions, that they could not have been intended to embrace all the issues of law which had arisen in these cases; and even as to the point of *domicil*, the questions put appear to have had an exclusive, or at least a particular reference to *the time of the marriage*, without consideration of what might have been the domicil *when the action was brought*. Accordingly the other ten judges whose answers are to be found immediately subjoined in the same passage of the Reports, did so understand them; for their lordships conclude their answer in these words—‘they mean to give their opinion only on the abstract question put to them, and to say that the mere fact of the marriage having been celebrated in England, whether between English or Scots parties, is not *per se* a defence against an action of divorce for adultery committed here.’ It will further be observed from these last expressions, that the opinion given by the judges had, in strictness, a reference only to those cases where the alleged acts of criminality had taken place within Scotland; being the hypothesis in the questions. But as the cases which have already been decided were various in themselves, and the circumstances, particularly in the last two, were of a very direct and unequivocal nature, it seems to be a necessary inference from the judgments sustaining the divorce in all of them, that the rule of the Scottish law, in other words what has been termed in the foregoing argument *the law of the jurisdiction*, is found by the supreme court in Scotland to be the general rule of decision in such actions, whether the parties to the suit be resident or strangers, and whether the contract has been a Scotch or a foreign contract.

At one time, indeed, it would appear that the judges in that court had entertained a doubt, how far the question might not be affected by the quality of the defendant’s *domicil* or residence. For, by their interlocutors in the cases Duntze against Levett, and Butler against Forbes, although the jurisdiction of the court had, in both these cases, been founded by personal citation of the defenders, their lordships directed that a further inquiry should be allowed as to the above point; namely, that the pursuer

* Reports, p. 115.

should

should be allowed to prove 'that the defender was domiciled and resident in Scotland when the action was raised.' But it does not appear, whether the judgment which was afterwards pronounced in these cases, according to the opinion of a majority of the court, rested on the evidence adduced respecting the defenders' actual domicile, and the nature of it; or whether it was ultimately held that, if jurisdiction be founded, the place of residence and nature of the *domicil* are circumstances not essential or of decisive importance.

Whether separation merely is a remedy which it is competent for the Commissaries of Edinburgh to grant for the breach of conjugal fidelity has not hitherto been determined by the superior court; for the latter have ruled in favour of the divorce when claimed, and no case has yet occurred where the lesser remedy has been applied for.

II. Having in this manner disposed of the first question, namely, What is the rule of law to be observed by the Scotch courts in deciding the cases given, we shall now advert to the other main branch of the subject, viz. What effect shall be given by the courts of justice, in other quarters of the empire, to the decisions of the Scotch courts when so pronounced? This constitutes another important chapter of the municipal law in respect to matters *foreign*; and, like the preceding, it is among the abstruse topics of jurisprudence. We can only touch, and that very superficially, on a few points. But, in the advanced state of our law in both parts of the kingdom, this whole subject is well deserving of a separate treatise and a skilful commentator.

A foreign decree may either be presented directly for execution, or tendered indirectly as the ground of an exception, or as a piece of evidence. In the former character there is no occasion to consider it here: for the decree of the Scottish Consistory has not hitherto been placed in suit before any of the English courts with a view to obtain process of execution upon it; nor is it, perhaps, of a nature to admit that proceeding. But it has been offered, as a ground of exception, against an indictment for the crime of bigamy. This question is beyond doubt deeply interesting, and in importance scarcely inferior to the former, out of which it naturally arises: but we are not furnished in the work before us, nor was it to be there expected, with sufficient materials for understanding the solution of it. Certain distinctions there are, indeed, on this subject, which have been recognized, and are obvious. Thus, a foreign decree may have determined the identical point of law brought in question at home; or it may only have decided something collateral to or in unison with it, something

thing from which the new point is matter of inference more or less direct. Again, it may happen, that one suit is of a civil, the other of a penal nature: and thus of other distinctions. Farther, when the decree is offered not as a plea in bar, but as evidence of fact, it may possess more or less authority, according to the rank and jurisdiction of the court by which it was given, or according to the intent and character of the proceeding. A separate inquiry too, and one of still greater importance, may arise in all such cases, viz. Whether the decree so tendered, and the matter supposed to be concluded by it, is, or is not, in contradiction to the laws of the country where it is proffered, in a case directly provided for by that law, and not subject to the agreement of parties. Among other instances which might be referred to on this subject, is the noted case of the Duchess of Kingston,* where it was adjudged that a sentence by the spiritual court against a marriage, in a suit of jactitation of marriage, (a fiction by which the validity of an alleged marriage may be tried,) was not conclusive evidence, so as to stop the counsel for the crown from proving that marriage in an indictment for bigamy. Much of the learning on this part of the law is to be found in the admirable pleadings in that case, as well as in the opinions of the judges, delivered by the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, (Sir William de Grey,) in answer to certain questions of law put to them by the lords; both of which throw great light on the general question. In that case, the sentence pleaded in bar had been pronounced by the Consistorial Court of London; so that it was the sentence not only of a court within the country of England, but of one whose decision, declaring either a divorce or nullity of the prior marriage, affords, by the statute itself which enacts the pains of bigamy, an exception against the prosecution.† But, on the other hand, there was in that case strong evidence of a collusion in obtaining the previous decree of the Consistorial Court; or, in the language of the pleadings, that the parties had the fortune to catch a judgment against the marriage, by mere surprize upon the justice of the court; a circumstance which, in this as in every other case,

* Trial of Elizabeth Duchess Dowager of Kingston for Bigamy, before the House of Peers, in Westminster Hall, 1776.—(State Trials.) See likewise, on the subject of foreign decrees, the proceedings in an action by Mr. Anthony Fabrigas against Lieutenant General Moxlyn, Governor of Minorca, for false imprisonment and banishment—in the Common Pleas and King's Bench, 1773 and 1774.

† 1 James I. c. 11. (1603.) It is declared, among other exceptions, that the act shall not extend 'to any person or persons that are, or shall be, at the time of such [subsequent] marriage, divorced by any sentence had, or hereafter to be had, in the Ecclesiastical Court; or to any person or persons where the former marriage hath been or hereafter shall be, by sentence in the Ecclesiastical Court, declared to be void and of no effect.'

would

would be sufficient to set aside the decree however otherwise conclusive.

We have already referred to the proceedings against W. Martin Lolly, who was prosecuted in England for bigamy, notwithstanding a divorce from his prior marriage, previously obtained in the Commissary Court of Edinburgh, and which proceedings form an important feature in the present question. The trial, if we are not misinformed, took place at the Lancaster Assizes; when the points of law were reserved for the opinion of the twelve judges. That opinion, as referred to by the Lord Chancellor in the subsequent appeal case, *Tovey against Lindsay*,* was, 'that, as by the English law marriage was indissoluble, a marriage contracted in England could not be dissolved in any way, except by an act of the legislature.'

Such is the only information furnished as to that case, in the work before us, or which is published perhaps in an authentic form. The situation resulting from the above trial and conviction, as connected with the previous and following decisions of the Scotch courts, is certainly not a little painful and embarrassing. We are not furnished with any account of the reasons on which the opinion of the learned judges rested in the case referred to. Perhaps the respective judgments of the Scotch and English courts are not in exact and immediate opposition to each other: for, independently of the marked difference between a civil action and a criminal prosecution, particularly for felony, where the parties cannot be the same in both, it may be argued that the judgment of the Scottish court was only collateral to the after-question. It had pronounced a decree of divorce; but had determined nothing as to the right of the party so divorced to marry again under the English law, or the validity of such marriage, even with a view to civil consequences, and still less as to the application of English penal law. By the law of Scotland, indeed, the right to contract a new marriage followed as a consequence from the divorce; although even this latter question was not before any of the courts of that country. Remaining in Scotland, the divorced party might legally contract a new marriage: returning to England, he committed himself to the English law—he is met by a positive statute, and the courts, when called upon, would inflict its penalty; for the decree of the Consistorial Court of Scotland does not, by that statute, furnish a ground of exemption; on the contrary, it may be argued that by specifying certain exceptions, the statute precluded every other.

* *Dow's Reports of Cases upon Appeals and Writs of Error in the House of Lords*, 1813-14.

He, therefore, who revisits his former country in such circumstances, does so at his own peril, and faces a known difficulty. Cases, indeed, may be supposed, where a conflict of the same nature, and results no less contradictory, might arise among different courts, even within the same country: such cases have occurred, on various occasions, between those of civil and criminal jurisdiction; and they may be found within the precincts of the statute now in question. Thus it is a particular proviso of this act,* that it shall not extend 'to any person or persons whose husband or wife shall be continually remaining beyond the seas by the space of seven years together, or whose husband or wife shall absent him or herself from the other, by the space of seven years together, in any parts within his Majesty's dominions, the one of them not knowing the other to be living within that time.' A person in either of these situations, therefore, who contracts a new marriage, will not be liable to prosecution; yet, if the absent spouse be alive, not only will the party be punishable in the Spiritual Court, but the second marriage is undoubtedly void in law, and must be so declared by that court, notwithstanding the consequences which would thus attach to the party with whom a second engagement had been made, though altogether innocent, and to the issue of that connection.† Such results, it may be urged, however afflicting, are not always produced by collision of jurisdiction, or oppositions of courts; they spring from the unavoidable encounter of different laws, or only prove the imperfection of human institutions.

But it must be remembered, throughout the whole of this question, that it is not the case of individuals merely, or one in which a personal bar and disqualification ought to be received—for the innocent are commonly involved with the guilty. We do not, therefore, by the observations last made, mean to extenuate the difficulties of the present case; or to contend that the collision which has happened is really not of greater moment than oppositions or anomalies of law, such as those abovementioned; which are either statutory exceptions to some statutory penalty, or difficulties in the application of known law, against which hu-

* 1 Jac. I. c. 11.—already referred to.

† Other cases of hardship scarcely inferior in degree, may and do occur under the operation of established law in this department of rights. Thus it is well known, that according to the English marriage law, proofs for declaring the nullity of a marriage where the party contracting was under age at the time, and had not the consent of the parent or guardian, may be effectually brought even after the lapse of many years, and the marriage be pronounced altogether void, notwithstanding the severe consequence of thereby bastardising the innocent issue; and that, under the Scotch law of Legitimation by subsequent marriage, questions of the same nature, and attended with nearly equal difficulty, may arise between the issue so legitimated and other parties whose state in society may be thereby unexpectedly changed and inverted.

man wisdom cannot effectually provide. In the one case they are precise and limited, in the other absolutely inevitable. But the conflict which has lately arisen is of a different description. Its consequences are not circumscribed within definite bounds; nor is the case beyond the power of a remedy, if it shall be acknowledged to require it.

Two opposite rules of construction have been severally recognized as law, by the highest judicial authorities in the two countries. To what extent, and in how many directions, the application of them would lead, it is difficult and might be presumptuous to say. But there are some parallel situations which readily present themselves to view. The cases which have hitherto occurred are those of divorce for the crime of adultery: but wrongful desertion is, in like manner, by the law of Scotland, a sufficient ground for the dissolution of marriage. Here then is another occasion, where it may be expected that a collision would, in certain circumstances, take place—since there is room to suppose, on one hand, that this remedy would be granted by the courts of Scotland, in the case of English parties; and, on the other, that the courts of England would not hold the English marriage to be thereby dissolved.

Another and very important set of cases, involving a similar doubt, and depending on the application of rules equally adverse to each other, are those affecting the condition or state of legitimacy. It is well known that by the law of Scotland the children born before, as well as those born after, the marriage of their parents, are thereby rendered legitimate; but that by the English law, which in this instance resisted the authority of the decretals, marriage does not legitimate the previous issue. As this case of legitimation by subsequent marriage is intimately connected with the case of divorce, and runs very close to it in the whole of its progress, it may be satisfactory to pursue it for a moment through some of the same steps, not in the way of argument, but for the sake of light and contrast.

We would, in the first place, then, put this question:—If the parents of an illegitimate child, being natives of and resident in Scotland, should there marry, and afterwards go into England, and a suit should arise in the latter country, involving the question of that child's legitimacy, such perhaps as a claim against the parent for alimony—what would be the decision of the English court? Perhaps it may be answered, as this is not the real difficulty of the case, that, like a contract lawfully constituted abroad, the marriage, being an acknowledged mode of legitimation under the Scottish law, would be sustained to the same effect in the courts of England.

But,

But, secondly, let us reverse the case, and suppose that the child is born of English parents, natives of that country and residing in it—that they shall afterwards pass over to Scotland, and marry during an occasional and transient abode there, or it may be during a journey undertaken solely for that purpose—and that a suit shall happen to arise in the Scotch courts, involving collaterally the point of legitimacy—What would be their decision in such a case? that is to say, Would they hold the marriage of the parents in Scotland to have legitimated the issue? And again, if it were to be so decided by the Scotch courts, and the same question should thereafter incidentally arise in the courts of England, would the Scotch decree be received as conclusive on that point?

Or, we may suppose that the parents, natives of Scotland, and having their residence there, shall, during a transient abode or fortuitous visit in England, marry in the latter country—What would be the judgment of the Scotch courts on the question of legitimacy in such a case? Would they refuse effect to this marriage as legitimating a previous issue, on the ground that it was contracted where a different law prevails?—Or what would be the decision of the English courts on a like question coming collaterally before them? Would they hold the marriage to be a legitimation, on account of the law of Scotland, although that marriage, or the constitution of legitimacy, if it may be so called, took place in a country which recognizes no such effect?

In the two cases last put, would the temporary *domicil* (as it is called) of the parents be held to impose the Scotch law in one case? or would it be held to defeat that law in the other?

But let it be supposed, that the parents being English, and resident in England when their illegitimate offspring were born, shall afterwards have abandoned that country and removed to Scotland, with an evident and avowed purpose of remaining there—and after the lapse of years shall there marry—and a question then arise before the courts of the country—What would be the judgment of those courts? And, if they should sustain the marriage as effectual to legitimate, what would be the decision of the English courts, before whom that judgment might come to be incidentally pleaded?

Or reverse the case now put, and suppose the parents, being Scotch, to have altogether left that country, and transferred their residence to England, and after many years to marry there—How would the courts of England decide in such a case? Or what would be the decision of the Scotch courts, if the same point should be afterwards indirectly questioned there?

In the two cases last put, would it be held that the law of the original

original country continued to regulate the state of parties, and that of their children, though contrary to the law which they had afterwards become subject to in other matters—so that, in the case first put, marriage would not be legitimate in Scotland, and, in the case last put, it would be legitimate in England?

Whatever be the true answer to the above questions, and whatever might be the interpretation of the respective laws on those and other cases which may be figured, their importance surely is not a questionable matter.* England and Scotland must be held indeed as, in a strict sense, countries foreign to each other, in respect of their municipal law; and, though the natives of each country are by law citizens of the other, still as to their judicial rules and systems they continue to be strangers. But it is impossible to consider the question in this abstract manner: their common interest, even more than their political union, forbids this cold consideration of it, and places them in a very different situation, with regard to this matter, from that of nations which though friendly are yet alien. Perhaps it is one of those emergencies which call for a direct interference and declaratory provision by the legislature; for the courts of justice may be altogether incompetent to reconcile these contradictions; they are merely interpreters; their hands are tied by the subsisting law.

Fortunately, the code of neither country is contrary, even on this subject, to any fundamental principle of the other: the only difficulty, as it must be the sole object, is to reconcile their subsisting rules. Divorce is not a favourite of the Scotch policy; nor is the English altogether abhorrent from it. It is no doctrine of the Scotch code that marriage is a temporary compact, or that it depends for its duration in any respect on the contractors; that it is a yoke which can be taken off at the pleasure of either party, or of both. That code acknowledges, to the fullest extent, the peculiar nature of this sacred and primæval engagement;

‘Sole propriety

In Paradise, of all things common else:’

it recognizes the union as irrevocable, as a contract between the two spouses for life, constituting between them a relation abso-

* Minor questions, arising from the difference of laws in the two countries, and depending for their solution on similar principles, have occurred in practice. A person declared infamous by the sentence of a court of law cannot be a witness in either kingdom. But by the law of England this disqualification is taken off by a pardon; whereas the law of Scotland, it is believed, has not fully established the admissibility of the witness in such circumstances. What effect would be given to these rules, severally, in the courts of each country, with respect to evidence adduced from the other?

lute and exclusive. But the most important obligations and conditions of the conjugal state may be infringed by one of the parties; and the law, considering human infirmity, as well as the danger of contamination, has, in certain grievous cases of this description, interfered of its own authority, not indeed by at once annulling the marriage, but by allowing the other party, if innocent and desirous of using the privilege, to sue for an entire separation from the offender, and a dissolution of the state by which they were connected. Such is the Scotch law. Nor has the English refused a corresponding relief in such cases, for its canon has permitted a separation as matter of right; and its legislature confers, in certain circumstances, even divorce itself, as matter of indulgence.

There is nothing, therefore, in the principle or spirit of either law, which prevents it from bending to the other, so far as may be necessary to effect a consistent and secure provision for private right, among all the subjects of the united realm. If, on considerations of general advantage, it be thought dangerous and inexpedient to sustain a decree of divorce in the case of an English marriage, as effectual for dissolution of that marriage in England, it may be requisite, by a statutory exception, to exclude the jurisdiction of the Scotch courts in such cases, and necessary to define, by the same authority, what shall constitute an English marriage to that effect.* If, on the other hand, expediency forbids such a limitation of the right of divorce as competent by law in Scotland, it should seem no less necessary to provide, that the decree of divorce, when pronounced there by the competent court, shall be received in England as a legal dissolution of any marriage.—But we feel as if now on the extreme verge of our own jurisdiction; and gladly withdraw. We are not reviewing a work which undertakes to point out remedial means, nor, in a matter of such difficulty, are we inclined ourselves to project them. Those who may consider it their duty will find ample subject for deliberation. To the author of the present work we conceive that the public are highly indebted, both for the information which he has communicated, and for the valuable light which he has thrown on this very interesting department of the law.

* This last measure appears in a more peculiar manner requisite, if, as seems to follow from the opinion given by the English judges, no subsequent change of country and residence, however permanent and complete, can operate so as to render a decree of divorce available in England.

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QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY, 1821.

- ART. I.—1. *Histoire de Cromwell, d'après les Mémoires du Temps, et les Recueils Parlementaires.* Par M. Villemain. 2 tom. 8vo. Paris. 1819.
2. *Memoirs of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and of his Sons, Richard and Henry. Illustrated by Original Letters, and other Family Papers.* By Oliver Cromwell, Esq., a Descendant of the Family. With Portraits from Original Pictures. London. 1820. 4to.
3. *Oliver Cromwell and his Times.* By Thomas Cromwell. London. 1821.
4. *Cromwelliana. A Chronological Detail of Events in which Oliver Cromwell was engaged from the year 1642 to his Death 1658: with a Continuation of other Transactions to the Restoration.* Westminster. 1810. Folio.

THE first of these works is in all respects a very good book; the second, which contains much less original matter than we had hoped to find there, is the commendable attempt of an old and respectable gentleman to vindicate the character of his great ancestor. Mr. Thomas Cromwell, the author of the third work, appears *not* to be a descendant of the family: his book, though very inferior to M. Villemain's, and composed in too ambitious a style, is on the whole so fairly written and intended, that we advise the author to ask himself whether some of his statements are not more conformable to the prejudices with which he took up the subject, than to the facts with which he became acquainted in pursuing it,—to reconsider the grounds and the consistency of some of his opinions—and if a second edition of his book should be called for, to introduce it by a preface, somewhat more modest and decorous. The fourth and last article consists of a series of extracts from the Diurnalls, and other publications of those times. With these works before us, and with the aid of such other materials as the rich memoirs of that disastrous age afford, and the industry of later writers has supplied, (among whom Mr. Noble deserves especial mention as one of the most laborious, and accurate and useful of the pioneer class,) we shall endeavour to present a compendious and faithful account of Oliver Cromwell's eventful life.

The pedigree of the Protector's family commences about the middle of the eleventh century with Glothyan Lord of Powys, who

married Morveth, the daughter and heiress of Edwyn ap Tydwel, Lord of Cardigan;—a Welsh genealogist no doubt would be able to trace the Lords of Cardigan and Powys up to Cadwallader and so on to Brennus and Belinus. William ap Yevan, the representative of the family in the fifteenth century, was in the service first of Jasper Duke of Bedford, Henry the Seventh's uncle, afterwards of that king himself. His son, Morgan Williams, married the sister of that Cromwell whose name is conspicuous in the history of the Reformation, and who, though not irreproachable for his share in the transactions of a portentous reign, is on the whole largely entitled to commiseration and respect. The eldest son of this marriage called himself Richard Cromwell, *alias* Williams, and as the former was the more popular and distinctive name, the *alias*, though long retained by the family in their deeds and wills, was dropt in ordinary use. This Richard was one of the six challengers who held a tournament in 1540 at Westminster against all comers. The justs were proclaimed in France, Flanders, Spain and Scotland. The challengers entered the field richly accoutred, and their horses trapped in white velvet; the knights and gentlemen who rode before them were apparelled in velvet and white sammet, and their servants were all in white doublets and 'hosen cut in the Burgonian fashion.' Sir Richard was knighted on the second day, and performed his part in the justs so well that the king cried out to him, 'formerly thou wast my Dick, but hereafter thou shalt be my diamond;' and then dropping a diamond ring from his finger bade him take it, and ever after bear such a one in the fore gamb of the demy lion in his crest. As a further proof of the royal favour, he and each of the challengers had a house and an hundred marks annually, to them and their heirs for ever, granted out of the property of the Knights of Rhodes, the last prior of that religion dying at this time broken-hearted for the dissolution of his order.

Sir Richard Cromwell was one of those persons who were enriched by the spoils of the Church. He was appointed one of the visitors of the Religious Houses, and received for his reward so large a portion of the plunder, that the church lands which he had possessed in Huntingdonshire only, were let in Charles the Second's reign for more than £30,000 a year; and besides these he had very great estates in the adjoining counties of Cambridge, Bedford, Rutland and Northampton. The donors of estates to monasteries and churches usually inserted in their deeds of gift a solemn imprecation against all persons who should usurp the property so bequeathed, or convert it to other purposes than those for which it was consecrated. Though this proved no defence for the estates which had been piously disposed, it was long believed
by

by the people that the property sacrilegiously obtained at the dissolution carried a curse with it; and, in a great majority of instances, the facts were such as to strengthen the opinion. Without consigning the rapacious courtiers of that age to the bottomless pit, 'there to be tormented for ever with Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and with Judas Iscariot,' it may safely be said that no conscientious man would have taken property clogged with such an entail.

Henry, the eldest son and heir of Sir Richard, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, who esteemed him highly, and honoured him by sleeping at his seat, once the Nunnery, at Hinchinbrook, on her return from visiting Cambridge. He was called the Golden Knight for his wealth and for his liberality, which was of a splendid kind; for, dividing his time between Hinchinbrook and Ramsey, whenever he returned to the latter place he used to throw large sums of money to the poor townsmen. The death of his second wife was one of the alleged crimes for which the witches of Warboys were accused and executed; the property of these poor wretches, amounting to £40, was forfeited to Sir Henry, as lord of the manor, and he gave it to the Corporation of Huntingdon on condition that they should procure from Queen's College, Cambridge, every year on Lady-day, a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity to preach in that town against the sin of witchcraft. That condition was regularly fulfilled about thirty years ago: in what manner it is performed at present we know not. Robert, the second son of Sir Henry, was the father of Oliver, so named after his uncle, the head of the family. That uncle, Sir Oliver, was a magnificent personage, for whose expenses even the enormous property which he inherited proved inadequate.

Sir Henry left his younger sons estates of about £300 a year each: those to which Robert Cromwell succeeded lay in and near the town of Huntingdon, having chiefly or wholly belonged to the Augustinian Monastery of St. Mary. The house in which he resided was either part of the Hospital of St. John, or built upon the site and with materials from its ruins. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Steward, of the city of Ely, a family which, it is not doubted, was allied to the royal house of Scotland. She was the widow of a Mr. Lynne, and is supposed to have brought him little other fortune than her jointure. They had ten children, OLIVER was the second, and the only one of the three boys who lived to grow up. Mr. Cromwell was member for his own borough of Huntingdon in the parliament held in the 35th of Elizabeth, and he was in the commission of the Peace. This satisfied all his ambition: but, to provide for so large a family, he entered into a large brewing business; it was carried on by servants, and Mrs. Cromwell inspected their accounts, which

rendered her better able to conduct the business for herself* after her husband's death in 1617. Oliver was born April 25th, 1599. A nonjuror, who afterwards purchased and inhabited the house, used, when he showed the room in which the Protector was born, to observe that the devil was behind the door, alluding to a figure of Satan in the hangings. It is said, on the authority of the same person, who was curious in collecting what traditions remained concerning so eminent a man, that Oliver, when an infant, was in as much danger from a great monkey as Gulliver was at Brobdignag. At his grandfather's house one of these mischievous creatures took him out of the cradle, carried him upon the leads of the house, to the dreadful alarm of the family, (who made beds and blankets ready, in the forlorn hope of catching him,) and at last brought him safely down. He was saved from drowning in his youth by Mr. Johnson, the curate of Cunnington.

Oliver was educated at the free grammar school of his native town, by Dr. Beard,† whose severity towards him is said to have been more than what was usual even in that age of barbarous school-discipline. He was a resolute, active boy, fond of engaging in hazardous exploits, and more capable of hard study than inclined to it. His ambition was of a different kind, and that peculiar kind discovered itself even in his youth. He is said to have displayed a more than common emotion in playing the part of Tactus who finds a royal robe and a crown, in the old comedy of *Lingua*. The comedy was certainly performed at the free-school of Huntingdon in his time, and if Oliver played the part, the scene in question is one which he must have remembered with singular feeling, whatever he may have felt in enacting it.

* Mr. O. Cromwell says 'all this has been said by Cromwell's enemies, for the purpose of degrading him; but no evidence to be relied on is produced in support of these assertions. The truth is, nothing certain is likely to be known of his early life, or the pecuniary circumstances of his parents.' 'And,' he adds, 'that, as Cromwell, in a speech to his Parliament, said he was a gentleman, neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity, such an account of himself is a sufficient confutation of his and his family's narrow circumstances, and their engagements in trade in consequence.' This gentleman very justly observes that the statement, 'if true, could not be deemed discreditable to the family, the youngest brothers of the best families in this country engaging in trade and thereby raising themselves to fortune and independency.' With this feeling there is an inconsistency in resenting the statement as a wrong. Of such facts no other proof is possible than contemporary assertions, uncontradicted at the time; these are so numerous that it is almost absurd to question them; and what renders the fact highly probable is, that Mrs. Cromwell 'lived in a very handsome, frugal manner, and gave each of her daughters fortune sufficient to marry them to persons of genteel families;' which she could never have done from her dowry alone, being only 60*l.* a year.

† The frontispiece to the *Theatre of God's Judgments* is said to be a portrait of this severe schoolmaster. It represents him with two scholars standing behind, a rod in his hand, and *As in præsentis* proceeding from his mouth.

'Was ever man so fortunate as I,
To break his shins at such a stumbling-block!
Roses and bays back hence! this Crown and Robe
My brows and body circles and invests.
How gallantly it fits me! Sure the slave
Measured my head that wrought this coronet.
They lie who say complexions cannot change;
My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd
Unto the sacred nature of a king.
Methinks I hear my noble parasites
Styling me Cæsar or great Alexander,
Licking my feet, and wondering where I got
This precious ointment. How my pace is mended,
How princely do I speak, how sharp I threaten;—
Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
And make you tremble when the lion roars,
Ye earth-bred worms!—
Poets will write whole volumes of this change.'

He himself is said often, in the height of his fortune, to have mentioned a gigantic figure which, when he was a boy, opened the curtains of his bed, and told him he should be the greatest person in the kingdom. Such a dream he may very probably have had; and nothing can be more likely than that he should seek to persuade himself it was a prophetic vision, when events seemed to place the fulfilment within his reach. But that his uncle Steward told him it was traitorous to relate it, and that he was flogged for the relation by Dr. Beard, at his father's particular desire, are additions to the story which are disproved by their absurdity; however loyal his parents, and however addicted to the use of the rod his master, they would no more have punished him at that time for such a fancy, than for dreaming that he was to become Grand Turk or Prester John. There is another tale concerning his childhood, which, as well as all these anecdotes, the living historian of the family treats as an absolute falsehood; that being at his uncle's house at Hinchinbrook when the royal family rested there on their way from Scotland in 1604, he was brought to play with Prince Charles, then Duke of York, quarrelled with him, beat him, and made his nose bleed profusely,—which was remembered as a bad omen for the king when Cromwell began to distinguish himself in the civil wars. Mr. Noble relates this only as the tradition of the place, adding that Hinchinbrook was generally one of the resting-places of the royal family on the northern road. Such anecdotes relating to such a man, even though they may be of doubtful authenticity, are not unworthy of preservation. The fabulous history of every country is a part of its history, and ought not to be omitted by later and more enlightened historians; because it has been believed at one time,

time, and while it was believed it influenced the imagination, and thereby, in some degree, the opinions and the character of the people. Biographical fables, on the other hand, are worthy of notice, because they show in what manner the celebrity of the personage, in whose honour or dishonour they have been invented, has acted upon his countrymen. Moreover, there is in the curiosity which we feel concerning the earliest actions of remarkable men, an interest akin to that which is attached to the source of a great river. There are many springs in this country more beautiful in themselves and in their accompaniments than the fountains of the Thames, or the Danube, or the Nile, but how inferior in kind and in degree is the feeling which they excite!

Before Cromwell had quite completed his seventeenth year he was removed from the school at Huntingdon to Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge. Though his passion for athletic exercises still continued, so much so that he is said to have acquired the name of a royster in the University, it appears certain, that the short time which he past there was not mis-spent, but that he made a respectable proficiency in his studies. He had not, however, been there more than a year when his father died, and his mother, to whose care he appears to have been left, removed him from college. It has been affirmed that he was placed at Lincoln's Inn, but that instead of attending to the law he wasted his time 'in a dissolute course of life, and good-fellowship and gaming.' His descendant denies this, because his name is not to be found in the records of Lincoln's Inn; to which sufficient disproof he adds, that 'it is not likely a youth of eighteen or nineteen should in those days have been sent to an inn of court.' The unlikelihood is not apparent; there is no imaginable reason why he should have been represented as a student of law if he had never been so, and the probability is that he was entered at some other of the inns of court. Returning thence to reside upon his paternal property, he is said to have led a low and boisterous life; and for proof of this, a letter to his cousin, Mrs. St. John, is quoted, in which he says,—'You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true; I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me.' The present Mr. Oliver Cromwell argues that no such meaning is to be inferred from the words, but that such 'it is conceived would be the language of any person of the present day, who, after professing christianity in the common loose way in which it is commonly professed, and even preserving themselves free from the commission of all gross sins and immoral acts, should become a convert to the stricter doctrines and precepts of the Scriptures, as held by those who are deemed to be the evangelical or orthodox believers of these times.' Mr. Cromwell

well is right; the letter proves nothing, except that there is a good deal of the same canting now that there was then, cant indeed being a coin which always passes current. The language of an evangelical professor concerning his own sins and the sense of his own wickedness, is no more to be taken literally than that of an amorous sonneteer who complains of flames and torments.

The course of Cromwell's conduct, however, at this time was such as to offend his paternal uncle, Sir Oliver, and his maternal one, Sir Thomas Steward. The offence given to the former is said to have been by a beastly frolic, for which the master of Misrule very properly condemned him to the discipline of a horse-pond. The story, from its very filthiness, is incredible: Bates, however, would not have related it unless he had believed it, and Oliver's practical jests were sometimes dirty as well as coarse. The means by which he displeased Sir Thomas are less doubtful and of a blacker die:—wishing to get possession of his estate, he represented him as not able to govern it, and petitioned for a commission of lunacy against him, which was refused. Because Sir Thomas was reconciled to him afterwards, and ultimately left him the estate, the present Mr. O. Cromwell denies the fact, saying, 'this supposed attempt to deprive his uncle of his estate would have been so atrocious and unpardonable, that the reasonable conclusion must be, that this disposition in favour of Cromwell proves the falsehood of the story.' A better ground of defence would have been to maintain that the uncle was not in his sound senses, and to allege the bequest after such provocation, in proof of it. The story is most certainly true; it is established by a speech of Archbishop Williams to the king concerning Cromwell, wherein he says, 'Your Majesty did him but justice in refusing his petition against Sir Thomas Steward of the isle of Ely; but he takes them all for his enemies that would not let him undo his best friend.' Mr. O. Cromwell has overlooked this evidence. But he is not the only modern biographer who has thought proper to contradict the facts which are recorded of an ancestor, because it is not agreeable to believe them. The probability is, that Cromwell, who was not naturally a wicked man, thought his petition well grounded.

Whatever may have been the follies and vices of his youth, it is certain that he had strength and resolution enough to shake them off. As soon as he came of age he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Fitsted, in Essex, a woman whose irreproachable life might have protected her from obloquy and insult, if in the heat of party-spirit any thing were held sacred. She brought him some fortune, and, in the year 1625, he was returned

to King Charles's first parliament for the borough of Huntingdon. There was no disaffection in his family either to the church or state; they had indeed enjoyed in a peculiar manner the bounty as well as the favour of the crown. But Cromwell was not likely to behold the measures of the government with indifference or complacency; a man so capable of governing well, perceived the errors which were committed; and the displeasure, thus reasonably excited, was heightened by accidental and personal circumstances till it became a rooted disaffection. To this some of his family connections must have contributed in no slight degree. Hampden was his first cousin; and St. John, who was connected with the Cromwells by his first marriage, married for his second wife one who stood in the same degree of near relationship to him. They were unquestionably two of the ablest men in that distinguished age; and Hampden, who had sagacity enough to perceive the talents of his kinsman when they were not suspected by others, possessed a great influence over his mind; Cromwell 'followed his advice whilst living, and revered his memory when dead.' These eminent men were both deadly enemies at heart to the established church, and the puritanical bias which their conversation was likely to impart was increased by his own disposition, for in the early part of his life it is certain that he was of a fanatical constitution. He often supposed himself to be dying, and called up his physician at unseasonable hours in causeless alarm; and that physician's account of him is, that 'he was quite a splenetic, and had fancies about the Cross in the town.'

Cromwell sate for the same borough in the parliament of 1628, and spoke severely and justly against the promotion of Dr. Manwaring; but by complaining at the same time of persons who 'preached flat popery,' which was a flat falsehood, he lessened the effect of his opinion upon unprejudiced and judicious minds. Three years afterwards he sold some of his estates for 1800*l.*; stocked a grazing farm at St. Ives, and removed thither from Huntingdon. The barn which he built here was still standing, and bore his name, when Mr. Noble published his *Memoirs of the Protectoral House*; and the farmer who then rented the estate marked his sheep with the identical marking irons which Oliver used, and which had O. C. upon them. While he resided here he returned some money which he had formerly won by gaming, and which he considered it sinful to keep. The sums were not inconsiderable for that time and for his means, one of them being 30*l.* and another 120*l.* The death of Sir Thomas Steward placed him in affluence, and, in 1635, he removed to the Glebe House, in the city of Ely. He had now a large family, and took his full share in local business as an active country gentleman,

not

not always as a useful one, for the scheme of draining the fens of Lincolnshire and the Isle of Ely, which his father and many others of his relations had promoted, was defeated chiefly by his opposition. There was a popular cry against the measure, because the inhabitants enjoyed a customary right of commoning and fishing there; Cromwell therefore became so great a favourite with them for espousing their immediate interest, that he was called the Lord of the Fens. It is more likely that he was actuated by a desire of ingratiating himself with the people of the country on this occasion, than that so far-sighted and able a man should not have perceived the great and obvious utility of the measure which he resisted. Afterwards, when the act passed under the Commonwealth, he was appointed one of the Commissioners; and the work proceeded with his favour when he was Protector.

The state of England, though the country was rapidly improving, and prosperous beyond all former example, was such as might well trouble every upright and thoughtful observer. The wisest man could not possibly foresee in what the conflict of opinions which had begun, was likely to terminate: this only was certain, that there must inevitably be great evil in the process, and that whatever extreme prevailed, the end must needs be one which no good man, or true friend of his country, could contemplate without sorrow. In any other age Charles I. would have been the best and the most popular of Kings. His unambitious and conscientious spirit would have preserved the kingdom in peace; his private life would have set an example of dignified virtue, such as had rarely been seen in courts; and his love of arts and letters would have conferred permanent splendour upon his age, and secured for himself the grateful applause of after generations. But he succeeded to a crown whose prerogatives had been largely asserted and never defined; to a scanty revenue, and to a popular but expensive war, no ways honourable to the nation either in its cause or conduct. The history of his reign thus far had been a series of errors and faults on all sides, so that an impartial observer would have found it difficult to satisfy himself whether the King and his ministers or the parliaments were the most reprehensible; or which party had given the greatest provocation, and thereby afforded most excuse for the conduct of the other. Unable to govern with a parliament and impatient of being governed by one, Charles had tried the perilous experiment of governing without one. There can be no doubt that the liberties of Great Britain must have been destroyed if that experiment had been successful; and successful in all human probability it would have been, if a spirit of religious discord had not possessed the nation. For though the system of Charles's administration was arbitrary, and therefore tyrannical, the revenue which he

he raised by extraordinary means was not greater than what would cheerfully have been granted him in the ordinary and just course of government; it was frugally administered, and applied in a manner suitable to the interest and honour of the kingdom, which, for twelve years, in the words of Lord Clarendon, 'enjoyed the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with, to the wonder and envy of all the other parts of Christendom.' Foreign and domestic trade flourished and increased; towns grew, not with a forced and unhealthy growth, occasioned by the unnatural activity of a manufacturing system, but in just proportion to the growing industry and wealth of the country. England was respected abroad and prosperous at home; it even seemed as if the physical condition of the island had undergone a beneficial change, for the visitations of pestilence were abating, which had been so frequent in the preceding reign. But a severer judgement was impending over a headstrong generation, insensible of the blessings with which they were favoured and ungrateful for them.

While this long calm endured, the most sagacious politicians were so far from perceiving any indications of the storm which they were to direct, that believing the country was doomed and resigned to the loss of its liberties, they resolved upon leaving it, and transporting themselves, in voluntary exile, to a land of freedom. Lord Brooke, Lord Say and Sele and his sons, Pym, and other distinguished men of the same sentiments, were about to remove to a settlement in New England, where the name of Saybrooke, in honour of the two noble leaders, had already been given to a township in which they were expected. Eight vessels with emigrants on board were ready to sail from the Thames, when the King by an order of council forbade their departure, and compelled the intended passengers to come on shore, fatally for himself; for among those passengers Haslerigge and Hampden, and Cromwell, with all his family, had actually embarked. There are few facts in history which have so much the appearance of fatality as this.

Charles and his ministers feared that so many discontented and stirring spirits would be perilous in a colony which, being decidedly hostile to the church of England, might easily be alienated from the state. They saw clearly the remote danger, but they were blind to the nearer and greater evil; and in that error they stopt the issue which the peccant humours had opened for themselves. Cromwell returned to Ely, and there continued to lead a respectable and pious life. A letter which he wrote at this time to Mrs. St. John (already mentioned) has been preserved; it is better expressed than most of his compositions, and is remarkable not merely for its characteristic language, but for a passage which may perhaps be thought

thought to imply the hope, if not the expectation, of making himself conspicuous in defence of his religious sentiments. 'Dear Cousin,' he says, 'I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of me upon this opportunity. Alas, you do too highly prize my lines, and my company! I may be ashamed to own your expressions, considering how unprofitable I am and the mean improvement of my talent. Yet to honour my God by declaring what he hath done for my soul, in this I am confident, and I will be so. Truly then this I find, that he giveth springs in a dry and barren wilderness, where no water is. I live (you know where) in Mesheck, which they say signifies prolonging; in Kedar, which signifieth blackness: yet the Lord forsaketh me not. Though He do prolong, yet He will, I trust, bring me to his tabernacle, to his resting place. My soul is with the congregation of the first born: my body rests in hope; *and if here I may honour my God, either by doing or suffering, I shall be more glad. Truly no poor creature hath more cause to put forth himself in the cause of his God than I.* I have had plentiful wages before hand, and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in his Son, and give me to walk in the light, and give us to walk in the light, as he is in the light: He it is that enlighteneth our blackness, our darkness. I dare not say he hideth his face from me; he giveth me to see light in his light. One beam in a dark place hath exceeding much refreshment in it; blessed be his name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine!

This readiness *to do* and *to suffer* in a righteous cause, might have been confined to the ignoble theatre of a Bishop's court, if a wider field had not soon been opened for puritanical ambition. Cromwell had usually attended the church-service, joining, probably like Baxter, 'in the common prayer, with as hearty fervency, as afterwards he did with other prayers:—'As long as I had no prejudice against it,' says that good man, 'I had no stop in my devotions from any of its imperfections.' But even before he left Huntingdon his house had been a retreat for those non-conforming preachers who had provoked the law; and a building behind it is shown, which he is said to have erected for their use, and in which, according to the same tradition, he sometimes edified them by a discourse himself. It is certain that he put himself forward in their cause so as to be looked upon as the head of their party in that country; and Williams, who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and whom he often troubled on such occasions, says that he was a common spokesman for sectaries, and maintained their part with stubbornness. Whatever part indeed Cromwell took up would be well maintained, and the time was now approaching when he was to take a conspicuous one.

A rebellion

A rebellion broke out in Scotland, where no disaffection had been suspected. By prudent measures it might easily have been averted, by vigorous ones it might easily have been crushed; and both were wanting. The King raised an army which, by the management of designing persons, and the mismanagement of others, was rendered useless. A treaty was made by which nothing was concluded; all the savings of the preceding years were wasted in this disgraceful expedition; and Charles, who had so long governed without a parliament, was now compelled to call one, for the purpose of obtaining supplies. The majority of that parliament consisted of men who knew their duty to their King and country, and, in asserting the constitutional liberties of the people, would have sacredly preserved the rights of the crown, wherein those liberties have their surest safeguard. There were however some persons, of great ability, who were determined upon effecting some change both in the ecclesiastic and civil institutions of the land, not having acknowledged to others, nor perhaps to themselves, how far they were willing that that change should extend. The state of their mind was well expressed by Cromwell, who, when Sir Thomas Chicheley and Sir Philip Warwick asked him with what concessions he would be satisfied, honestly replied, I can tell you, Sirs, what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would. This parliament was hastily dissolved by the council of Sir Henry Vane, the elder, and Herbert the Solicitor General: the latter acted from no worse motives than peevishness and mortified pride; the former appears to have intended the mischief which ensued. The discontented party did not conceal their joy at an event which made all good men mournful. Cromwell's cousin St. John, whose dark and treacherous spirit at all other times clouded his countenance, met Mr. Hyde with a smiling and cheerful aspect, and seeing him melancholy, 'as in truth he was from his heart,' asked what troubled him. The same, he replied, which troubled most good men, that in such a time of confusion, so wise a parliament, which alone could have found remedy for it, was so unseasonably dismissed. But St. John warmly made answer, that all was well: and that it must be worse before it was better: and that this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done—'as indeed,' says Hyde, 'it would not what he and his friends thought necessary.' Cromwell was one of those friends; he had been returned to this parliament for the town of Cambridge, and was returned for the same seat to the next—the famous and infamous Long Parliament, which Charles found it necessary to call in six months after the dissolution.

Cromwell's appearance in this assembly is happily described by Sir Philip Warwick. 'The first time,' he says, 'that ever I took notice of him, was in the beginning of the parliament held in November

vember 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country taylor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar: his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour. But it was more by heat and earnestness than by eloquence, that Cromwell made himself noticed at this time. One of the first occasions upon which he spoke in this parliament was in a committee, in opposition to Lord Kimbolton, upon the Earl of Manchester's inclosure business. He behaved intemperately, 'ordering the witnesses and petitioners in the method of proceeding, and seconding, and enlarging upon what they said with great passion.' When the chairman endeavoured to preserve order, by speaking with authority, Cromwell accused him of being partial and discountenancing the witnesses; and when, says Lord Clarendon, who was himself the chairman, Lord Kimbolton, 'upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before or at the inclosure, desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their measures were as opposite as it was possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the house of him.'

Cromwell's name does not appear in the proceedings against Lord Strafford. That he bore his part, however, may be presumed not only from the whole tenour of his after-conduct, but because his cousin St. John was one of the foremost agents in that most iniquitous transaction, one of the deadly sins of the Long Parliament. When the question of the Remonstrance, much against the will of the violent party, was deferred till the morrow, that there might be time for debating it, Cromwell asked Lord Falkland why he would have it put off, for that day would quickly have determined it? Lord Falkland answered there would not have been time enough, for sure it would take some debate; and Cromwell replied,

replied, a very sorry one ; for he, and those with whom he acted, supposed there would be little opposition. It was so well opposed that the debate continued from nine in the morning till midnight; a thing at that time wholly unprecedented. As they went out of the house, Lord Falkland asked him, whether there had been a debate? to which Cromwell replied, he would take his word another time, and whispered him in the ear, that if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution. So near, says Clarendon, was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance.

That memorable Remonstrance, which must have been intended by those who framed it to prepare the way for the evils which ensued, was carried by a majority of nine, when not half the members of the house were present: the promoters of the measure were so active, that not a man of their party was wanting, and at the last they carried it by the hour of the night, which drove away more old and infirm opposers than would have sufficed to turn the scale. Whitelock says, 'the sitting up all night caused many through weakness or weariness to leave the house, and Sir B. R. (Sir Benjamin Rudyard) to compare it to the verdict of a starved jury.' What Clarendon observes upon this occasion, is worthy of especial notice. 'I know not how those men have already answered it to their own consciences; or how they will answer it to Him who can discern their consciences; who having assumed their country's trust, and, it may be, with great earnestness laboured to procure that trust, by their supine laziness, negligence and absence, were the first inlets to those inundations; and so contributed to those licences which have overwhelmed us. For by this means a handful of men, much inferior in the beginning, in number and interest, came to give laws to the major part: and, to show that three diligent persons are really a greater and more significant number than ten unconcerned, they, by plurality of voices in the end, converted or reduced the whole body to their opinions. It is true, men of activity and faction, in any design, have many advantages, that a composed and settled council, though industrious enough, usually have not; and some that gallant men cannot give themselves leave to entertain: for besides their thorough considering and forming their counsels before they execute them, they contract a habit of ill nature and disingenuity necessary to their affairs, and the temper of those upon whom they are to work, that liberal-minded men would not persuade themselves to entertain, even for the prevention of all the mischief the others intend. And whosoever observes the ill arts, by which these men use to prevail upon the people in general;

general; their absurd, ridiculous lying, to win the affections, and corrupt the understandings of the weak; and the bold scandals to confirm the wilful; the boundless promises they presented to the ambitious; and their gross, abject flatteries and supplications to the vulgar-spirited, would hardly give himself leave to use those weapons for the preservation of the three kingdoms.

By such means a civil war was brought on; by such weapons the civil and religious establishments of the kingdom were for a season overthrown. The wisest of men has said, 'the thing which hath been, it is that which shall be:' and the same means will produce a recurrence of the same evils unless right-minded men learn wisdom from the past. There is no historian, ancient or modern, with whose writings it so much behoves an Englishman to be thoroughly conversant, as Lord Clarendon.

One day when Cromwell had spoken warmly in the house, Lord Digby asked Hampden who he was; and Hampden is said to have replied, 'That sloven whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king (which God forbid!) in such a case I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England.' Baxter has said of Hampden, that he was a man whom 'friends and enemies acknowledged to be most eminent for prudence, piety and peaceable counsels.' That he was a man of consummate abilities is certain; that he was eminently pious may be believed, the darkest political intrigues being perfectly compatible with the eminent piety of that age; but no man even in that age had less pretension to be praised for his peaceable counsels. Had Hampden died soon after the meeting of the Long Parliament, when he possessed more power to do good or hurt, than any person of his rank had ever possessed before him, he would have left a character unimpeached, and unimpeachable, and have deservedly held in the hearts of all good and wise men, that place which he holds now with those only who know him by name alone, or who avow their attachment to the cause for which he bled in the field, without being more explicit than is convenient concerning the nature of that cause. His noble stand against an illegal exertion of the prerogative would have entitled him to the everlasting gratitude of his country; and if he could have been contented with defining that prerogative, limiting it within just bounds, redressing the existing grievances, and giving the constitution that character which it obtained after the Revolution, he would have left a memorable name. And this was in his power.

What his views were can only be inferred from the course of his conduct; for he was cut off before the time arrived for openly declaring

declaring them. The probable inference is, that like Ireton, Algernon Sidney, and Ludlow, he was a stern republican. Having read of no constitution so happily balanced as that which this country has enjoyed since the Revolution, and seeing nothing like it in our previous history, he may have believed such a balance of power to be unattainable, and therefore have resolved upon endeavouring to introduce a simpler and severer form. On the supposition that the alternative was an absolute monarchy, (such as, till his time, the sovereign of this kingdom had claimed, and the parliaments had acknowledged,) or a commonwealth, he may have properly and uprightly preferred that polity under which the most security had been enjoyed, the greatest talents had been called forth, and the most splendid exploits had been achieved. But if upon this fair ground, they, who reasoned thus, may be justified in wishing for the end at which they aimed, nothing can justify the means by which it was pursued; and in those means no man was more deeply implicated than Hampden. The Catholics never more boldly avowed the principle, that any means are lawful for compassing a necessary end, than the puritans acted upon it: even good men of feeble understandings, or weak characters, were too easily inveigled into that conclusion; whereas, as their great contemporary historian has justly observed, 'the true logic is that the thing desired is not necessary, if the ways are unlawful, which are proposed to bring it to pass.'

One set of men were bent upon pulling down Episcopacy, though it should occasion as bloody a war as any with which England had ever been afflicted. There were others who knew these men to be knaves, but were willing to act in concert with them, for the purpose of destroying the Monarchy, meaning, when that object should have been effected, to deal with them as they had dealt with others. From the hour of Strafford's arrest they felt their strength, and saw that, by the means which they were prepared to use, success was certain. His arrest had been carried with an overwhelming power, because the great majority of members dreaded the influence of a minister so resolute, so able, and so arbitrary, and therefore with the best intentions voted for it by acclamation. But when that illustrious victim was to be destroyed by measures more flagrantly illegal, and more tyrannical, than the worst actions of which he stood accused, they who had taken upon themselves to raise and to direct the storm well knew that the co-operation of no upright man could be expected. But they knew also where to look for other allies, and how to force most even of those who abhorred their purpose, to act in subservience to it.

Craft,

Craft, go thou forth
Fear, make it safe for no man to be just!
Wrong, be thou clothed in Power's comeliness!
Keep down the best, and let the worst have power!

They proceeded upon a deliberate system of deceit and intimidation. Free license was given to a libellous press; the pulpits were manned with seditious preachers: they got the management of the city into their hands, by ousting from the common council the grave and substantial citizens, of whom till then it had been composed, and filling their places with men for whom factious activity was deemed sufficient qualification; and by choosing a demagogue Lord Mayor, who was ready for any act of rebellion and treason. How easily the populace were to be duped they well understood, and how justly characterized by a dramatist of their own age,—

Good silly people; souls that will
Be cheated without trouble. One eye is
Put out with zeal; the other with ignorance,
And yet they think they're eagles!

They understood also how to act upon the moral weakness of those who were not likely to be deceived. They called the physical force of the city to their aid; and under fear of the mob, senators shrunk from their duty, when they ought rather to have laid down their lives in discharging it. The bishops were wanting to themselves and their Order and their King, when, under the influence of fear, they abandoned their right of voting upon the attainder of Strafford: and the lords, when a mob was at the door, and Mr. Hollis (who afterwards sat in judgement upon some of his colleagues) desired, in compliance with the demand of that mob, to know the names of those who were opposed to the wishes of the commons, passed, under that intimidation, a bill which they had twice before rejected. The moderate part of the members in that assembly might have out-voted the promoters of rebellion, four to one; but, in fear of their lives, they either left the house, or acquiesced in motions which they abhorred. The condition of the House of Commons was worse; because there the men of worst intentions were also the men of greatest ability, 'and the number of the weak and wilful,' says Clarendon, 'who naturally were to be guided by them, always made up a major part: so that from the beginning they were always able to carry whatsoever they set their hearts visibly upon; at least to discredit or disgrace any particular man, against whom they thought necessary to proceed, albeit of the most unblemished reputation and upon the most frivolous suggestions.' They waged war in parliament, as Cromwell did afterwards in Ireland, upon the principle of destroying all who opposed

them, and the success was the same. At the most important debates there was seldom a fifth part of the members present, and often not more than twelve or thirteen in the House of Lords.

It is especially worthy of notice that the very faults for which the king's government was most severely reproached, were committed by the parliament in a far greater degree, and with every possible aggravation. One of the accusations against Charles was that he suffered himself to be guided by clerical counsellors; and the argument upon which they chiefly insisted in support of the bill for taking away the bishops' votes in parliament was 'that their intermeddling with temporal affairs was inconsistent with, and destructive to the exercise of their spiritual function;' 'whilst their reformation,' it has been truly observed, 'both in Scotland and this kingdom, was driven on by no men so much as those of their clergy, who were their instruments; as without doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the counsels at court as Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshal had upon the Houses: neither did all the bishops of Scotland together meddle so much in temporal affairs as Mr. Henderson had done.' The breaches of privilege which Charles had committed were represented by them as destructive to the freedom of parliament, and yet their conduct, both to the King and to the House of Peers, was an absolute rooting up of all privileges. One of the most unpopular acts of the King had been the levying of ship-money without the consent of the parliament; an impost then only of doubtful legality, yet equally levied, excellently applied, and so light in itself that the payment which Hampden honourably disputed was only twenty shillings upon an estate of £500 a year. The parliament did not scruple, without consent of the King, to demand the twentieth part of every man's property in London, or so much as their seditious mayor and three other persons as seditious as himself might please to call a twentieth, to be levied by distress if the parties refused payment; and if the distress did not cover the assessment, then the defaulter was to be imprisoned where and as long as a Committee of the House of Commons should think proper, and his family was no longer to remain in London, or the suburbs, or the adjoining counties. With an impudence of slander, which would be incredible, if any thing were too bad to be believed of thoroughly factious men which will serve their purposes, they accused the King of exciting the massacre in Ireland, and fomenting the rebellion there; and they themselves employed the money and the means which were prepared for quelling that rebellion, in carrying on a war against the King at home.

The King more than once in his Declarations reminded them of a speech of Pym's, which they had heard deservedly applauded when

when it was directed against his measures; but which now bore against their own with greater force. 'The law,' said that powerful speaker, 'is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, just and unjust; if you take away the law, all things will be in a confusion; every man will become a law unto himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law, covetousness and ambition will become laws, and what dictates, what decisions such laws will produce, may easily be discerned:—it may indeed by sad instances over the whole kingdom.' And then the King set before them a picture of their own conduct, so ably and so truly drawn, that, if men were governed by their reason and not by their passions, that excellent paper alone would have given him the victory over all his enemies. In another declaration the King said 'whosoever harboured the least thought in his breast of ruining or violating the public liberty, or religion of the kingdom, let him be accursed; and he should be no counsellor of his that would not say Amen.' That which he charged the leaders of parliament with, 'was invading the public liberty; and his presumption might be very strong and vehement, that though they had no mind to be slaves, they were not unwilling to be tyrants. 'What is tyranny,' said he, 'but to admit no rules to govern by, but their own wills? And they knew the misery of Athens was at the highest, when it suffered under the Thirty Tyrants.' Hobbes, whose resolute way of thinking was more in accord with the temper of Cromwell's government than of the King's, speaks with contempt of these declarations; but if Charles had been served, or known how to serve himself, as ably with the sword as with the pen, the struggle would soon have been decided in his favour. What has been said of the son, that he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one, might more truly be said of the father: in him, however, it proceeded from what, in other times and other circumstances, would have been a virtue. In speaking, he expressed his own judgement; in acting, he yielded to that of others, and was ruined by want of confidence in himself, and by the fear of doing wrong.

Clarendon, who writes always with the feelings of a Christian, as well as the wisdom of a statesman, has some remarks upon the conduct of the parliament, drawn up with his characteristic candour. 'A man shall not unprofitably spend his contemplation, that, upon this occasion, considers the method of God's justice (a method terribly remarkable in many passages, and upon many persons, which we shall be compelled to remember in this discourse,) that the same principles, and the same application of those principles, should be used to the wresting all sovereign power from

the crown, which the crown had a little before made use of for the extending its authority and power beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. A supposed necessity was then thought ground enough to create a power, and a bare averment of that necessity, to beget a practice to impose what tax they thought convenient upon the subject, by writs of ship money never before known; and a supposed necessity now, and a bare averment of that necessity, is as confidently, and more fatally, concluded a good ground, to exclude the crown from the use of any power, by an ordinance never before heard of; and the same maxim of *salus populi suprema lex*, which had been used to the infringing the liberty of the one, made use of for the destroying the rights of the other.' Reflections of this kind must often have arisen in the mind of Charles himself. When, in his father's life-time, taking part in Buckingham's animosities, he promoted the impeachment of the Earls of Bristol and Middlesex, James said to him, with a foresight which has almost a prophetic character, that he would live to have his belly full of parliamentary impeachments. But he was always more sinned against than sinning: the most unjustifiable of his measures proceeded from a mistaken judgement, not an evil intention; the most unpopular of them, and that which gave the greatest advantage to his enemies, (the accusation of the six members) plainly arose from a perfect confidence in his own rectitude, and the goodness of his cause.

The melancholy warning which James gave his son proved the sagacity of that king, whose talents it has been too much the custom to decry. There is an expression of Laud's which bears with it even more of a prophetic appearance, from the accidental turn of the sentence. 'At this time, the parliament tendered two, and but two bills to the King to sign: this to cut off Strafford's head was one; and the other was that this parliament should neither be dissolved nor adjourned, but by the consent of both houses: *in which, what he cut off from himself, time will better shew than I can.* God bless the King and his royal issue!' Charles's feelings upon that fatal bill which perpetuated the parliament, and thereby in fact transferred the sovereignty to it, are well stated in the *Εικων** Βασιλικη.

* The authenticity of this Book has been attacked and defended with such cogent arguments and strong assertions, that as far as relates to external proofs, perhaps there is scarcely any other question in bibliography so doubtful. The internal evidence is wholly in its favour. Had it been the work of Gauden, or of any person writing to support the royal cause, a higher tone concerning episcopacy and prerogative would have been taken; there would have been more effort at justification; and there would not have been that inefficient but conscientious defence of fatal concessions; that penitent confession of sin where weakness had been sinful; that piety without alloy; that character of mild and even magnanimity; and that heavenly-mindedness, which render the *Εικων Βασιλικη* one of the most interesting books in our language.

‘By this act of the highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out and lock the door upon all present jealousies and future mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut myself out of doors, as some men have now requited me. A continual parliament, I thought, would but keep the commonweal in tune, by preserving laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein my interest lies more than any man’s, since by those laws my rights as a King would be preserved, no less than my subjects; which is all I desired. More than the law gives me I would not have, and less the meanest subject should not. I cannot say properly that I repent of that act, since I have no reflections upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgement.’

Charles appealed to that act with great force as a proof that he had no intention of recurring to arms. ‘Sure,’ he says, ‘it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreme fatuity of mind in me, so far to bind my own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to use a sword against them.’ When Hampden spoke of the part which Cromwell might be expected to bear, in case they should come to a breach with the King, he deprecated such an event. But Hampden’s studies were rather how to direct a civil war, than to avert one. Davila’s history was so often in his hands, that it was called Colonel Hampden’s prayer-book. The truth is, that a few men of daring spirit, great ability, and great popularity, some calling themselves Saints because they were schismatics, others styling themselves philosophers because they were unbelievers, had determined to overthrow the existing government in church and state; which they knew to be feasible, because circumstances favoured them, and they scrupled at nothing to bring about their end. Their plan was to force from the King all they could, and when they should have disarmed him of all power and means for the struggle, then to provoke him by insults and unreasonable demands, till he should appeal to the sword. This Charles himself saw. ‘A grand maxim with them was,’ he says, ‘always to ask something which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting peace at as high a rate as the worst effects of war; endeavouring first to make me destroy myself by dishonourable concessions, that so they might have the less to do.’ ‘The English,’ says Hobbes, ‘would never have taken well that the parliament should make war upon the King upon any provocation, unless it were in their own defence, in case the King should first make war upon them; and therefore it behoved them to provoke the King, that he might do something that might look like hostility.’ Therefore (he elsewhere adds) they resolved to proceed with him like skilful hunters, first to single him out by men disposed in all

parts, to drive him into the open field, and then in case he should but seem to turn head, to call that a making of war against the parliament.'

Never was poor prince more miserably unprepared for such a contest than Charles, when he had no other alternative than to descend into the pit which his enemies had dug for him, or to raise his standard. When that determination was taken he had not 'one barrel of gunpowder, nor one musket, nor any other provision necessary for an army; and which was worse, was not sure of any port, to which they might be securely assigned; nor had he money for the support of his own table for the term of one month.' The single ship which reached him with supplies by running ashore, brought about 200 barrels of powder, 2 or 3000 arms, and seven or eight field-pieces; and with this he took the field, but in so helpless and apparently hopeless a condition, that even after he had set up that standard, which was so ominously blown down by a tempest, Clarendon says, it must solely be imputed to his own resolution, that he did not even then go to London and throw himself on the mercy of the parliament, which would have been surrendering at discretion to an enemy that gave no quarter. But he relied upon the goodness of his cause, and upon the loyalty and love of his subjects. That reliance did not deceive him: the gentlemen of England came forward with a spirit which enabled him to maintain the contest no inconsiderable time upon equal terms, and which, under the direction of more vigorous counsels, might many times have given him complete success. But it was otherwise appointed. Whoever has attentively perused the history of those unhappy years must have perceived that this war, more perhaps than any other of which the events have been recorded, was determined rather by accidents, and blunders, than by foreseen and prepared combinations. The man who most contributed to the King's utter overthrow by his actions, and the only man who from the beginning perceived wherein the strength of the King lay, and by what principle it might be opposed with the surest prospect of success, was Cromwell.

During the proceedings which provoked the war, Cromwell took no conspicuous part, but he was one of that number upon whose votes the leaders of the disaffected party could always rely. He was sincerely a puritan in his religious notions, in that respect more sincere than many of those with whom he then acted: for political speculations he probably cared less; but being a resolute man, and one whose purposes were straight forward, though he frequently proceeded by crooked ways, he, like his cousin Hampden, when he drew the sword, threw away the scabbard. When the war began, he received a Captain's commission, and raised a troop of horse in
his

his own country. Then it was that he gave the first proof of that sagacity which made him afterwards the absolute master of three kingdoms: in what manner it was now exercised may best be told in his own curious words. 'I was a person,' said he, 'that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being a Captain of a troop of horse; and I did labour as well as I could, to discharge my trust: and God blessed me as it pleased him; and I did truly and plainly; and then in a way of foolish simplicity (as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too) desired to make my instruments to help me in this work; and I will deal plainly with you; I had a very worthy friend then and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all, Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw their men were beaten at every hand; I did indeed, and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in, as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you, God knows I lie not. Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and said I, their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be enabled to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage, and resolution in them? Truly, I presented him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him you must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say, (I know you will not) of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still; I told him so, I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it; I did so; and truly I must needs say that to you, I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually.'

Acting upon this principle, Cromwell raised a troop of horse among his countrymen, mostly freeholders and freeholders' sons, men thoroughly imbued with his own puritanical opinions, and who engaged in the war 'upon matter of conscience:' and thus, says Whitelocke, being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without in good iron armour, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge desperately.' Cromwell knew his men, and on this occasion acting without hypocrisy, tried whether their consciences were proof; for upon raising them he told

them fairly that he would not cozen them by perplexed expressions in his commission to fight for King and parliament : if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as upon any private man ; and if their consciences would not let them do the like, he advised them not to enlist themselves under him.

He tried their courage also, as well as their consciences, by leading them into a false ambuscade ; about twenty turned their backs and fled ; upon which Cromwell dismissed them, desiring them however to leave their horses for those who would fight the Lord's battles in their stead. And as the Lord's battle was to be fought with the arm of flesh, he took especial care that horse and man in his troop should always be ready for service ; and by making every man trust to himself alone, in all needful things, he enabled them all to rely upon each other, and act with confidence, without which courage is of little avail. For this purpose he required them to keep their arms clean, bright, and fit for immediate use ; to feed and dress their own horses, and if need were, to sleep upon the ground with them. The officers wishing that this select troop should be formed into what they called ' a gathered church,' looked about for a fitting pastor, and it is to their credit that they pitched upon a man distinguished for his blameless manner of life, his undoubted piety, and his extraordinary talents. They invited Baxter to take charge of them. That remarkable man was then at Coventry, whither he had gone after the battle at Edgehill with a purpose to stay there, as a safe place, till one side or other had gotten the victory and the war was ended ; ' for,' says he, ' so wise in matters of war was I, and all the country besides, that we commonly supposed that a very few days or weeks, by one other battle, would end the wars ; and I believe that no small number of the parliament men had no more wit than to think so.' Baxter was at that time so zealous in his political feelings, that he thought it a sin for any man to remain neuter. But the invitation to take charge of ' a gathered church' did not accord with his opinions concerning ecclesiastical discipline. He therefore sent them a denial, reproving their attempt, and telling them wherein his judgment was against the lawfulness and convenience of their way. ' These very men,' he says, ' that then invited me to be their pastor, were the men that afterwards headed much of the army, and some of them were the forwardest in all our changes ; which made me wish that I had gone among them, however it had been interpreted ; for then all the fire was in one spark.'

Cromwell exerted himself with so much zeal and success in embodying and disciplining these troops, that he appears to have been raised to the rank of Colonel for that service alone. The first

first act which he performed, was to take possession of Cambridge, which Lord Capel would else have occupied; and to secure for the parliament the college plate, which otherwise would have been sent to the King. At this time he paid his uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver, a visit for the purpose of taking away his arms and all his plate: but behaving with the greatest personal respect to the head of his family, he asked his blessing, and would not keep on his hat in his presence. From Cambridge he kept down the loyal party in the adjoining counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, dispersing a confederacy which would soon have become formidable, and taking the whole of the stores which they had provided. This was a service which, in the language of the saints, was said to set the whole country right, by freeing it of the malignants. Stories of his cruelty were told at this time in the *Mercurius Aulicus* which were abominably false: men too easily believe evil of their enemies; and these calumnies obtained the readier credit because he and his men conceived themselves to be doing a work of reformation in injuring Peterborough Cathedral, demolishing the painted windows, breaking the organ, defacing tombs and statues, and destroying the books. But in other places where the ferocious spirit of Puritanism was not called forth, their conduct was more orderly than that of any other troops who were engaged on the same side. One of the journals of the day says of them, 'no man swears but he pays his twelpence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other round-head, he is cashiered; insomuch that the countries where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join with them. How happy were it if all the forces were thus disciplined!'

The relief of Gainsborough was the first conspicuous action in which Cromwell was engaged: 'this,' Whitelock says, 'was the beginning of his great fortunes, and now he began to appear to the world.' It was in this action that Charles Cavendish fell,

the young, the lovely and the brave!

Strew bays and flowers on his honoured grave!

one of the many noble spirits who were cut off in that mournful war. Cromwell says they had the *execution* of the enemy two or three miles, and that some of his soldiers killed two or three men apiece. He had a narrow escape the same year under the Earl of Manchester, when part of Newcastle's army were defeated near Horncastle. His horse was killed under him, and as he rose he was again knocked down, by the cavalier who charged him, and who is supposed to have been Sir Ingram Hopton. He was however remounted, and found himself, with that singular good fortune which always attended him, without a wound. At the close of the year

year he took Hilsdon House by assault, and alarmed Oxford. Though Essex and Waller, who was called by his own party William the Conqueror, were still the favourite leaders of the Parliamentary forces, Cromwell was now looked upon as a considerable person, and was opposed in public opinion to Prince Rupert, before they ever met as hostile generals in the field. When the Prince was preparing to relieve York, the London journals represented him as afraid to try himself against this rising commander. 'He would rather suffer,' they said, 'his dear friends in York to perish than venture the loss of his honour in so dangerous a passage. He loves not to meet a Fairfax, nor a Cromwell, nor any of those men that have so much religion and valour in them.' The battle of Marston Moor soon followed; most rashly and unjustifiably brought on by Rupert, without consulting the Marquis of Newcastle, by whom, in all prudence, he ought to have been directed, and at a time when nothing but an immediate action could have prevented the Scotch and Parliamentary armies from quarrelling and separating, so that either, or both, would have been exposed to an utter overthrow. The Scotch, who were in the right wing, were completely routed; they fled in all directions, and were taken or knocked on the head by the peasantry: their general himself was made prisoner ten miles from the field by a constable. But the fortune of the day was decided by the English horse under Fairfax and Cromwell. They were equal in courage to the King's troops, and superior in discipline: and by their exertions a victory was gained, of which they were left to make full advantage at leisure, owing to the egregious misconduct of the Prince, and the resentment of the Earl of Newcastle, which in that fatal hour prevailed over a noble mind, and made him forsake the post of duty in disgust.

Hollis in his Memoirs has the folly as well as the baseness to accuse Cromwell of cowardice in this action. Some intention of detracting from his deserts seems to have been suspected at the time. The *Mercurius Britannicus* says 'there came out something in print which made a strange relation of the battle: 'tis pity the gallant Cromwell and his godly soldiers are so little heard on, and they with God were so much seen in the battle! But in these great achievements by night, it is hard to say who did most, or who did least. The best way to end our quarrel of who did most, is to say God did all.' On the other hand, Cromwell's partizans, to magnify his reputation, gave out that certain troops of horse, picked men, all Irish and all Papists, had been appointed by Prince Rupert, to charge in that part where he was stationed. And reports as slanderous as those which charged him with want of courage, were spread abroad to give him the whole credit of the day:

day: it was said that he had stopt the commander-in-chief Manchester, in the act of flight, saying to him, You are mistaken, my lord: the enemy is not there! The Earl of Manchester was as brave as Cromwell himself; no man who engaged in the rebellion demeaned himself throughout its course so honourably and so humanely, (Colonel Hutchinson, in his station, perhaps alone excepted,) and no man repented more sincerely, nor more frankly avowed his repentance for the part he had taken, when he saw the extent of the misery which he had largely contributed to bring upon his country.

Cromwell was now becoming an object of dislike or jealousy to those leaders of the rebellion whose reputation waned as his encreased, or who had insanelly supposed, when they let the waters loose, that it would at any time be in their power to restrain them again within their proper bounds. The open declaration which he made against the King, at the commencement of hostilities, they had perhaps regarded with complacency, taking credit to themselves for comparative moderation. Because they could manage a party, they fancied themselves capable of managing a rebellion, not remembering, or not knowing that

When Evil strives, the worst have greatest names:

and not perceiving that when Cromwell, in opposition to the impudent hypocrisy of the Parliament's language respecting the King, spoke boldly out like one who was resolved to go all lengths, by that declaration he became the head of that party which, in all such convulsions, is sure to obtain the ascendancy. From the known opinions of Ireton, and the probable ones of Hampden, the two men whom he seems to have regarded with most deference, it is most likely that he entered into the war as a republican; and now he scrupled not to let his principles be known, saying he hoped soon to see the time when there would not be a single lord in England, and when Lord Manchester would be called nothing more than Sir Montague. But in his political as in his puritanical professions, Cromwell, who began in sincerity, was now acting a part. Experience was not lost upon so sagacious a man. The more he saw of others the higher he was led to rate himself; and Hobbes seems to have taken the just view of his motives when he says that his main policy was always to serve the strongest party well, and to proceed as far as that and fortune would carry him.

But Cromwell, who seldom mistook the characters of men, deceived himself when he supposed that he could make Manchester his instrument, as he afterwards duped Fairfax. For this must have been his secret object when, discoursing with him freely upon the state of the kingdom, and proposing something to which the Earl

Earl replied that the Parliament would never approve it, he made answer, 'My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself in the head of an army that shall give the law to King and Parliament.' This startled Manchester, who already knew him to be a man of deep designs: and the manner in which the speech was received made Cromwell perceive that the Earl must be set aside, as a person who was altogether unfit for his views. Their mutual dislike broke out after the second battle of Newbury. Cromwell would have attempted to bring that doubtful conflict to a decided issue, by charging the King's army in their retreat; and from the excellent discipline of his brigade, and his skill and intrepidity in action, it is probable he might have inflicted a severe blow upon troops, who, it is acknowledged on their own part, were well enough pleased to be rid of an enemy that had handled them so ill. But Manchester thought the hazard too great in that season, being the winter, and that the ill consequences of a defeat would be far greater than the advantage to be gained by victory; for, he said, if they should be routed before Essex's army were reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences; and they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed as such by law. Cromwell repeated this to the House of Commons, and accused him of having betrayed the Parliament out of cowardice: Manchester justified himself, and in return charged Cromwell with the advice which he had offered him, to overawe both King and Parliament by means of the army. This open rupture occasioned much debate and animosity, and much alarm. 'What,' it was said, 'shall we continue bandying one against another? See what a wide gap and door of reproach we open unto the enemy! A plot from Oxford could have done no more than work a distance between our best resolved spirits.' The Parliament, though indignant at first at what the Earl had said concerning the course of law in case of their overthrow, were on the other hand alarmed at the discovery of a danger from their own army, which, if it had been apprehended by farsighted men, had never before been declared. Inquiry was called for, more on account of Cromwell's designs, than the Earl's error of judgement; and the Independents, as Cromwell's party now began to be called, chose rather to abandon their charge against Manchester, than risk the consequences of further investigation.

Manchester, on his part, made no further stir,—contented with as much repose as a mind not altogether satisfied with itself, would allow him to enjoy. But Essex, the Lord General, who had acted less from mistaken principles, than from weakness and vanity and pride, which made him the easy instrument of designing men, gave on this occasion the only instance of political foresight which he ever displayed. He perceived that Cromwell was a dangerous man;

man; and taking counsel with Hollis and Stapleton, leading men among the Presbyterians, and with the Scotch Commissioners, resolved, if it were possible, to disable one whose designs were so justly to be apprehended. In serving with the Scotch, Cromwell had contracted some dislike and some contempt of them; which they were not slow in perceiving, as indeed he took little pains to disguise it; and Essex was in hopes that the Scotch might be brought forward to overthrow a man whom he now considered a formidable rival, as by their means the plans for rebellion had first been ripened, and the superiority afterwards obtained for the parliamentary forces. A meeting was held at his house to deliberate upon the best mode of proceeding, and Whitelock and Maynard were sent for at a very late hour, to give their opinions as lawyers. The Scotch chancellor explained the business to them in a characteristic speech. He began by assuring 'Master Maynard and Master Whitelock' of the great opinion which he and his brethren had of their worth and abilities, else that meeting would not have been desired. 'You ken vary weel,' said he, (as Whitelock reports his words) 'that Lieutenant General Cromwell is no friend of ours; and since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take off from our honour and merit of this kingdom; an evil requital of all our hazards and services. But so it is; and we are nevertheless fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of this nation. It is thought requisite for us, and for the carrying on of the cause of the twa kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora, may be removed out of the way, who we foresee will otherwise be no small impediment to us and the gude design we have undertaken. He not only is no friend to us and to the government of our church, but he is also no well wisher to his excellency, whom you and we all have cause to love and honour: and if he be permitted to go on his ways, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken for the prevention of that mischief. You ken vary weel the accord twixt the twa kingdoms, and the union by the solemn league and covenant; and if any be an *incendiary* between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded against. Now the matter is, wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of this word *incendiary* to be, and whether Lieutenant General Cromwell be not sic an *incendiary*, as is meant thereby, and whilk way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved to be sic an *incendiary*, and that will clip his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause. Now you may ken that by our law in Scotland we clepe him an *incendiary* wha kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state to the public damage, and he is *tanquam publicus hostis patriæ*.

Whether

Whether your law be the same or not, you ken best wha are mickle learned therein: and therefore, with the favour of his excellency, we desire your judgements in these points.'

Whitelock and Maynard were men, of whom Lord Clarendon, who was intimate with them before the rebellion, has said, that 'though they bowed their knees to Baal, and so swerved from their allegiance, it was with less rancour and malice than other men. They never led, but followed, and were rather carried away with the torrent than swam with the stream, and failed through those infirmities which less than a general defection and a prosperous rebellion could never have discovered.' Such men were not likely to advise bold measures, in which they might be called upon to bear a part. They admitted the meaning of the word *incendiary* as defined by the Scotch chancellor and as it stood in the Covenant; but they required proofs of particular words or actions tending to kindle the fire of contention: they themselves had heard of none, and till the Scotch commissioners could collect such, they were of opinion that the business had better be deferred. And they spoke of the influence and favour which the person in question possessed. 'I take Lieutenant General Cromwell,' said Whitelock, 'to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons; nor is he wanting of friends in the House of Peers, nor of abilities in himself to manage his own part or defence to the best advantage.' Hollis, Stapleton, and some others, related certain acts and sayings of Cromwell which they considered such proofs as the law required, and they were for proceeding boldly with the design. But the Scotch, who, at that time, had less at stake than the leaders of the English Presbyterians, chose the wary part; and Essex was always incapable of doing either good or evil, except as a tool in the hands of others.

Cromwell was too able a politician not to have agents at all times in the enemy's quarters. Some who were present at this meeting were 'false brethren.' Whitelock and Maynard were liked by him the better for the opinion they had given; the attack which they had averted might easily have put an end to his career of advancement: a sense of the danger which he had escaped quickened his own measures, and with the co-operation of his friends, and others with whom he then acted, the Self-denying Ordinance was brought forward, an act which may justly be considered as the master-piece of his hypocritical policy. To effect this the alarm was first sounded by the 'drum ecclesiastic;' the pulpits were manned on one of the appointed fast days, and the topic which the London preachers everywhere insisted on, was the reproach to which parliament was liable for the great emoluments which its members

members secured to themselves by the civil or military offices which they held; the necessity of removing this reproach, and of praying that God would take his own work into his own hand, and inspire other instruments to perfect what was begun, if those he had already employed were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to a conclusion. Parliament met the next day, and Sir Harry Vane (who, though a thorough fanatic in his notions, could not have acted more hypocritically if he had been pure knave) told them that if ever God had appeared to them, it was in the exercise of yesterday; he was credibly informed that the same lamentations and discourses as the godly preachers had made before them, had been made in all other churches; and this could only have proceeded from the immediate spirit of God. He then offered to resign an office which he himself held. Cromwell took up the strain; desired that he might lay down his commission, enlarged upon the vices which were got into the army, 'the profaneness and impiety, and absence of all religion, drinking, gaming, and all manner of license and laziness.' Till the whole army were new modelled, he said, and governed under a stricter discipline, they must not expect any notable success; and he desired the parliament not to be terrified with an imagination that if the highest offices were vacant, they should not be able to fill them with fit men, for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any arm of flesh as to think such a cause depended upon any one man, he took upon himself to assure them they had officers in their army who were fit to be generals in any enterprize in Christendom. The Self-denying Ordinance* was

* Mr. Oliver Cromwell endeavours to refute Lord Clarendon's account of the origin of this Ordinance. His arguments are that, in Cromwell's speech as given by Rushworth, there is no allusion to the fast sermons of the preceding day, and that in fact the fast was not appointed till after the Ordinance was past. That this gentleman should on all occasions be desirous of exculpating and vindicating his celebrated ancestor is to be expected;—there are cases in which erroneous opinions have their root in such good and noble feelings that he who would eradicate them must profess a sterner philosophy than a good man would willingly adopt. In the present instance it has been overlooked by Mr. Cromwell, that the fast of which he speaks was ordered to implore a blessing on the intended new model of the army, after the ordinance was past; and that that of which Clarendon speaks was appointed 'to seek God and desire his assistance to lead them out of the perplexities they were in.' A punster of that age said that Fast days were properly so called because they came so fast,—there were frequently three or four in a month. He has also failed to observe that the direct allusion to the preceding fast was made not by Cromwell but by Sir Harry Vane. And when he censures Lord Clarendon for 'taking upon himself to determine the motives of those who brought about that Ordinance,' he forgets that the same motives are hinted at not obscurely by Rushworth, and directly stated by Whitelock, upon the avowal of some of the parties themselves. 'Some of them,' he says, 'confess that this was their design; and it was apparent in itself, and the reason of their doing this was to make way for others, and because they were jealous that the Lord General was too much a favourer of peace, and that he would be too strong a supporter of monarchy and of nobility and other old constitutions, which they had a mind to alter.' The only apparent error which Mr. Cromwell has pointed out in Lord Clarendon's statement is his saying that Whitelock voted for the

brought in, and after long debates, and some contests between the two Houses, it was carried. Essex was laid aside to reflect at leisure upon the irreparable evils which, through his agency, had been brought upon the kingdom, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general in his stead.

Few men have ever possessed in such perfection as Cromwell the art of rendering others subservient to purposes which they abhorred, and of making individuals of the most opposite characters, views, and principles co-operate in a design which they would all have opposed if they had perceived it. This rare dissembler availed himself at the same time of the sensual and profligate unbeliever, the austere sectarian, and the fierce enthusiast; and played his master-game at once with Vane and Fairfax, though the former had the craft of the serpent, and the latter the simplicity of the dove, however unlike that bird in other respects. When Fairfax looked back upon his exploits, he rightly accounted them as his greatest misfortunes, and desired no other memorial of them than the Act of Oblivion: but he well knew that errors like his are not to be forgotten, that they are to be recorded as a warning for others; and the meagre memorial which he left of his own actions is not so valuable for any thing as for the expression of that feeling, wishing that he had died before he accepted the command after the Self-denying Ordinance was passed. 'By votes of the two houses of parliament,' he says, 'I was nominated, though most unfit, and so far from desiring it, that had not so great an authority (which was then unseparated from the royal interest) commanded my obedience, and had I not been urged by the persuasion of my nearest friends, I should have refused so great a charge. But whether it was from a natural facility in me that betrayed my modesty, or the powerful hand of God which all things must obey, I was induced to receive the command,—though not fully recovered from a dangerous wound which I had received a little before, and which I believe, without the miraculous hand of God, had proved mortal. But here, alas! when I bring to mind the sad consequences that crafty and designing men have brought to pass since those first innocent undertakings, I am ready to let go that confidence I once had with God, when I could say with Job, "till I die I will not remove my integrity from me, nor shall my heart reproach me so long as I live." But I am now more fit to take up his complaint, and say, "Why did I not die?" Why did I not give up the ghost when

the Ordinance, Whitelock having inserted in his Memorials his speech against that measure. But it is very probable that he who opposed the Ordinance in December when it was brought forward, might have assented to it three months afterwards for the reason assigned by Clarendon, that there would be a general dissatisfaction among the people of London if it were rejected.'

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my life was on the confines of the grave?" Fairfax was a good soldier; but he had no other talents. It is saying little for him that he meant well, seeing he was so easily persuaded not only to permit wicked actions to be done, but to commit them himself. His understanding was so dull, that even in this passage he speaks of the parliament as not being at that time separated from the interests of the King; and his feelings were so obtuse that even when he penned this memorial he felt no remorse for the execution of Lucas and Lisle and the excellent Lord Capel, whose blood was upon his head, but justified what he had done as according to his commission and the trust reposed in him!

Such a man was easily induced to request that the Ordinance might be dispensed with in Cromwell's behalf, first for a limited time and then indefinitely, to act under him as commander of the horse. They crippled the royal forces in the west, where so much zeal and heroic virtue had successfully been displayed on the King's side, but where every thing now went to ruin under the profligate misconduct of Goring, a general who, notwithstanding his unquestionable courage and military talents, ought to have been considered as disqualified for any trust by his vices. Ere long they were ordered to the North, where Charles had struck a great blow by the taking of Leicester, and where his fortunes might still have been retrieved had it not been for the unsteadiness and irresolution of those about him, and that unhappy diffidence of himself which made him so often act against his own judgement in deference to others.

With shaking thoughts no hands can draw aright!

After some injudicious movements, the effect of bad information and vacillating councils, the King met the enemy at Naseby. All those accidents upon which so much depends in war were against him; his erroneous information continued till the very hour of the action, so that the good order in which his army had been drawn up was broken, and the advantageous position which they had occupied abandoned; in the action itself the same kind of misconduct, which had proved so disastrous at Marston Moor, was committed with consequences still more fatal. Prince Rupert in time of action always forgot the duty of a general, suffering himself to be carried away by mere animal courage; no experience, however dearly bought, was sufficient to cure him of this fault. His charge, as usual, was irresistible; but having broken and routed that wing of the enemy which was opposed to him, he pursued them as if the victory were secure. In this charge Ireton was wounded, thrown from his horse and taken. The day was won by Cromwell, whose name is not mentioned by Ludlow in his account of the battle! An unaccountable incident contributed to, and perhaps mainly occasioned

its loss. Just as the King, at the head of his reserve, was about to charge Cromwell's horse, the Earl of Carnewaith suddenly seized his bridle, exclaiming, with 'two or three full-mouthed Scottish oaths,—will you go upon your death in an instant?' A cry ran through the troops that they should march to the right, in which direction the King's horse had been turned, and which, in the situation of the field, was bidding them shift for themselves. It was in vain that Charles, with great personal exertion and risk, endeavoured to rally them. Neither these troops nor Prince Rupert's, when he returned from his rash pursuit, could be brought to rally and form in order; a most important part of discipline, in which the soldiers under Fairfax and Cromwell were perfect, the latter having now modelled the army as he had from the beginning his own troop. The day was irrecoverably lost, and with it the King and the kingdom. The number of slain on the King's part did not exceed 700, but more than 5,000 prisoners were taken, being the whole of the infantry, with all the artillery and baggage. In the pursuit above a hundred women were killed, (such was the temper of the conquerors!) some of whom were the wives of officers of quality. The King's cabinet fell into their hands, with the letters between him and the queen, 'of which,' says Clarendon, 'they made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their natures, and published them in print; that is, so much of them as they thought would asperse either of their Majesties, and improve the prejudice they had raised against them; and concealed other parts which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.'

Upon this act of the parliament the King has expressed his feelings in the *Icōn* in that calm strain of dignity by which the book is distinguished and authenticated. 'The taking of my letters,' he says, 'was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected, so they knew not how with honour and civility to use it. Nor do I think, with sober and worthy minds, any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the divulgers: the greatest experiments of virtue and nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations being those which are put upon us by them from whom we could least have expected them. And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my papers, the freedom and secrecy of which commands a civility from all men not wholly barbarous. Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to God's Omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses or popular captations which some men use in their speeches and expresses. I wish my subjects
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had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts; where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own rights, than to preserve their peace and happiness; and that extreme grief to see them both deceived and destroyed. Nor can any men's malice be gratified farther by my letters than to see my constancy to my wife, the laws and religion.' Then speaking of his enemies, he says, 'they think no victories so effectual to their designs, as those that most rout and waste my credit with my people; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of love, respect, and loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the laws and the kingdom's liberties, which some men seek to overthrow. The taking away of my credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my life and my kingdom. First I must seem neither fit to live, nor worthy to reign. By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled first to follow the funerals of my honour, and then be destroyed.'

In another of these beautiful Meditations, looking back upon the course of the war, he says, 'I never had any victory which was without my sorrow, because it was on mine own subjects, who, like Absalom, died many of them in their sin. And yet I never suffered any defeat which made me despair of God's mercy and defence. I never desired such victories as might serve to conquer, but only restore the laws and liberties of my people, which I saw were extremely oppressed, together with my rights, by those men who were impatient of any just restraint. When Providence gave me, or denied me victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly, who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good. I wished no greater advantages by the war, than to bring my enemies to moderation, and my friends to peace. I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over myself. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.'

The influence of pure religion upon a sound understanding and a gentle heart has never been more finely exemplified than by Charles during the long course of his afflictions. Cromwell also was religious, but his religion at the time when it was most sincere was most alloyed, and it acted upon an intellect and disposition most unlike the King's. Clear as his head was in action, his apprehension ready, and his mind comprehensive as well as firm; when out of the sphere of business and command, his notions were confused and muddy, and his language stifled the thoughts which it affected to bring forth, producing by its curious infelicity a more than oracular obscurity. The letter which he addressed to the Speaker

after the battle of Naseby is one of the most lucid specimens of his misty style. After saying that for three hours the fight had been very doubtful, and stating what were the results of the action, he proceeds thus: 'Sir, this is none other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with him. The general served you with all faithfulness and honour; and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself, which is an honest and a thriving way; and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action, as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty, I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for: so thus he rests who is your humble servant, Oliver Cromwell.'

After the fatal defeat at Naseby the royal cause soon became hopeless. Bristol was not better defended by Prince Rupert than it had been by Nathaniel Fiennes. During the siege, Fairfax and Cromwell narrowly escaped from being killed by the same ball. The latter declared none but an atheist could deny that their success was the work of the Lord. In his official letter he said, 'it may be thought some praises are due to these gallant men of whose valour so much mention is made; their humble suit to you and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in remembrance of God's praises they may be forgotten. It's their joy that they are instruments to God's glory and their country's good. It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you.' The faith and prayers of William Dell and Hugh Peters, chaplains to the besieging forces, were assisted by the experience of Skippon in military operations, by the fear of a disaffected party within the city, and by the sample which the besiegers had given of their intention to put their enemies to the sword if they took the place by storm. Cromwell next took Devizes, and disarmed and dispersed the club-men in Hampshire, who having originally associated to protect themselves against the excesses of both parties, contributed to the miseries of the country by making a third party as oppressive as either. Winchester surrendered to him, and on that occasion he gave an honourable example of fidelity to his engagements; six of his men being detected in plundering, in violation of the terms of capitulation, he hung one of them, and sent the other five to the King's governor at Oxford to be punished at his discretion. Basing House, which had been so long and bravely defended,

fended, yielded to this fortunate general, who never failed in any enterprize which he undertook. He then rejoined Fairfax in the west to complete the destruction of a gallant army which had been ruined by worthless and wicked commanders. Lord Hopton, one of those men whose virtues redeem the age, had taken the command of it in a manner more honourable to himself than the most glorious of those achievements in which he had formerly been successful: there was no possibility of averting or even delaying a total defeat. When Prince Charles entreated him to take upon himself the forlorn charge of commanding it, Lord Hopton replied, that it was the custom now, when men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to say it was against their honour; for himself he could not obey in this instance without resolving to lose his honour,—but since his Highness thought it necessary so to command him, even at that cost he was ready to obey. He made so gallant a resistance at Torrington, though great part of his men behaved basely, that the parliamentary forces suffered greater loss than at any other storm in which they were engaged; and when his army was finally broken up, as much by the licence and mutinous temper of the men and officers, as by the enemy's overpowering force, he disdained to make terms for himself, and retired with the ammunition and those who remained faithful into Pendennis castle. The last possibility which remained to the King of collecting an army in the field, was destroyed when Lord Astley was defeated by superior numbers and taken. At the beginning of the war, this gallant soldier, before he charged in the battle of Edgehill, made a prayer, of which Hume says, there were certainly much longer ones said in the parliamentary army, but it may be doubted whether there were so good a one. It was simply this: 'O Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day! If I forget thee, do not thou forget me.' He now concluded his brave and irreproachable career, by a saying not less to be remembered by the enemy's officers, 'You have done your work, and may now go to play, unless you chuse to fall out among yourselves.'

Even before the loss of Bristol, Charles, whose judgement seldom deceived him, had seen that the worst was to be expected, and made up his mind to endure it as became him. In reply to a letter from Prince Rupert, who had advised him again to propose a treaty after that at Uxbridge had failed, he pointed out the certainty that no terms would be granted which it would not be criminal in him to accept; and at the same time fairly acknowledged the hopelessness of his affairs, save only for his trust in God. 'I confess,' he said, 'that speaking either as to mere soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin: but as to Christian, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper,

prosper, or his cause to be overthrown : and whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less to give over the quarrel. Indeed I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience; which obliges me to continue my endeavours, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge his own cause. Though I must avow to all my friends that he that will stay with me at this time must expect and resolve, either to die for a good cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can make him.' The prospect of dying in the field, which it appears from these expressions the king contemplated with a complacent resignation, and perhaps with hope, was at an end when Lord Astley was defeated : in expectation of this he had already consulted for the safety of the Prince of Wales, and it was now to be determined whither he should betake himself. He offered to put himself in the hands of two commanders who at some distance were blockading Oxford, if they would pass their words that they would immediately conduct him to the parliament; for in battle or in debate Charles was always ready to face his enemies, and in debate with the advantage of a collected mind, a sound judgement, a ready utterance, and a thorough knowledge of the points in dispute. He knew also that throughout this fatal contest, the hearts of the great majority of the people were with him; and though the strength of the rebellious party lay in London, yet even there he thought so much loyalty was left and so much regard for his person, that he would willingly have been in it at this time. But the parliamentary generals, whose purpose it always was to prevent the possibility of any accommodation which would have restored even a nominal authority to the sovereign, refused to enter into any such engagement; and the avenues of the city were strictly watched, lest he should enter secretly. Another and better hope was to join Montrose, who was then in his career of victory. The representations of M. Montrevil, a French agent who was at that time with the Scotch army before Newark, and the promises of the Scotch made to that agent, that they would receive him as their sovereign, and effectually join with him for the recovery of his just rights, induced him to take that step. 'They have often,' he says, 'professed they have fought not against me but for me. I must now resolve the riddle of their loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the world see they mean not what they do, but what they say.'

When that memorable bargain was concluded, by which the Scotch sold and the English bought their king, Cromwell was one of the commissioners. Yet it is represented by his bitterest enemy, Hollis, that nothing could have been so desirable for Cromwell,

well, and nothing so much wished for by that party who were bent upon destroying monarchy, as that the Scotch should have taken Charles with them into Scotland, instead of delivering him into the hands of the parliament; and he speaks of the sale as singularly honourable to both the contracting parties! 'Here then,' he says, 'the very mouth of iniquity was stopt: malice itself had nothing to say to give the least blemish to the faithfulness and reality of the kingdom of Scotland, the clearness of their proceedings, their zeal for peace, without self-seeking and self-ends to make advantage of the miseries and misfortunes of England.' Charles himself saw the transaction in a very different light, as posterity has done. He declared that he was bought and sold. 'Yet, (he says in the *Icon*,) may I justify those Scots to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me, for I never trusted to them, further than to men. If I am sold by them, I am only sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours'!—Better others betray me than myself, and that the price of my liberty should be my conscience. The greatest injuries my enemies seek to inflict upon me cannot be without my own consent.'

The Scotch nation in general were sensible of the infamy which had been brought upon them by this act. The English were at first deceived by it: for rightly perceiving that peace and tranquillity could not be restored by any other means than by the restoration of the King to those just rights and privileges which he holds for the good of all, they believed that he was now to be brought in honour and safety to London. As he was taken from Newcastle to Holmby, they flocked from all parts to see him; and scrofulous patients were brought to receive the royal touch, in full belief of its virtue, and with entire affection to his person. If the intentions of Hollis and the Presbyterian party had been such as they were afterwards desirous to make the world believe, they had it in their power now to have imposed upon the King any terms to which he could conscientiously have submitted, and the army were not yet so completely lords of the ascendant, as to have prevented such an accommodation. But that party had brought on the civil war; had slandered the King in the foulest spirit of calumny; and on every occasion had acted towards him precisely in that manner which would wound and insult him most:—it is impossible to know what catastrophe they designed for the tragedy which they had planned and carried on thus far; but it is not possible that they intended a termination which should have been compatible with the honour and well-being of the sovereign whom they had so bitterly injured. With that brutality which characterized all their proceedings towards him, they refused to let any of his chaplains attend him at this time,

time. There is no subject upon which the King, in his lonely meditations, has expressed himself with more feeling than upon this. He says, 'when Providence was pleased to deprive me of all other civil comforts and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my chaplains, whom for their functions I reverence, and for their fidelity I have cause to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in God's good time. The solitude they have confined me unto adds the wilderness to my temptation; for the company they obtrude upon me is more sad than any solitude can be. If I had asked my revenues, my power of the militia, or any one of my kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: but to deny me the ghostly comfort of my chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbarity than is ever used by Christians to the meanest prisoners and greatest malefactors. But my agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good angel; for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet divine: and such I would have all mine to be.—To Thee, therefore, O God, do I direct my now solitary prayers! What I want of other's help, supply with the more immediate assistance of thy spirit: in Thee is all fullness: from Thee is all sufficiency: by Thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough and comfort enough. Thou art my King, be also my prophet and my priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be Thou ever with me.'

The parliamentary leaders had no sooner won the victory than they began to divide the spoils. The Parliament, by virtue of that sovereign authority which it had usurped, created Essex and Warwick Dukes; Hollis was made a Viscount; Hazlerigg, Vane, Fairfax and Cromwell, Barons, the latter with a revenue of £2500 charged upon the estates of the Marquis of Worcester. They filled up the places of those members who followed the King's party, or whom their violent measures had driven from the House; and this was done with a contempt of the laws which indicated that the people of England were now under the dominion of the sword. 'First,' says Hollis, (who being now on the weaker side could see the enormity of their proceedings,)—'first they did all they could to stop writs from going any whither but where they were sure to have fit men chosen for their turns; and many an unjust thing was done by them in that kind; sometimes denying writs, sometimes delaying till they had prepared all things and made it, as they thought, cock sure; many times Committee-men in the country, such

such as were their creatures, appearing grossly, and bandying to carry elections for them; sometimes they did it fairly by the power of the army, causing soldiers to be sent and quartered in the towns where elections were to be; awing and terrifying, sometimes abusing and offering violence to the electors.' The Self-denying Ordinance was totally disregarded now: it had effected the object for which it was designed; and perhaps, as the war in England was at an end, it may have been fairly supposed to have expired. Many officers therefore were now returned, and among them, Ludlow, Ireton and Fairfax. The two former were republicans, who emulated the old Romans in the severity of their character and looked upon it as a virtue to be inexorable. Ludlow has related of himself that, meeting in a skirmish with an old acquaintance and schoolfellow who was on the King's side, he expressed his sorrow at seeing him in that party, and offered to exchange a shot with him. He relates also that when he was defending Warder Castle, one of the besiegers who was killed, said just before he expired, that he saw his own brother fire the musket by which he received his mortal wound; and instead of expressing a human feeling at this frightful example of the horrors of civil war, he adds that it might probably be, his brother having been one of those who defended the breach where he was shot; 'but if it were so, he might justly do it by the laws of God and man, it being done in the discharge of his duty and in his own defence.' With such deliberate inhumanity did Ludlow in old age and retirement comment upon a fact, which, even in the fever of political enthusiasm and the heat of battle, ought to have made him shudder.

That party, who would have been satisfied with the establishment of a Presbyterian Church, and the enjoyment of offices, honours and emoluments under a King whom they wished to preserve only as a puppet for their own purposes, would now gladly have reduced an army of which they began to stand in fear: for since it had been new modelled, the Independents had obtained the ascendancy there; and those principles which Cromwell at the first avowed to his own troop, were now becoming common among the soldiers. They had been taught to believe that the King was an enemy and a tyrant: and drawing from false premises a just conclusion, they reasoned that, because it was lawful to fight against him, it was right also to destroy him. They saw through the hypocrisy of the Presbyterians, whom they called with sarcastic truth the *dissembly* men; and being led by their own situation to speculate upon the origin of dignities and powers, they asked what were the Lords of England but William the Conqueror's Colonels? or the Barons but his Majors? or the Knights but his Captains? The Parliament had just reason to fear an army in this temper; and the army had equal reason to complain of the Parliament, because their pay was in arrears: they were

were therefore to be disbanded, the commissioned officers to receive debentures for what was due to them, and the non-commissioned officers and privates a promise, secured upon the excise. But men who had arms in their hands, were easily persuaded that they might use them with as much justice to intimidate the Parliament, as to subdue the King. That they might have their deliberative assemblies also, under whose authority they might proceed, they appointed a certain number of officers which they called the General Council of Officers, who were to act as their House of Peers; and the common soldiers chose three or four from every regiment, mostly corporals or serjeants, few or none above the rank of an ensign, who were called Agitators, and were to be the army's House of Commons. The president of these Agitators was a remarkable man, by name James Berry: he had originally been a clerk in some iron-works. In the course of the revolution he sat in the Upper House. He was one of the principal actors in pulling down Richard Cromwell; became afterward one of the Council of State; was imprisoned after the Restoration as one of the four men whom Monk considered the most dangerous; and finally, being liberated, became a gardener, and finished his life in obscurity and peace.

Both the Council of Officers and the Agitators were composed of Cromwell's creatures, or of men who being thorough fanatics, did his work equally well in stupid sincerity. They presented a bold address to Parliament declaring that they would neither be divided nor disbanded till their full arrears were paid, and demanding that no member of the army should be tried by any other judicatory than a council of war. 'They did not,' they said, 'look upon themselves as a band of janizaries, hired only to fight the battles of the Parliament; they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty of the nation of which they were a part, and before they laid those arms down they would see that end well provided for.' The men who presented this address behaved with such audacity at the bar of the House of Commons, that there were some who moved for their committal: but they had friends even there to protect them, one of whom replied that he would have them committed indeed, but it should be to the best inn in the town, where plenty of good sack and sugar should be provided for them. As the dispute proceeded, the army held louder language, and the Parliament took stronger measures, causing some of the boldest among the soldiers to be imprisoned. Cromwell supported the House in this, expressed great indignation at the insolence of the troops, and complained even with tears, that there had even been a design of killing him, so odious had he been made to the army by men who were desirous of again embruining the nation in blood! Yet he had said to Ludlow 'that it was a miserable thing

thing to serve a parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off; whereas,' said he, 'when one serves under a general, he may do as much service and yet be free from all blame and envy. And during these very discussions he whispered in the House to Ludlow, these men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears.' If Ludlow suspected any sinister view in Cromwell, he was himself too much engaged with the army to notice it at that time. But there were other members whose opposite interest opened their eyes; and who, knowing that Cromwell was the secret director of those very measures against which he inveighed, resolved to send him to the Tower, believing that if he were once removed the army might easily be reduced to obedience. They estimated his authority more justly than they did their own. It appears that he expected a more violent contest than actually ensued; for he and many of the Independents privately removed their effects from London, 'leaving,' says Hollis, 'city and parliament as marked out for destruction.' He had timely notice of the design against him, and on the very morning when they proposed to arrest him, he set out for the army: but still preserving that dissimulation which he never laid aside where it could possibly be useful, he wrote to the House of Commons, saying, that his presence was necessary to reclaim the soldiers, who had been abused by misinformation; and desiring that the General (Fairfax) and such other officers who were in the House or in town, might be sent to their quarters to assist him in that good work.

On the very day that Cromwell joined the army, the King was carried from Holmby by Joyce. That *grey discrowned head*, as he himself beautifully calls it, the sight of which drew tears from his friends, and moved many even of his enemies to compunction as well as pity, excited no feeling or respect in this hard and vulgar ruffian, who had formerly been a taylor and afterwards a menial servant in Hollis's family. He produced a pistol as the authority which the King was to obey, and Charles believed that the intention in carrying him away was to murder him. Whether Joyce was employed by the Agitators, of whose body he was one, or whether, as Hollis asserts and as is generally believed, Cromwell sent him, is of no consequence in Cromwell's character, (though his descendant strenuously endeavours to show that he had no concern in the transaction,) for it is only a question whether he was mediately or immediately the author. The insolence with which the act was performed is imputable to the agent; and there is some reason to believe that, whatever may have been the intention of Ireton, St. John, Vane and other men of that stamp, Cromwell himself was at that time very far from having determined upon the death of the King.

King. It was plain that the Parliament had no intention of making any terms with the King, except such as would have left him less real power than the Oligarchs of Venice entrusted to their Doge; and it was not less obvious that, as Charles might expect more equitable conditions from the army, who would treat with him as a part of the nation, not as a body contending for sovereignty, so on his side he would come to the treaty with better hope and a kinder disposition. Indeed at this time he looked upon them with the feelings of a British King: 'though they have fought against me,' said he, 'yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometimes showed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain myself, my laws and my kingdom, in such a peace as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.' He had changed his keepers and his prison, but not his captive condition; only there was this hope of bettering, that they who were such professed patrons of the people's liberty, could not be utterly against the liberty of the King: 'what they demanded for their own conscience,' said he, 'they cannot in reason deny to mine;' and it consoled him to believe that the world would now see a King could not be so low as not to be considerable, adding right to that party where he appeared.

So far he was right; it is the lively expression of Hollis that the army made that use of the King which the Philistines would have made of the ark, and that and their power together made them prevail. The description which he gives of the parliament at this crisis holds forth an awful warning to those who fancy that it is as easy to direct the commotions of a state as to excite them; it is a faithful picture drawn by a leading member of that faction which had raised and hitherto guided the rebellion. 'They now thunder upon us,' he says, 'with remonstrances, declarations, letters and messages every day, commanding one day one thing, next day another, making us vote and unvote, do and undo; and when they had made us do some ugly thing, jeer us, and say our doing justifies their desiring it.' 'We fell as low as dirt,' he says: 'take all our ordinances in pieces, change and alter them according to their minds, and (which is worst of all) expunge our declaration against their mutinous petition, cry *peccavimus* to save a whipping: but all would not do!—All was dasht;' (it is still Hollis the parliamentarian who speaks:) 'instead of a generous resistance to the insolencies of perfidious servants, vindicating the honour of the parliament, discharging the trust that lay upon them to preserve a poor people from being ruined and enslaved to a rebellious army, they deliver up themselves and kingdom to the will of their enemies; prostitute all to the lust of heady and violent men; and suffer Mr. Cromwell to saddle, ride, switch and spur them at his pleasure.' Ride them indeed he did
with

with a martingale; and it was not all the wincing of the galled jade that could shake the practised horseman in his seat. Poor Hollis complains that 'presbyterians were trumps no longer.' Clubs were trumps now, and the knave in that suit as in the former, was the best card in the pack. When the Parliament had done whatever the army required, 'prostituting their honours, renouncing whatever would be of strength or safety to them, casting themselves down naked, helpless and hopeless at the proud feet of their domineering masters, it is all to no purpose, it does but encourage those merciless men to trample the more upon them.'

So it was, and properly so. This was the reward of the Presbyterian party

' For letting rapine loose and murder
To rage just so far and no further,
And setting all the land on fire
To burn to a scantling and no higher;
For venturing to assassinate,
And cut the throats of Church and State:

This they had done; and instead of being, as they had calculated upon being,

' allowed the fittest men
To take the charge of both again,'

they were now

' Out-gifted, out-impulsed, out-done,
And out-revealed at carryings-on;
Of all their dispensations worm'd,
Out-providenced, and out-reform'd,
Ejected out of Church and State
And all things—but the people's hate.'

As the question stood between the parliament and the army, the army was in the right. Whatever arguments held good for resisting the King, availed *a fortiori* for resisting the parliament: its little finger was heavier than his loins; and where the old authorities had used a whip, the parliament had scourged the nation with scorpions. The change in ecclesiastical affairs was of the same kind. New Presbyterian was old Priest written large—and in blacker characters. Cromwell had force of reason as well as force of arms on his side; and if he had possessed a legitimate weight in the country, like Essex, it is likely that he would now have used it to the best purpose, and have done honourably for himself and beneficially for the kingdom, what was afterwards effected by Monk, with too little regard to any interest except his own. It is said that he required for himself, as the reward of this service to his sovereign, the garter, the title of the Earl of Essex, vacant by the death of the late general, and a proper object of ambition to Cromwell, as
having

having formerly been in his family; to be made First-Captain of the Guards, and Vicar-General of the Kingdom. All this he would have deserved, if he had restored peace and security to the nation by re-establishing the monarchy with those just limitations, the propriety of which was seen and acknowledged by the King himself. But if Cromwell desired to do this, which may reasonably be presumed, the power which he then possessed was not sufficient for it. It was a revolutionary power, not transferable to the better cause without great diminution. In the movements of the revolutionary sphere his star was rising, but it was not yet lord of the ascendant; and, in raising himself to his present station, he had, like the unlucky magician in romance, conjured up stronger spirits than he was yet master enough of the black art to controul. Under his management, the moral discipline of the army was as perfect as that of the Swedes under the great Gustavus, whom it is not improbable that Cromwell in this point took for his model. He had been most strict and severe in chastising all irregularities, 'insomuch,' says Clarendon, 'that sure there was never any such body of men, so without rapine, swearing, drinking, or any other debauchery—but the wickedness of their hearts.' He had brought them to this state by means of religious enthusiasm, the most powerful and the most perilous of all principles which an ambitious man can call into action. When the Parliamentary army first took the field every regiment had its preacher, who beat the drum ecclesiastic, and detorted scripture to serve the purposes of rebellion. The battle of Edgehill sickened them of service in the field; almost all of them went home after that action; and when the tide of success set in against the King, they had little inclination to return to their posts, because the other sectaries with whom the army swarmed beat them at their own weapons. Baxter says it was the ministers that lost all, by forsaking the army and betaking themselves to an easier and quieter way of life; and he especially repented that he had not accepted the chaplainship of that famous troop with which Cromwell began his army; persuading himself that if he had been among them he might have prevented the spreading of that fire which was then in one spark. Baxter is one of those men whose lives exemplify the strength and the weakness of the human mind. He fancied that the bellows which had been used for kindling the fire, could blow it out when the house was in flames! He might as well have supposed that he could put out Etna with an extinguisher, or have stilled an earthquake by setting his foot upon the ground.

In the anarchy which the war produced, some of the preachers acted as officers; and, on the other hand, officers, with at least as much

much propriety, acted as preachers. Cromwell himself edified the army by his discourses, and every common soldier who carried a voluble tongue, and either was or pretended to be a fanatic, held forth from a pulpit or a tub. The land was overrun with

‘a various rout

Of petulant capricious sects,

The maggots of corrupted texts,’

but they bred in the army; and this license in things spiritual led by a sure process to the wildest notions of political liberty, to which also the constitution of the army was favourable: a mercenary army, Hollis calls it, ‘all of them, from the general (except what he may have in expectation after his father’s death) to the meanest sentinel, not able to make a thousand pounds a year lands, most of the colonels and officers mean tradesmen, brewers, taylors, goldsmiths, shoemakers and the like,—a notable dunghill if one would rake into it to find out their several pedigrees.’ According to him these ‘bloodsuckers had conceived a mortal hatred’ against his party, ‘and, in truth, against all gentlemen, as those who had too great an interest and too large a stake of their own in the kingdom, to engage with them in their design of perpetuating the war to an absolute confusion.’ It was by such instruments that Cromwell had made himself, ostensibly the second person in the army, really the first: but he was not yet their master, and was compelled to court them still by professing a fellowship in opinions which he had ceased to hold. Had he espoused the King’s cause heartily and honestly, which probably he desired to do, the very men upon whom his power rested would have turned against him, and have pursued him with as murderous a hatred as that which Pym had avowed against Strafford, and had gratified in his blood. Both in and out of the army he needed the co-operation of men some of whom were his equals in cunning, others in audacity: Vane and perhaps St. John were as crafty, Ludlow, Hazlerigg and many others were as bold. But these men were bent upon trying the experiment of a republic, to which the King’s destruction was a necessary prelude. And he who afterwards controlled three nations, is said himself to have stood in some awe of his son-in-law Ireton, a man of great talents and inflexible character, and sincere in those political opinions which Cromwell held only while they were instrumental to his advancement.

Ludlow, who knew Ireton well, and was the more likely to understand the motives of his conduct because he entirely coincided with him in his political desires, believed that it was never his intention to come to any agreement with the King, but only to delude the Loyalists while the army were contesting with the Presbyterian interest

interest in Parliament: and he relates that Ireton once said to the King, 'Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between you and the parliament.' Cromwell, on the other hand, is said to have declared that the interview between Charles and his children, when they were first allowed to visit him, was 'the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld;' to have wept plentifully when he spoke of it, (which he might well have done without hypocrisy, for in private life he was a man of kind feelings and of a generous nature;) to have confessed that 'never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the most upright and conscientious of his kingdom; and to have imprecated 'that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards the King.' There are men so habitually insincere that they seem to delight in acts of gratuitous duplicity, as if their vanity was gratified by the easy triumph over those who are too upright to suspect deceit. Cromwell was a hypocrite then only when hypocrisy was useful; there are anecdotes enough which prove that he was well pleased when he could lay aside the mask. In his conduct toward Charles, while that poor persecuted King was with the army, there is no reason to suspect him of any sinister intention;—the most probable solution is that also which is most creditable to him, and which is imputed to him by those persons who aspersed him most. Hollis and Ludlow, who hated him with as much inveteracy as if they had not equally hated each other, agree in believing that he would willingly have taken part with the King; and that he was deterred from this better course by the fear that the army would desert him. They agree also that when he was certain of this, he, by taking measures for alarming the King, instigated him to make his escape from Hampton Court. Concerning his further* purpose there are different opinions. Hollis, who would allow him no merit, supposes that he directed him to Carisbrook because he knew that Hammond might be depended upon as a jailer: Ludlow supposes that he thought Hammond a man on whom the King might rely; and Hobbes, with more probability than either, affirms that he meant to let him escape from

* One of the very few errors which M. Villemain has committed is that of saying that Ashburnham is charged by Clarendon with having betrayed his master on this occasion; whereas Clarendon, though he perceived with what fatal and unaccountable mismanagement they proceeded, entirely acquits him of any intention to mislead the king. M. Villemain writes New York for Newark—from a mistaken etymology we suppose. These trifling mistakes are pointed out for correction, not from the desire of detecting faults, but in respect for a work of great sagacity, perfect candour and exemplary diligence,—being by far the most able history of Cromwell that has yet been written.

the kingdom, which, with common prudence on the part of his companions, he might have done, and which, when Cromwell had made his choice to act with the Commonwealth's-men, would have served their purpose better than his death.

He did not, however, join them hastily, nor from his own feelings, but as if yielding, rather than consenting, to circumstances. Conferences were held between some of the heads of the many-headed anarchy—members, officers, and preachers—to determine what form of government was best for the nation, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical. The ablest leaders of the Presbyterian party had been expelled the House, and some of them driven into exile by the preponderating influence of the army, who availed themselves of the King's presence to obtain that object. These persons, more from their hatred of the Independents than from any other principle, would have defended the monarchy, which was now but weakly and insincerely defended by Cromwell and those who were called the *Grandeess* of the House and army. Either form of government, they said, might be good in itself, and for them, as Providence should direct; this being interpreted meant that they were ready to support any form which might be most advantageous to themselves. On the other hand, the political and religious zealots insisted that monarchy was in itself an evil, and that the Jews had committed a great sin against the Lord in chusing it; and they, apparently now for the first time, avowed their desire of putting the King to death and establishing an equal commonwealth. Cromwell, who was then acknowledged as the head of the *Grandeess*, professed himself to be unresolved; he had learnt however the temper of his tools, and with that coarse levity which is one of the strongest features in his character, he concluded the conference by flinging a cushion at Ludlow's head, and then running down stairs; but not fast enough to escape a similar missile which was sent after him. The next day he told Ludlow he was convinced of the desirableness of what that party had proposed, but not of its feasibility. The time was now fast approaching when Cromwell would find every thing feasible which he desired. A bold accusation was preferred against him in the House of Lords by Major Huntington: he affirmed that Cromwell and Ireton had, from the beginning, instigated the army to disobey and resist the parliament; that they had pledged themselves to make the King the most glorious prince in Christendom, while they were making use of him, and had declared that they were ready to join with French, Spaniards, Cavaliers, or any who would force the parliament to agree with him; that their real object was to perpetuate the power of the army; that Ireton said when the King and parliament were treating he hoped they would make such a peace that the

army might, with a good conscience, fight against them both; and that Cromwell had, both in public and private, maintained as his principle that every individual was judge of just and right as to the good and ill of a kingdom; that it was lawful to pass through any forms of government for attaining his end, and that it was lawful to play the knave with a knave. Huntington swore to the truth of these allegations; Milton impugns his credit, by saying that he afterwards besought Cromwell's pardon, and confessed that he had been suborned by the Presbyterians. Encouraged by them he probably was; but Huntington's memorial bears with it the stamp of truth, and it is confirmed by Cromwell's whole course of after life.

The Independent party being the strongest, no advantage was made of these charges, which might otherwise have been deemed ground sufficient for depriving him of his command; and the ill-planned and ill-combined insurrection of the Cavaliers and invasion of the Scotch made him, as M. Villemain observes, too necessary to be deemed culpable. He marched first into Wales, and brought that crabbed expedition, as it was called, to a successful termination with his wonted celerity. That done, he proceeded against the Scotch, which, to the great furtherance of Cromwell's designs, Fairfax was not willing to do, for Fairfax had a sort of pyebald Presbyterian conscience, and strained at a gnat now after having bolted so many camels. Cromwell had a great dislike of the Scotch as well as a great contempt for them; he perfectly understood what their armies were, having served with them in one campaign, and therefore readily consented to go against them with a very inferior force. That confidence might have been fatal to him, if there had been common prudence in the Duke of Hamilton and the other Scotch leaders; but the miserable creatures by whom the counsels of that army were directed chose to expose the English who were with them, instead of supporting them, when, by timely aid, the day might have been won. Cromwell declared he had never seen foot fight so desperately as the Northcountrymen under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, at the battle of Preston, where they were so basely left without support. They had their reward. Cromwell followed their army, defeated and routed it, more being killed out of contempt, says Clarendon, than that they deserved it by any opposition. He then marched to Edinburgh, where he was received as a Deliverer; and settling the affairs of that lawless country under the management of Argyle, left it with reason to believe that it would prove as peaceable as he could wish.

The part which Cromwell bore in the tragedy that ensued, and the manner in which the hypocrisy, the coarseness and the levity of his character were displayed, when, not having felt power or cou-
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rage to prevent the wickedness, he took the lead in it himself, are known to all persons who have any knowledge of English history. The powers of Europe had most of them secretly fomented the rebellion, and made no attempt to avert the catastrophe which it brought about. France more especially had acted treacherously toward the King; commenting upon which, in the earlier part of his history, Lord Clarendon has some memorable observations upon the impolicy as well as the injustice of such conduct, 'as if,' he says, 'the religion of princes were nothing but policy, and that they considered nothing more than to make all other kingdoms but their own miserable; and because God hath reserved them to be tried only within his own jurisdiction, that he means to try them too by other laws and rules than he hath published to the world for his servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider that God hath placed them over his people as examples, and to give countenance to his laws by their own strict observation of them; and that as their subjects are to be defended and protected by their princes, so they themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another, the function of kings being an order by itself; and as a contempt and breach of every law is in the policy of state an offence against the person of the king, because there is a kind of violation offered to his person in the transgression of that rule, without which he cannot govern; so the rebellion of subjects against their prince ought to be looked upon by all other kings as an assault of their own sovereignty, and in some degree a design against monarchy itself, and consequently to be suppressed and extirpated, in what other kingdom soever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own bowels.' Lord Bacon has noticed it as a defect in the historical part of learning that there is not an impartial and well attested *Historia Nemesios*. In such a history the miseries which France has undergone, and which Spain is undergoing and is to undergo, would exemplify the justice of Clarendon's remarks.

While other governments beheld the fate of Charles with an indifference as disreputable to their feelings as to their policy; and while the King of Spain adorned his palace by purchasing the choicest specimens of art with which Charles had enriched England, an honourable exception is to be made for Portugal and the House of Braganza. That House, in a time of extreme difficulty and danger, when it could ill afford to provoke another enemy, chose rather to incur the resentment and vengeance of the English Commonwealth, than to refuse protection to Prince Rupert and the ships under his command; and when the Parliamentary fleet entered the Tagus, and denounced war unless they were instantly delivered up, it was with difficulty that Prince Theodosius (whose untimely death may, perhaps, be considered as the greatest mis-

fortune that ever befell the Portuguese) was dissuaded from going on board the Portuguese fleet himself, to join Prince Rupert, and give battle to his enemies. On that occasion the Braganzan family considered what was right and honourable, regardless of all meaner considerations; they supplied Rupert fully, and would not suffer his pursuers to leave the port till two tides after he had sailed out with a full gale. They suffered severely for this, but they preserved their honour; and as it behoves us not to forget this, so does it at this time especially behove the Portuguese to remember in what manner the constant alliance and friendship of England, which for more than an hundred and sixty years has never been interrupted, was then deserved.

The levity which Cromwell displayed during that mockery of justice with which the King was sacrificed, Mr. Noble supposes to have been affected; and Mr. O. Cromwell endeavours to invalidate the evidence upon which it has been recorded and hitherto received. Its truth or falsehood would matter little in the fair estimate of his whole conduct, or of that particular act; and the thing itself is too consistent with other authentic anecdotes concerning him to be arbitrarily set aside. It is more remarkable that he went to look at the murdered King, opened the coffin himself, put his finger to the neck where it had been severed, and even, inspecting the inside of the body, observed in how healthy a state it had been, and how well made for length of life. He had screwed his feelings as well as his conscience at this time to the sticking place, and seems as if he had been resolved to make it known that he would shrink from nothing which might be necessary for his views. This was shown in the case of Lord Capel, a man in all respects of exemplary virtue, and worthy of the highest honours that history can bestow, as one who performed his duty faithfully, and to the last, in the worst of times. Cromwell knew him personally, spoke of him as of a friend, and made his very virtues a reason for taking away his life! His affection to the public, he said, so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell the House the question was whether they would preserve their most bitter and most implacable enemy; he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England who would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, he should vote for his death. This was delivered and heard as a proof of republican virtue.—God deliver us from all such virtues as harden the heart!

Hobbes has affirmed that at the time of Lord Capel's execution
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it was put to the question by the army, whether all who had borne arms for the King should be massacred or no, and the Noes carried it by only two voices. If this be true, Cromwell, we may be sure, was one of those who declared against it; when he shed blood it was upon a calculating policy, never for the appetite of blood: such acts were committed by him against a good nature, not in the indulgence of a depraved one. Nor were the royalists the party of whom he was at that time most apprehensive; they were broken and dispersed, their cause was abandoned by man, and the pulpit incendiaries preached and, perhaps, persuaded both themselves and others that God had declared against it. The present danger was from the Levellers, whom Cromwell had at first encouraged, and with whom it is very possible that in one stage of his progress he may sincerely have sympathized. But being now better acquainted with men and with things, his wish was to build up and repair the work of ruin; all further demolition was to be prevented, and therefore by prompt severity he suppressed these men, who were so numerous and well organized as to have rendered themselves formidable by their strength as well as by their opinions. That object having been effected, he accepted the command in Ireland, to the surprise of his enemies who desired nothing so much as his absence; not having considered that with his means and temper he went to a sure conquest, and must needs return from it with a great accession of popularity and power.

He arrived at Dublin in a fortunate hour, just after the garrison had obtained a signal victory, in consequence of which the siege had been broken up. Without delay he marched against Drogheda, where the Marquis of Ormond had placed a great number of his best troops, under Sir Arthur Ashton, a brave and distinguished officer. One assault was manfully repulsed. Cromwell led his men a second time to the breach, who then forced all the retrenchments, and gave no quarter, according to his positive orders. There was a great contention among the soldiers who should get the governor for his share of the spoil, because his artificial leg was believed to be made of gold; the disappointment at finding it only of wood was somewhat abated by discovering two hundred pieces of gold sewn up in his girdle. Cromwell's own account of the slaughter is, that not thirty of the whole number of the defendants escaped with their lives. 'I do not believe,' he says, 'neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant, who, going to the enemy, said he was the only man that escaped of all the garrison. The enemy were filled upon this with much terror, and truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God. I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom, indeed, the praise of

this mercy belongs, for instruments they were very inconsiderable the work throughout.' Lord Clarendon says that all manner of cruelty was executed; every Irish inhabitant, man, woman and child, put to the sword, and three or four officers of name and of good families, whom some humaner soldiers concealed for four or five days, were then butchered in cold blood. Ludlow relates that the slaughter continued two days, and that such extraordinary severity was used to discourage others. Hugh Peters gave thanks for it in the cathedral at Dublin. The object was obtained. Trim and Dundalk were abandoned to him without resistance; Wexford was ill defended and easily taken; and Cromwell, with a reliance upon fortune arising in this instance equally from confidence in himself and contempt of his enemies, marched into Munster so far from all succour and all reasonable hope of supplies, that if the city of Cork had not been treacherously or pusillanimously given up to him, he and his army must have been reduced to the utmost danger.

In less than six months, though an infectious disease had broken out in his own army, Cromwell destroyed the last hopes of the Royalists in Ireland, and exacted for a national crime, to which the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day is the only parallel in history, a vengeance to which no parallel can be found. No mercy was shown to any person who could be convicted of having shed Protestant blood in that most merciless and atrocious rebellion. As many others as chose were allowed to enter into foreign services, and French and Spanish officers enlisted and transported not less than five and forty thousand men, though not five thousand could ever be raised for the King's service by all the unwearied exertions of Ormond, and all the promises and contracts which were made with him. Leaving Ireton with the command, to pursue the war upon that system of extermination which the Commonwealth intended, he obeyed the summons of parliament to put himself at the head of an army which was to march against Charles II., called at that time Charles Stuart, who was then in Scotland in a situation something between that of a king and a prisoner. By Cromwell's desire the command was offered to Fairfax, who refused it, more because he was offended and ashamed at having discovered how mere a cipher he was become, than from any feeling of repentance for what he had done, and for what he had omitted to do, which was the heavier sin. In urging him to accept the command Cromwell appeared so much in earnest that Ludlow believed him, and took him aside to entreat that he would not in compliment and humility obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal. When it was determined that Cromwell was to be general, Ludlow had a conference with him, in which Cromwell professed to desire nothing more than that the government might be settled

settled in a free and equal Commonwealth, which he thought the only probable means of keeping out the old family. He looked upon it, he said, that the design of the Lord was now to free his people from every burthen, and to accomplish what was prophesied in the 110th psalm; and then expounding that psalm for about an hour to Ludlow, and tickling him with expositions, professions and praises, ended by letting him understand that if he pleased to accept the command of the horse in Ireland, the post would be at his service.

A declaration was sent before Cromwell's army, addressed 'to all that are Saints, and Partakers of the Faith of God's Elect in Scotland.' The saints, however, in Scotland were praying and preaching against Cromwell as heartily as they had ever performed pulpit service against Charles; and their Presbyterian brethren in England, as well as the sober and untainted part of the people, were heartily wishing for his overthrow, and the return of the ancient order. His contempt for the Scotch had very nearly brought about the fulfilment of their desires: he got himself into a situation at Dunbar from which it was impossible to retreat, and where, from the want of provisions, the enemy must have had him at their mercy if they would only have avoided an action. But it was revealed to the preachers by whom the general was controuled, that Agag was delivered into their hands; and Cromwell, perceiving them through his glass advancing to attack, exclaimed, (in Hume's felicitous language,) without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his*. Some of the preachers were knocked on the head while promising the victory, and others who were not killed 'had very notable marks about the head and the face, that any body might know they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will.' A terrible execution was made; Cromwell's men gave no quarter till they were weary of killing. In his letter to the parliament, he acknowledged the peril in which he had been, and that the enemy had reminded him of the fate of Essex's army in Cornwall; 'but,' says he, 'in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them. The enemy having those advantages we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, (wherein I believe not a few amongst us stand); that because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were on the mount, and on the mount the Lord would be seen.' And he adds that the Lord of Hosts made them as stubble to their swords.

The battle of Dunbar delivered Charles from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who, he verily believed, would have imprisoned him

the next day if they had won the victory. Cromwell entered Edinburgh: the castle was surrendered to him, and he was soon master of the better part of the kingdom; but he had a severe illness, with three relapses, and was in great danger. His reply after his recovery to a letter of inquiry from the Lord President of the Council of State in England, acknowledged, with all humble thankfulness, their high favour in sending to inquire after one so unworthy as himself. 'Indeed, my lord,' he continues, 'your service needs not me; I am a poor creature, and have been a dry bone, and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness, but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. But truly, my lord, I desire not to live unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to him in more faithfulness and thankfulness, and those I serve with more profitableness and diligence.' When he was well enough to take the field, and advance against the King at Sterling, a skilful movement; by which he got behind the royal army, thereby cutting it off from the fruitful country from whence it drew its supplies, induced Charles to form the brave resolution of marching into England.

Cromwell had not expected this; and when he announced it to the Parliament, it was with something like an apology for himself, though he said the enemy had taken this course in desperation and fear, and out of inevitable necessity. 'I do apprehend,' he says, 'that it will trouble some men's thoughts, and may occasion some inconveniences, of which I hope we are as deeply sensible, and have, and I trust shall be as diligent to prevent as any. And indeed this is our comfort, that in simplicity of heart as to God, we have done to the best of our judgements, knowing that if some issue were not put to this business, it would occasion another winter's war, to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard, in respect of enduring the winter difficulties of this country. We have this comfortable experiment from the Lord, that this enemy is heart-smitten by God, and whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperation of this counsel of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also.' The alarm in London was very great. 'Both the city and country,' says Mrs. Hutchinson, 'were all amazed, doubtful of their own and the Commonwealth's safety. Some could not hide very pale and unmanly fears, and were in such distraction of spirit, as much disturbed their counsels.' Even Bradshaw, 'stout-hearted as he was,' trembled for his neck. But great exertions were made by the government, its members having indeed every thing at stake, and Whitelocke says, that no affair could have been managed with more diligence, courage and prudence; and that peradventure, there was never so great a body of men so well armed and provided,

vided, got together in so short a time, as were those sent to reinforce Cromwell.' Cromwell meantime followed the royal army with his wonted confidence. Whatever his military skill may have been, he possessed in perfection two of the first requisites for a general, activity and decision; while in the King's councils he knew that there would be conflicting opinions, vacillations, delay and imbecility. When therefore he came to Worcester, advantageous as that position was to the enemy if they had known how to profit by it, he marched directly on as to a prey; and not troubling himself with the formality of a siege, ordered his troops to fall on in all places at once. According to his own account, the loss on his side did not exceed two hundred men; yet it was, he said, 'a stiff business,'—'as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever he had seen.' The royal army was completely routed and dispersed; and the victory was the more gratifying to Cromwell, on account of its being achieved on the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar. In his letter to the Parliament, he says, 'the dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts, it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. I am bold, humbly to beg that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath wrought so great salvation; and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation.'

The defeat of Charles at Worcester is one of those events which most strikingly exemplify how much better events are disposed of by Providence, than they would be if the direction were left to the choice even of the best and the wisest men. Had the victory been on the King's side, other battles must have been fought; his final success could not have been attained without a severe struggle; a second contest would have arisen among his own friends, between the members of the Church and the Presbyterians, which might probably have kindled another civil war; and the Puritans and their descendants to this day, would have insisted that if the Commonwealth had not been overthrown, the continuance of that free and liberal government would richly have repaid the country for all its sufferings. But by the battle of Worcester, the Commonwealth's-men were left absolute masters of the three kingdoms; they had full leisure to complete and perfect their own structure of government: the experiment was fairly tried; there was nothing from without to disturb the process; it went duly on from change to change, from one evil to another; anarchy in its certain consequences leading to military despotism; that again, when the sword was no longer wielded by a strong hand, giving place to anarchy; till the people, at length weary of their sufferings and their insecurity,

security, while knaves and fanatics were contending for the mastery over them, restored the monarchy with one consent.

When Cromwell called the battle of Worcester a *crowning* mercy, he may have used that word in a double sense between pun and prophecy; for certain it is that from this time he did not conceal the kingly thoughts and views which he entertained. He would have knighted Lambert and Fleetwood upon the field, if his friends had not dissuaded him; and soon afterwards, when Ireton's death delivered him from the only person whom he regarded with deference, he assembled certain members of parliament, with some of the chief officers, at the Speaker's house, told them it was necessary to come to a settlement of the nation, and delivered his own opinion in favour of a settlement with somewhat of a monarchical power in it. The lawyers who were present were in general for a mixed monarchy; and many were for chusing the Duke of Gloucester king, who was still in their hands, and was, as they said, too young to have borne arms against them, or to be infected with the principles of their enemies. The officers were as generally against monarchy, though every one of them, says Whitelock, was a monarch in his regiment or company. For the present, Cromwell was satisfied with having felt his ground, and waited while the Long Parliament made themselves more and more odious by the desire which they manifested of perpetuating their own power, the war which they provoked with the Dutch, and the severities which they exercised by their abominable high court of justice, where tools of the ruling party, who had no character to lose, acted at once as judge and jury. The prisoners taken at Worcester were driven like cattle to London; many of them perished there in confinement for want of food, and the rest were sold to the plantations for slaves by the despotic government which had risen upon the ruins of the throne! This act of abominable tyranny is mentioned by Baxter without any comment, and apparently without the slightest feeling. But when he relates that Mr. Love, one of the London ministers, was condemned and beheaded by the same authority—then, indeed, Heaven and Earth are moved at such an enormity! 'At the time of his execution, or very near it on that day, there was the dreadfulest thunder, and lightning, and tempest that was heard or seen for a long time before. This blow sunk deeper towards the root of the new Commonwealth than will easily be believed, and made them grow odious to almost all the religious party in the land except the sectaries. And there is, as Sir Walter Raleigh noteth of learned men, such as Demosthenes, Cicero, &c. so much more in divines of famous learning and piety, enough to put an everlasting odium upon those whom they suffer by, though the

the cause of the sufferers were not justifiable. Men count him a vile and detestable creature, who in his passion, or for his interest, or any such low account, shall deprive the world of such lights and ornaments, and cut off so much excellency at a blow.—After this the most of the ministers and good people of the land did look upon the new Commonwealth as tyranny.

The Long Parliament, having made itself as much hated by the presbyterians as it was by the royalists, was odious at the same time to the army and the fanatics of both kinds, political and religious. Cromwell stated their misconduct to Whitelock strongly, and with none of that muddiness with which he frequently chose to conceal or obscure his meaning. On this occasion he spoke plainly: 'Their pride,' he said, 'and ambition and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions: their delays of business and design to perpetuate themselves and to continue their power in their own heads; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them,—these things do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power; there being none superior or co-ordinate with them.' Whitelock confessed the evil, but said it would be hard to find a remedy. What, said Cromwell, if a man should take upon him to be king? To this Whitelock replied that this remedy would be worse than the disease; that being general he had less envy and less danger than if he were called king, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good. And he represented to him that he was environed with secret enemies: that his own officers were elated with success; 'many of them,' said he, 'are busy and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle,—how they may bring you down and set up themselves.' Cromwell would willingly have engaged Whitelock in his views; but Whitelock was a cautious, temporizing man, who generally chose the safest part, and never incurred danger, by resisting what he could not prevent, or putting himself in the van, when he could remain with the main body. In speaking honestly to Cromwell, he risked nothing; the feeling which his dissent excited, was rather disappointment than displeasure, and he would be esteemed more for his sincerity.

His concurrence was of little moment. Cromwell could count upon

upon his faithful services when the thing was done, and he had plenty of other agents who were ready to go through with any thing. That memorable scene soon followed, when Cromwell turned out the Parliament, and locked the doors of the House of Commons. Whitelock says, that 'all honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this; that the royalists rejoiced; that divers fierce men, pastors of churches and their congregations were pleased,' as were the army in general, officers as well as soldiers; and he illustrates the principles upon which some of the officers were pleased with the change, by what one of them said to a member of the ejected Parliament, whose son was a captain, 'that this business was nothing but to pull down the father and set up the son, and no more but for the father to wear worsted, and the son silk stockings,—so sottish, says Whitelock, were they in the apprehensions of their own risings!—but he has not thought proper to observe, how much more sottish and less excusable were those persons who had set them the example of pulling down authority. Some of the severest republicans in the army served Cromwell in this his first act of explicit despotism. Ludlow, who was in Ireland, had some distrust; yet, he says, that he and they who were with them thought themselves obliged, by the rules of charity, to hope the best, and, therefore, continued to act in their places and stations as before. They had never exercised that rule of charity toward Charles I.

The Lord General, such was his title now, called a meeting of officers to deliberate concerning what should next be done. Lambert was for entrusting the supreme power to a few persons, not more than ten or twelve. Harrison would have preferred seventy, being the number of which the Jewish Sanhedrim consisted. The deliberation ended in summoning to a parliament an hundred and twenty-eight persons chosen by the Council of Officers, from the three kingdoms. The members thus curiously chosen, and notorious by the name of Praise-God Barebone's Parliament, met accordingly, and were harangued by Cromwell, who acknowledged the goodness of the Lord, in that he then saw the day wherein the Saints began their rule in the earth! They began their business in a saintly manner, by 'a day of humiliation, in which God did so draw forth the hearts of the members both in speaking and prayer, that they did not find any necessity to call for the help of any minister.' They were, indeed, for dispensing with ministers as well as kings, looking upon the function as Anti-Christian, and upon tythes as absolute Judaism; and the better to ensure the abolition of that odious order, they proposed to sell all the college lands, and apply the money in aid of taxes. It had been intended that they should sit fifteen months, and that three months before their dissolution,

dissolution, they should make choice of others to succeed them for a year, the three kingdoms being then to be governed by Annual Parliaments, each electing its successor. Five months, however, convinced Cromwell that the only use to be made of them was, to make them surrender their power into his hand, acknowledge their own insufficiency, (which they might do with perfect truth,) and beseech him to take care of the commonwealth. The Council of Officers were now again in possession of the supreme power; and they declared that the government of the Commonwealth should reside in the single person of Oliver Cromwell, with the title of Lord Protector, and a council of one-and-twenty to assist him.

Constitutions were made in that age as easily as in this, and the articles were not more durable than they are now, though wiser heads were employed in making them. The name, however, which Oliver chose for his piece of parchment was the Instrument of Government. It was there ordained, that the Protector should call a parliament once in every three years, and not dissolve it till it had sat five months; that the bills which were presented to him, if he did not confirm them within twenty days, should become laws without his confirmation; that his select council should not be more in number than twenty-one, nor less than thirteen; that with their consent, he might make laws which should be binding during the intervals of parliament; that he should have power to make peace and war; that immediately after his death, the council should choose another Protector, and that no Protector after him should be General of the army. The first use which he made of his power, was to make peace with the Dutch and with Portugal, in both cases upon terms honourable and advantageous to England; nor could any measures have been more popular than these, which delivered the nation in the first instance from an expensive and bloody contest, and in the other, restored to it its most productive foreign trade. France and Spain were emulously courting the friendship of the fortunate usurper: Ireland and Scotland thoroughly subdued, their governments united with that of England, by the right of conquest, and both countries undergoing that process of civilization, which Cromwell, like the Romans, carried on by the sword. When Charles I. was treating with the Scotch, before he put himself into their hands, he said in a letter to the French agent, whom they authorized to promise him protection, 'let them never flatter themselves so with their good successes; without pretending to prophecy, I will foretell their ruin, except they agree with me, however it shall please God to dispose of me.' They had reason to remember this when they were under Cromwell's government. His orders to Monk, whom
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he left to complete the subjugation of the country, were, that if he found a stubborn resistance at any place, he should give no quarter, and allow free plunder; orders which Monk observed with the utmost rigour, and 'made himself as terrible as man could be.' 'He subdued them,' says Clarendon, 'to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other power over them than was necessary to reduce that people to an entire submission to that tyrannical yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him, that they had been accustomed to under their own lords.' A more thorough conquest was never effected: every thing was changed, the whole frame of government new-modelled, the Kirk subjected to the sole order and direction of—the Commander in Chief; the nobles stript of their power; the very priests tamed and muzzled,—and all this was submitted to obediently!—in reality, it had brought with it so much real benefit to a barbarous people, that at the Restoration, Lord Clarendon admits 'it might well be a question, whether the generality of the nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old road of subjection.'

A more rigorous system had been pursued in Ireland, a system severer than even the mode of Roman civilization. The utter extirpation of the Irish had been intended! but this was found 'to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression upon the stone-hardness of their own hearts.' The Act of Grace (so it was called!) for which this purpose was commuted, was the most desperate remedy that ever was applied to a desperate disease. All the Irish who had survived the ravages of fire, sword, famine, and pestilence, and who had not transported themselves, were compelled, by a certain day, to retire within a certain part of the province of Connaught, the most barren of the island, and at that time almost desolate; after that time, if man, woman, or child, of that unhappy generation, were found beyond the limits, they were to be killed like wild beasts; the land within that circuit was to be divided among them, and the rest of the island was portioned out among the conquerors, who used the right of conquest with greater severity than Romans, Saxons, or Normans had exercised in Britain. It is worthy of remark, that not a voice was heard against this tremendous act of oppression, such horror had the Irish massacre excited, and so irreclaimable, in the judgement of all men, was the nature of the inhabitants: even when new settlers established themselves there, 'through what virtues of the soil,' says Harrington, 'or
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vice of the air soever it be, they came still to degenerate:’ and of the descendants of English colonists there, it was said in Elizabeth’s time, that they were *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*. So little were their rights, or even their existence taken into the account, that Harrington thought the best thing the Commonwealth could do with Ireland, was to farm it to the Jews for ever, for the pay of an army to protect them during the first seven years, and two millions a year from that time forward!—What was to be done with the Irish, whether they were to be made hewers of wood and drawers of water, or to become Jews by compulsion, he has not explained. For the sufferings of the Irish, however, Cromwell is not responsible; and under the order which he established, if it had continued for another generation, the island would have been in a better state, than any which its authentic history has yet recorded: for there, as in Scotland, a more equitable administration was introduced than that which had been destroyed.

While the Protector was feared and respected by foreign powers, and obeyed submissively, if not willingly, in Ireland and the sister kingdom, his state at home was full of uneasiness and danger. Though orders were given when he summoned his first parliament, that no persons should be chosen who had borne arms on the King’s part, nor the sons of any such, and though care was taken to return such members as were believed to be the best affected to his government, yet in the first debate, his authority was questioned; and one member declared that, ‘for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so now he could not endure to see the nation’s liberties shackled by another, whose right to the government could not be measured otherwise than by the length of his sword, which alone had emboldened him to command his commanders.’ He attempted to curb this spirit, by excluding all who would not subscribe an engagement to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector; yet, they who took the engagement were found so impracticable for his purposes, that taking advantage of the letter of his Instrument, he dissolved them at the end of five *lunar* months.

Cromwell was now paying the bitter price of successful ambition. His good sense and his good nature would have led him to govern equitably and mercifully, to promote literature, to cherish the arts, and to pour wine and oil into the wounds of the nation. But as in the language of the schools, *uno absurdo dato, sequuntur millia*, so in politics and in morals, are error and guilt fearfully prolific: the disease of the root taints the remotest branches. Having attained to power by sinister means, Cromwell, in spite of himself, was compelled to govern tyrannically; he was equally in danger from the royalists, the greater though inactive part of the nation among whom
indignant

indignant spirits were continually at work, and from the levellers, by whose instrumentality he had raised himself to his insecure and miserable elevation. He could not rely even upon the officers of that army, by which alone he was supported; and he had so little confidence in the soldiers, that he once intended to bring over a Swiss regiment as a guard for his own person, and had sent an agent to take measures for raising it; but, having perceived how unpopular such a manifestation of his fears would be, and how dangerous, he was deterred from his purpose. His best security was in the irreconcilable difference between the royalists and the fanatics, the latter willingly aiding him to oppress the former, of whom he stood most in fear. It was confidently affirmed, that the proposal for massacring the whole royal party was more than once brought forward in his Council of Officers, as the only expedient to secure the Government; but Cromwell, who was neither devil enough to commit the crime, nor fool enough to destroy the balance by which he was preserved, never would consent. The royalists, in other respects, had little reason to praise his moderation. After all the plunder and exactions which they had suffered, and the *compositions* which they had paid for their own estates, Cromwell now, by his own authority and that of his council, issued an order for decimating their estates, that is, that they should pay a tenth, not of the income, but of the value of the property; and a declaration accompanied this order, that, because of their inherent malignity, they must not wonder if they were looked upon as a common enemy; and that they 'must not expect to be prosecuted like other men, by the ordinary forms of justice, and to have the crimes proved by witnesses, before they should be concluded to be guilty.' If the loyal part of the people had at first lent the king the fifth part of what, after infinite losses, they were compelled to sacrifice to his enemies at last, Lord Clarendon says, that Charles would have been enabled to preserve them and himself. 'The Lord deliver us,' says Laud, 'from covetous and fearful men! The covetous will betray us for money, the fearful for security.' He did not live to see how the persons, who acted under the influence of these base passions, brought upon themselves worse evils than could have befallen them in the manly discharge of their duties.

The better to exact this forced payment, and with a view, also, towards embodying a sort of national army, which might be employed in case of need to balance, or repress the troops, whose fidelity he distrusted, he divided England into twelve cantons, each of which was placed under the absolute power of a Major General. These Bashaws, as Ludlow calls them, were to levy all imposts, sequester those who did not pay the decimation, and commit to prison any persons whom they suspected; and there was no appeal
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from any of their acts, but to the Protector. In each canton he raised a body of horse and foot, who were only to be called out in cases of necessity, and then to serve a certain number of days at their own charge; if they served longer, they were to receive the same pay as the army, but they were to be under the Major General of their respective canton. A certain salary was allowed them, that of a horseman being eight pounds a year. But the advantage which he might have derived from this kind of yeomanry force (that of all other which may most reasonably be depended upon for the preservation of order), brought with it a new danger from the power of the Majors General; and Cromwell removed these Bashaws in time, without difficulty, because they had made themselves odious to the nation.

He called his next parliament with more confidence, because the war in which he had engaged against Spain had made him master of Jamaica, and two treasure-ships, with a frightful destruction of the Spaniards, had been taken. The treasure was brought in waggons from Portsmouth to London, and paraded through the city to the Tower. Most of the members took the test which he required; they passed an Act binding all men to renounce Charles Stuart and his family; they declared it high treason to attempt the life of the Protector, and granted him larger supplies than had ever before been raised, one of the imposts being a full year's rent upon all houses which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles. Finally, they offered him the title of king, which was the great object of his ambition. The republicans, from whom he expected most danger, had been carefully excluded by management in the elections, or by the test. Vane and Harrison were in confinement, for Cromwell feared the craft of the former, and the enthusiasm of the latter, which placed him above all means of corruption or intimidation. Yet there was more opposition than he had anticipated; and one member applied to him in the House, the words of the prophet to Ahab, 'Hast thou killed and also taken possession?' Lambert, who had hitherto forwarded all the views of Oliver, because he expected to be the next protector himself, being the second man in the army, declared against a proposal which would have been fatal to his ambition: and there were members bold enough to say, that if they must submit to the old government, they would much rather choose to obey the true and lawful heir of a long line of kings, than one who was but at best their equal, and had raised himself by the trust which they had reposed in him. Upon such opposition Cromwell would have trampled, if he had found support in his own family and nearest connections. But his sons were without ambition. Richard, the eldest, indeed was believed to be at

heart a royalist; Desborough, who had married his sister, and Fleetwood who was his son-in-law (having married Ireton's widow) with a stupid obstinacy objected to his assuming the name of king, though they had no objection to his exercising a more absolute authority than any king of England had ever possessed. Colonel Pride, who had purged the parliament to make him what he was, procured a petition from the majority of the officers then about London, against his taking the title; and information, to which he gave full credit, was conveyed to him, that a number of men had bound themselves by oath, to kill him, within so many hours after he should accept it. Under these disheartening circumstances, after a long and painful struggle with himself, and some curious discussions with the deputation of members, who were sent to urge his acceptance, he concluded by refusing it upon the plea of conscience.

In thus yielding to men of weaker minds than his own, Cromwell committed the same error which had been fatal to Charles. The boldest course would have been the safest; the wisest friends of the royal family were of opinion, that if he had made himself king *de facto*, and restored all things in other respects to the former order, no other measure would have been so injurious to the royal cause. Every thing except the name was given him; the power of appointing his successor in the protectorship was now conferred upon him by parliament, and the ceremony of investiture was performed for the second time, and with a pomp which no coronation had exceeded. The Speaker presented him with a robe of purple velvet, a mixed colour, to show the mixture of justice and mercy, which he was to observe in his administration; the bible, 'the book of books, in which the orator told him he had the happiness to be well versed, and which contained both precepts and examples for good government;' a sceptre, not unlike a staff, for he was to be a staff to the weak and poor; and lastly, a sword, not to defend himself alone, but his people also: if, said the speaker, I might presume to fix a motto upon this sword, as the valiant Lord Talbot had upon his, it should be this: *Ego sum Domini Protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum*, I am the Lord Protector's, to protect my people.

So great was the reputation which Cromwell obtained abroad by his prodigious elevation, the lofty tone of his government, and the vigour of his arms, that an Asiatic Jew is said to have come to England for the purpose of investigating his pedigree, thinking to discover in him the Lion of the tribe of Judah! Some of his own most faithful adherents regarded him with little less veneration. Their warm attachment, and the more doubtful devotion of a set of enthusiastic preachers, drugged the atmosphere in which he breathed;

breathed; and yet while his bodily health continued, the natural strength of his understanding prevailed over this deleterious influence, and he saw things calmly, clearly, and sorrowfully as they were. Shakspeare himself has not imagined a more dramatic situation than that in which Cromwell stood. He had attained to the possession of sovereign power, by means little less guilty than Macbeth, but the process had neither hardened his heart, nor made him desperate in guilt. His mind had expanded with his fortune. As he advanced in his career, he gradually discovered how mistaken he had been in the principles upon which he had set out; and, after having effected the overthrow of the church, the nobles and the throne, he became convinced, by what experience (the surest of all teachers) had shown him, that episcopacy, nobility, and monarchy, were institutions good in themselves, and necessary for this nation in which they had so long been established. Fain would he have repaired the evil which he had done; fain would he have restored the monarchy, created a house of Peers, and re-established the Episcopal church. But he was thwarted and overruled by the very instruments which he had hitherto used; men whom he had formerly possessed with his own passionate errors, and whom he was not able to dispossess: persons incapable of deriving wisdom from experience, and so short-sighted as not to see that their own lives and fortunes depended upon the establishment of his power by the only means which could render it stable and secure. Standing in fear of them, he dared not take the crown himself; and he could not confer it upon the rightful heir:—by the murder of Charles, he had incapacitated himself from making that reparation which would otherwise have been in his power. His wife, who was not elated with prosperity, advised him to make terms with the exiled king, and restore him to the throne; his melancholy answer was, Charles Stuart can never forgive me his father's death, and if he could, he is unworthy of the crown. He answered to the same effect, when the same thing was twice proposed to him, with the condition, that Charles should marry one of his daughters. What would not Cromwell have given, whether he looked to this world or the next, if his hands had been clear of the king's blood!

Such was the state of Cromwell's mind, during the latter years of his life, when he was lord of these three kingdoms, and indisputably the most powerful potentate in Europe, and as certainly the greatest man of an age in which the race of great men was not extinct in any country. No man was so worthy of the station which he filled, had it not been for the means by which he reached it. He would have governed constitutionally, mildly, mercifully, liberally, if he could have followed the impulses of his own heart, and the wishes

of his better mind; self-preservation compelled him to a severe and suspicious system: he was reduced at last to govern without a Parliament, because, pack them and purge them as he might, all that he summoned proved unmanageable; and because he was an usurper, he became of necessity a despot. The very saints, in whose eyes he had been so precious, now called him an 'ugly tyrant,' and engaged against him in more desperate plots than were formed by the royalists. He lived in perpetual danger and in perpetual fear. When he went abroad he was surrounded by his guards. It was never known which way he was going till he was in the coach; he seldom returned by the same way he went; he wore armour under his clothes, and hardly ever slept two nights successively in one chamber. The latter days of Charles, while he looked on to the scaffold, and endured the insolence of Bradshaw and the inhuman aspersions of Cook, were enviable when compared to the close of Cromwell's life. Charles had that peace within which passeth all understanding; the one great sin which he had committed in sacrificing Strafford, had been to him a perpetual cause of sorrow and shame and repentance; he received his own death as a just punishment for that sin under the dispensations of a righteous and unerring Providence; and feeling that it had been expiated, when he bowed his head upon the block, it was in full reliance upon the justice of posterity, and with a sure and certain trust in the mercy of his God. Cromwell had doubts of both. Ludlow tells us, that at his death 'he seemed, above all, concerned for the reproaches, he said, men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes when dead?' And the last sane feeling of religion which he expressed, implied a like misgiving, concerning his condition in the world on which he was about to enter—it was a question to one of his fanatical preachers, 'if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never finally fall?' Upon receiving a reply, that nothing could be more certain, 'Then am I safe,' he said, 'for I am sure that *once* I was in a state of grace.' The spiritual drams which were then administered to him in strong doses, acted powerfully upon a mind debilitated by long disease, and disposed by the nature of that disease to delirium. He assured his physicians, as the presumptuous fanatics by whom he was surrounded assured him, that he should not die, whatever they might think from the symptoms of his disorder, for God was far above nature, and God had promised his recovery. Thanks were publicly given for the undoubted pledges of his recovery, which God had vouchsafed! and some of his last words were those of a mediator rather than a sinner, praying for the people, as if his own merits entitled him to be an intercessor. Even his death did not dissipate the delusion. When that news was brought to those who were met together to pray for him, 'Mr. Sterry

Sterry stood up and desired them not to be troubled : for,' said he, ' this is good news ! because, if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to Heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions !'

The life of this most fortunate and least flagitious of usurpers might hold out a salutary lesson for men possessed with a like ambition, if such men were capable of learning good as well as evil lessons from the experience of others. He gained three kingdoms ; the price which he paid for them was innocence and peace of mind. He left an imperishable name, so stained with reproach, that notwithstanding the redeeming virtues which adorned him, it were better for him to be forgotten than to be so remembered. And in the world to come,—but it is not for us to anticipate the judgements, still less to limit the mercy of the All-merciful.

Let us repeat, that there is no portion of history in which it so much behoves an Englishman to be thoroughly versed as in that of Cromwell's age. There it may be seen to what desperate lengths men of good hearts and laudable intentions may be drawn by faction. There may be seen the rise, and the progress, and the consequences of rebellion. There are to be found the highest examples of true patriotism, sound principles, and heroic virtue, with some alloy of haughtiness in Strafford, of human infirmities in Laud, pure and unsullied in Falkland, and Capel, and Newcastle, and in Clarendon, the wisest and the best of English statesmen, the most authentic, the most candid, the most instructive of English historians. From the history of that age, and more especially from that excellent writer, the young and ingenuous may derive and confirm a just, and generous, and ennobling love for the institutions of their country, founded upon the best feelings and surest principles ; and the good and the thoughtful of all ages will feel in the perusal, with what reason that petition is inserted in the Litany, wherein we pray the Lord to deliver us from all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion : from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism : from hardness of heart and contempt of his word and commandments,—sins which draw after them, in certain and inevitable consequence, the heaviest of all chastisements upon a guilty nation.

ART. II.—*The Apocryphal New Testament, being all the Gospels, Epistles, and other Pieces now extant, attributed in the first four Centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their Companions, and not included in the New Testament by its*
A A 3 Compilers.

Compilers. Translated from the original Tongues, and now first collected into one Volume. Printed for William Hone. London. 1820.

IT will be in the recollection of most of our readers that, on the trial of Hone for the publication of some scandalous parodies on the Liturgy, one principal point in his defence was that his objects were wholly political, and that the moment he entertained a persuasion that his parodies could be considered as injurious to the cause of religion, (for which he professed the highest respect,) he withdrew them from circulation at a great pecuniary loss. As we should not be justified in expressing a suspicion that the jury had previously resolved to acquit this man, we must presume that he owed his escape to the credit which they attached to the sincerity of this declaration. He has now afforded ample means of judging how far such confidence was wisely reposed, by publishing a work of which the sole aim is to destroy the credit of the New Testament, and to show that the most silly and driveling forgeries can be supported by the same evidence which we use to establish the authority of our Scripture.

Nothing but the execution of a public duty would have tempted us to defile one line of our Journal with the notice of a wretch as contemptible as he is wicked. It is indeed a source of real gratification to us, that in proceeding to give our readers some account of the book before us, we may at once dismiss Mr. Hone from our consideration. He is described to us as a poor illiterate creature, far too ignorant to have any share in the composition either of this, or of his seditious pamphlets. He only supplies the evil will and the audacity: the venom is furnished by the dastard behind. Our future observations will, therefore, be confined to the real editor of this nefarious publication.

Ever since the revival of infidelity, its attacks have been directed against no point more frequently than the Canon of the New Testament. This selection has evinced perhaps a somewhat greater degree of policy than has usually fallen to the share of the infidel party—not that we have any fears lest, after due examination, the slightest suspicion should be entertained of the correctness of the Canon:—but it must be avowed that an original inquiry into its constitution in its full extent, calls for a combination of diligence and acuteness of rare occurrence. The works of the Fathers are of course the great sources of information, and enormous as they are in extent, no common industry must be exercised in their perusal. The Fathers too were themselves frequently mistaken; and no doubt can be entertained that some gross interpolations of their works have been effected, and many writings ascribed to them

them which never proceeded from their pens. Now without going to the ridiculous length of Daillé, or inferring that their writings are thus rendered useless as evidence, it must yet be obvious that an additional degree of caution is required to detect the forgeries and separate the interpolations from the genuine matter. The gigantic labours of the men of elder times on almost every important branch of theology, by removing all necessity for exertions like their own, have not only indisposed us for original inquiry where it may be requisite, but have actually taught many readers in divinity to consider even their own collections as appalling objects. The disinclination to extensive research thus generated has certainly been productive of evil in the present case; for until a comparatively recent period, little attention, it would seem, had been directed to the canon of Scripture. Jones, in the very outset of his excellent work, observes that before his day, that is, the beginning of the last century, 'learned men had scarcely discussed the subject at all.' The Lightfoots, the Medes, the Bulls and the Poles had not directed their unwearied diligence expressly into this channel. No one, before the remarkable period which they adorned, had dreamt of moving serious controversy on a subject which had received the decision of ages. Satisfied with the evidence which their course of reading presented to them, they had no temptation to withdraw themselves from the more important task of elucidating and explaining what they knew to be the word of God. The consequence has been that we have not on this, as on almost every other topic of religious discussion, a variety of full and general treatises, which, by the care and diligence of selectors, might be presented in shapes adapted to the tastes and acquirements of every class of readers. This has naturally presented a temptation to the infidel. It must not, however, be supposed that this important question has passed without notice from more recent writers, or that there are now no sources which supply full answers to his objections.

The consideration of the Canon of Scripture, it must be remembered, divides itself into two branches—establishing the authenticity of the books which we receive, and demonstrating the spuriousness of those which we reject. Before we advert to what has been done in each of these divisions by modern theologians, it may be right to notice a preliminary objection which has always been a favourite one with the infidel, and which is revived in the preface to the work before us—namely, that they who admit the body of Canonical Scripture, as exhibited in the New Testament, are unable to name the precise period at which it was received as such by the Christian church, or to produce the decree of any council in the first two centuries which affixes its

sanction either to the present or any other Canon of Scripture. As this is conceived to be a sufficient proof of the total uncertainty of the Canon, many triumphant inferences are of course deduced from it. 'The whole story,' it is insinuated, 'may be an imposture; at all events we may not have received the true and genuine history of it—we can have no certain accounts of the doctrines promulgated by the first teachers; and indeed the simple fact that no formal recognition of the official documents took place, is of itself a very suspicious circumstance and quite enough to cast an air of doubt over the whole transaction.' What may be the justice of these inferences a very few remarks will suffice to demonstrate. If all the Scriptures of the New Testament had professed to be sent forth together as forming exclusively the whole body of documents issued by the founders of the Christian Church, and yet no special and formal recognition of them had taken place, we can have no hesitation in saying that this deficiency would have furnished the infidel with a specious foundation for his argument. But we know that this neither was the fact, nor was it possible that it should be so. The Gospels were written at various periods, and published for the instruction of very different classes of believers; while the Epistles were addressed, as occasion required, to those various Christian communities which, by the successful labours of the Apostles, had been spread over the greatest part of the civilized earth. During their lives then, it is obvious that no formal, permanent and exclusive canon of Scripture could be drawn up; that nothing more could be done to collect their writings as they severally appeared, and to receive them with the reverence due to the words of inspiration, without deciding whether those authors might not enlighten the Church which they had founded with further instructions. That this was done, that an actual canon, though not a formal one, was erected from the very earliest periods of Christianity, has been proved to a demonstration, as every tyro in divinity knows. To give this, even if our limits would allow it, would only be to repeat the pages of Lardner and Paley: but we quote a few expressions from books of common occurrence to show the light in which the subject is considered by all respectable writers, and the peculiar honesty of reviving an objection on this ground! 'Neither,' says Bentley, (*Remarks on Free-thinking*, p. 90.) 'did the Church loiter or delay in making a canon: for within two years after the writing of St. John's Gospel the evangelical canon was fixed, and within ten after that, the epistolical canon was made: quick enough, if it be considered that they were to be gathered (whither they had been directed) from so many distant parts of the world.' Grabe*

* Spicil. 55. Pat. i. p. 321.

remarks, 'Attamen paulo post mortem S. Johannis ineunte sæculo 2. et Epistolæ Apostolorum (he has mentioned the Evangelical canon before) in unum volumen collectæ atque ecclesiis pro Canone doctrinæ et disciplinæ fuere traditæ, adeo ut ipse Hereticus Marcion, anno 127 Romam veniens Apostolicum pariter atque Evangelicum canona habuerit.' Once more, 'Nösse nobis,' says Mosheim,* 'sufficiat, quod magnis argumentis demonstrare licet, aut extincto nondum Johanne, aut non diu post obitum ejus, præcipuas Novi Testamenti partes coagmentatas esse.' The slightest reference to Lardner's† Storehouse of Evidence will show that these are no ungrounded assertions, and that, at a very early period, the custom prevailed of collecting the different parts of the New Testament into one volume. What more than this, we would ask, could be done? Should it, however, be inquired why a regular canon was not settled immediately after the death of the last of the Apostles, we would answer by asking what there was to make the establishment of the canon necessary, or even desirable? The early Christians had sufficient opportunities of examining and distinguishing 'the genuine writings of the Apostles. The way of writing,' says Dr. Jenkins,‡ 'and the hands of the Apostles were well known to those to whom they wrote, as St. Paul intimates of his own hand and manner of salutation: for when he used an amanuensis yet he "wrote the salutation with his own hand for a token in every Epistle"; and Tertullian (De Præscript. c. 36.) appeals to the authentic books or the very handwriting of the Apostles themselves.' 'Auctoritas earum (the Apostolic Epistles) probatu facilis erat per inspectionem autographorum, ipsa Apostolorum manu vel exaratorum, vel obsignatorum, quæ in archivis ecclesiarum asservabantur, et ab aliquibus adhuc vivis, qui manus Apostolorum bene noverant, dignosci poterant.' (Spic. SS. Pat. I. p. 320.) The Epistles were transmitted by the Churches to which they were addressed to other Christian communities, authenticated by the very manner of their transmission. 'They who received them,' says Lardner, § 'were fully assured of their genuineness by those who delivered them. And before the end of the first century, yea not very long after the middle of it, it is likely there were collections made of the four Gospels and most of the other books of the New Testament, which were in the hands of a good number of Churches and persons.' That this was the manner of the transmission and authentication of the sacred writings, one very

* De Reb. Christ. ante Constant. p. 87.

† Lardner places the collection of the greater part of the Christian writings soon after the middle of the first century, (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 148. 4to Ed.)

‡ Reasonableness of Christianity, vol. i. p. 100.

§ *Works*, vol. iii. p. 148. 4to.

to Jones's valuable work; to the Codex Pseudepigraphus of Fabricius, and to Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History. Jones and Fabricius employ themselves in destroying the credit of the Apocryphal writings; Lardner enters at much greater length into the establishment of the authentic ones. This latter question may be considered as entirely set at rest by his book, which, though too voluminous for the generality of readers, has found a passport to general notice in Paley's excellent abridgement of its argument. The single chapter which Paley has devoted to the consideration of the other question, would be perfectly satisfactory to a fair and candid inquirer—but the publication of the work before us has proved that a somewhat fuller investigation of it is necessary. Jones's work establishes every principle necessary in deciding on the question of authenticity or spuriousness, and carefully examines all the writings which are recorded to have claimed the character of Scripture; but it is written in a form better adapted for reference than perusal. If a small supplement to Paley were extracted from it, containing distinct evidence of the spuriousness of the Apocryphal writings still extant, preceded by a short recital of the general principles by which their spuriousness is proved, we conceive that every avenue for attacks on Christianity through the channel of the canon would be finally closed, and the reader provided with answers to every objection.

Of the want of such a popular compendium Mr. Hone's editor (with the usual policy of the deistical party, who are never ashamed of re-producing re-refuted argument, if they hope that the persons to whom they address the repetition are not aware of the refutation) has taken advantage in this revival of Toland's blasphemy. Like Toland, he has collected a considerable portion of the spurious writings now in existence, each of them preceded by a preface, presenting the pretended proofs of their authenticity,—the testimonies of early writers in their favour, their reception by heretics, the public use made of them in the churches, &c. &c. This is generally followed by a list of modern theologians who reject these writings; and when the editor has thus shown the similarity of the evidence for the canonical and the spurious Scriptures, and has carefully pointed out that Christian theologians reject it in the one case, he thinks it may be safely left to his reader's sagacity to make the inference which he desires, and inquire why it should not be equally rejected in the other. The great object of the publication, however, is to raise the positive evidence for the Apocryphal writings as high as possible, because then another process hardly less direct, for deducing the spuriousness of the New Testament, is opened. He who is deceived by the editor's statements into a belief that the evidence brought forward in favour of the Apocryphal

phal books is equally valid with the proofs of the authenticity of the New Testament, and then proceeds to peruse the nonsense they contain, will too probably be induced to reject not only what is so manifestly unworthy of the character of inspiration, but all the writings which (as he conceives) rest upon arguments so palpably fallacious.

Such, we presume, are the Editor's views; at all events, we can positively assert that the execution of the work is well worthy of one who entertains them. From the first page to the last there is a systematic disregard of truth and of every claim to literary honesty. Sometimes facts are concealed, at other times they are perverted, and where neither artifice will avail, recourse is had to direct and unhesitating falsehood. The writings of former authors are pillaged in the most shameless manner, without the slightest acknowledgement. Without having consulted one original source of information, and deriving even his slender knowledge of collectors at second-hand, the editor cites and refers to the Fathers and theologists of all classes and all ages, with a confidence truly ludicrous. His prefaces, (as far as they are true,) his notes, his tables, and his catalogues, are all copied from Jones; and he has had the astonishing audacity to publish that writer's translations as his own! Had he professed only to be a collector, and owned his obligations, no objections could be made to his proceedings on that ground; but he never intimates the existence of Jones's work, and only twice mentions its author—in those two instances there is a casual notice of some opinion held by 'the Rev. Jeremiah Jones,' without the slightest reference to the place in which it is to be found.

We now proceed to a more minute investigation of the contents of the volume:—if however, from the general preface, and the first two or three introductions to the several Gospels, we shall be able to prove that it abounds in the grossest falsehoods, and the most sottish ignorance, we know no reason why we should condemn ourselves or our readers to any further pursuit of the disgusting task.—The Preface opens with the following question: 'After the writings contained in the New Testament were *selected from the numerous Gospels and Epistles then in existence*, what became of the books that were rejected by the compilers?' The objects of this question are to bespeak a favourable hearing for these writings, whose authenticity, it is insinuated, was deemed worthy of consideration, at least by the compilers of the New Testament; and to inspire suspicion of the canonical writings which, according to this account, rest for their credit on the authority of compilers of a late age, who, as fallible men, might easily mistake between canonical and spurious writings. We assured our readers that the first page commenced with a falsehood, and

and our remarks on the constitution of the canon will have sufficiently shown that a grosser could not be devised than that which is here insinuated and, in p. vi., expressed in direct and unqualified terms. But the editor goes on to mention an opinion entertained, as he says, by many, that the New Testament was compiled at the first council of Nice, and he introduces a long account of that council from Jortin, in the very worst style of that writer, who, from a weak desire of showing his contempt for common prejudices, has, in his Ecclesiastical History, sneered with very bad taste and very unbecoming levity at men whose zeal, abilities, and learning, whatever may have been their weaknesses, entitled them to far different treatment from him. From the introduction of matter so irrelevant in any other view, we conclude that the editor deems this notion of the compilation of the New Testament worthy of attention; and though it would be absurd to engage in a serious refutation of an opinion never maintained by any writer of credit, it may be worth noticing, as an instance of the inconsistency of falsehood, that after this, in the table of writers and councils who have given catalogues of the canonical Scriptures, (which he has purloined from Jones, and printed as his own at the end of the volume,) the council of Nice is not even mentioned!

In page vi. of his Preface, (and afterwards in the work itself,) he affords ample proof of his ignorance of even the commonest matters, by the triumph with which he announces to his readers his fancied discoveries that the Apostles' Creed was not written by the Apostles! and that it did not originally contain the article of Christ's descent into hell! In connection with this latter subject it may be right to quote another instance of his disingenuousness. 'For large particulars,' says he, 'of Christ's descent into hell, see the Gospel of Nicodemus, ch. xiii. to xx.' Now, although the silly author of this Gospel has mixed up different notions in his account of hell, he decidedly represents it on the whole as the place of torments. The editor assuredly knew that this was not the sense in which the word is used in the creed; nor, had he written in the spirit of honesty, would he have endeavoured, by so unfair an artifice, to cast suspicion on one of the articles of our faith.

We pass from the preface to the work itself, which opens with the wretched tract called 'The Gospel of the Birth of Mary.' 'In the primitive ages,' says the editor, 'there was a Gospel extant, bearing this title, attributed to St. Matthew, and received as genuine and authentic by several of the ancient Christian sects. It is to be found in the works of Jerome, a father of the church, who flourished in the fourth century, whence the present translation is made. His contemporaries Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, and
Austin

Austin also quote a Gospel under this title.* To each of the assertions contained in this passage, namely, that the Gospel which the editor presents to his readers was received by several ancient sects—that it is to be found in St. Jerome, and that it is quoted by Epiphanius and Austin, we now proceed to give a direct denial, accompanied by proof that the editor was aware of the falsehood of them all!

First, then, we assert that the Gospel before us was not received by any of the ancient Christian sects. Here, as in many other cases, the original spurious Gospel has disappeared, and the present is a miserable forgery of a later age, which has taken its place and name. Of this the editor could not possibly be ignorant, as the fact is positively stated even in the title to that very chapter of Jones's work, from which he has taken and perverted the facts in his preface. Jones there asserts that 'the present Gospel is different from the old one,' and in proof brings forward two fragments of the original Gospel, preserved by Epiphanius* and Austin,† the first of which does not occur in the present work, and the other directly contradicts one of its most remarkable statements.

Again—Fabricius, whose work the editor quotes, prefixes the following title to this Gospel: '*Testimonia et Censuræ de libro qualis olim apud Gnosticos ferebatur; tum qui a Manichæo Seleuco postea effectus est, tum qui hodie extat et infra sequitur.*' These '*Testimonia et Censuræ*' contain innumerable assertions from the most eminent theologians, that the present Gospel is a ridiculous and contemptible forgery. Equally discreditable with this attempt to procure for one work the credit due to another, is the suppression of the number and names of the 'several ancient Christian sects,' alluded to as having received the original Gospel. On examination, it will be found that they dwindle to two,—the Gnostics and Manichæans! The intention of this suppression is sufficiently intelligible, as the claims of this Gospel to authenticity would assuredly not be conspicuous, if supported only by two sects so infamously distinguished for their corruptions, alterations, and forgeries of Scripture.‡

Secondly, we assert that this Gospel is not contained in the works of Jerome, and that when the editor maintained the contrary, he was fully aware of the falsehood of his statement. In the printed editions, indeed, of Jerome's works, from the carelessness or the

* Epiphan. Hæres. xxvi. c. 12.

† Aug. c. Faust. xxiii. 4.

‡ Jones (Vol. II. p. 130.) thinks it possible that the Collyridians also received this Gospel, and out of it collected their ridiculous doctrine concerning the necessity of worshipping and offering sacrifice to the Virgin Mary.' There is nothing in the passage of Epiphanius, (Hæres. lxxix. 45.) on the strength of which Jones makes this statement, to support him in it.

scrupulousness of his editors, there have been inserted three Letters, one purporting to be addressed by two Bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, to Jerome, requesting him to undertake a translation of this Gospel; the others pretending to be his answers, accompanied by the required translation. No one, we should imagine, could read these letters and observe the palpable contradictions* which they contain, the excessive folly of their arguments and the barbarisms of the style in which they are written, without at once pronouncing them clumsy and senseless forgeries. If the editor, however, should profess his inability to detect the imposture, it would certainly be inconsistent with the rules of fair argument to limit an adversary's talent for misapprehension, in order to convict him of dishonesty. We must, therefore, admit his plea; but the admission will avail him nothing, for the fact is stated for him in the most decided and intelligible manner. Fabricius calls this Gospel,

* The first of these letters begins with a positive assertion that St. Matthew was the author of this Gospel, *but that he did not think it right to publish it*; then it proceeds to say, that it was published by Seleucus, that it tends to the mischief of religion, and was pronounced by a synod, worthy to be disregarded by the Church! And all this of the work of an Apostle! The most curious part, however, follows. The writer says: 'Non istum libellum Canonici superaddimus Scripturis, sed ad detegendam Hæreses fallaciam, Apostoli atque Evangelistæ Scripta transferemus!' Jones deems these last words so strange that he construes them 'of a (pretended) Apostle.' The only advantage gained by thus negating the sense of the original, is, that the sentence, instead of contradicting itself, now only contradicts the commencement of the letter. The whole letter is written in so barbarous a style that it is difficult to construe it. We subjoin a sentence, which will at once convince the readers of St. Jerome how little claim it has to his name: 'Si enim hoc secretum non esset, Evangelio utique ipsius quod edidit addidisset, sed fecit hunc libellum Hebraicis literis obsignatum quem usque adeo edidit ut ex manu ipsius liber scriptus Hebraicis literis a viris religiosissimis habeatur, qui etiam a suis prioribus per successus temporum susceperunt, hunc autem ipsum librum nunquam alieni transferendum tradiderunt, textum ejus aliter atque aliter narraverunt.'

The second letter sets out with saying that the Gospel of Mary is full of lies, and a forgery of Seleucus the Manichæan, and then contradicting itself like the first, asserts, that it is far from clear that it is not the work of St. Matthew. Fabricius (Cod. Pseud. I. p. 9. note) and Vossius (de Geneal. Christ. c. 4. §. 3.) suppose that the writer is distinguishing in the second letter, between two works, one composed by St. Matthew, the other a forgery by Seleucus the Manichæan. This may be the case, though the sentences on which the conjecture depends are too confused for any satisfactory decision; and, even if it be allowed, the letters contradict each other. As to the date of this forgery, nothing can be clearly made out; the Pseudo Hieronymus ascribes it to Seleucus a Manichæan, who appears to have been a notorious forger of Scriptures. If he was a Manichæan, of course the Gospel could not be older than the 3d or 4th century; but Grabe (Spic. I. p. 78.) Lardner (Works, vol. iv. p. 629.) and others, make him a successor of Marcion, in the 2d. Jones, however, (vol. I. p. 245.) Fabricius (Cod. Pseud. I. 42 and 768.) and Casaubon (Exerc. I. adv. Baron. n. 15.) decide that he was a Manichæan. He is known in Ecclesiastical History by a variety of names, Leucius, Lucianus, Leucius Charinus, Leontius, and Nexo-Charides are only a few of them: at least Beausobre (Hist. de Manich. I. p. 348.) assures us that all these belong to the same person. After all, the only authority for ascribing the Gospel to Seleucus, is, as far as we can find, the Pseudo Hieronymus, and he, as we have seen, may perhaps point to two works differing from each other, so that the forgery may have originated with the Gnostics, and have been so much interpolated and altered by Seleucus the Manichæan, as afterwards to be ascribed to him.

‘Evangelium

'*Evangelium de Nativitate S. Mariæ jactatum olim sub falsis nominibus Scriptoris S. Matthæi et interpretis S. Hieronymi*,' and without hesitation, calls the letters to which we have alluded, the works of Pseudo-Chromatius, Pseudo-Hetrodorus and Pseudo-Jerome. Dupin says, that these Epistles are certainly spurious; and in this declaration, all the learned men whose opinions Fabricius subjoins to his own, Petavius, Vossius, Cave, and many others, wholly coincide. Casaubon, indeed, says, that there is not a single sentence in the Latin Gospel, which does not argue the folly of those who are unable to distinguish between its 'dirty puddle,' and Jerome's golden stream. Last of all, Jones himself, whose book was never out of the editor's hands, subscribes to the expressions of these eminent writers. We conclude therefore, as we began, with affirming, that he could not possibly be ignorant of the falsehood of the assertion which he has deliberately made.

But thirdly, we deny that Epiphanius or Austin ever quote this Gospel. The editor, indeed, has only said that they quote a Gospel under this name, and he may hope to escape under the shelter of that evasion; but if he sought to gain any thing by their testimony, he must have meant his readers to imagine that the Gospel under this title and the present were the same. When our readers are informed that these quotations of Epiphanius and Austin from the Gospel of Mary are the identical fragments which we before alluded to, as distinctly proving the existence of a different work under the same title, we may safely leave them to decide on the editor's candour. But farther, even if it were true that these writers actually quoted the present Gospel, the appealing to them for any testimony in its favour is in itself grossly dishonest. So far are they from speaking of it as a work of credit, that Epiphanius* remarks of it,—'among the many impudent forgeries of Scripture which the Gnostics have uttered, there is one called the Gospel of the birth of Mary, in which they tell many pernicious and horrible falsehoods;' and Austin† calls it, an Apocryphal book whose authority is of no value.

The editor may, perhaps, reply that he has quoted in his preface the two fragments preserved by Austin and Epiphanius, and thus enabled his readers to judge for themselves. But how has he done this? He merely says, 'the ancient copies differed' (a careless expression of Jones, of which he has studiously avoided adding Jones's explanation) 'from Jerome's: for from one of them, *the learned Faustus, a native of Britain, who afterwards became Bishop of Rieg, in Provence*, attempted to prove that Christ was not the

* Epiphan. *Hæres.* xxvi. §. 12.

† August. c. Faust. xxiii. c. 9.

son of GOD till after his baptism,* and that he was not of the house of David, and tribe of Judah, because, according to the Gospel cited, the Virgin herself was not of this tribe.' The latter part of this passage is taken from the very page of Jones's work, which fully proves, and fully records, not that the copies *differed*, but that the *works* themselves were not the same. This show of candour then, which can only be intended to prevent inquiry, so far from diminishing the offence, is a very serious aggravation of it. But in the passage we have quoted, there is other matter well deserving attention, as demonstrating the editor's admirable qualifications for the task he has undertaken; 'The learned Faustus,' says he, 'a native of Britain, and afterwards Bishop of Rieg, in Provence'! Is there (except himself) a single reader of divinity, so utterly ignorant of the commonest facts, as not to be aware that Faustus was an African, a teacher of the Manichæan heresy, at Carthage, and that the very first sentence of the treatise of Augustine against him is, 'Faustus quidam gente Afer, civitate Mileoctanus'? We can only account for this ridiculous error by supposing that the editor, being wholly ignorant of Faustus's history, applied to the Biographical Dictionary, which, we observe, omits the earlier Faustus, but mentions a second who flourished, as our theological readers know, about the time that Augustine wrote against him, and was accused of semi-Pelagianism. This Faustus actually was a native of Britain, and Bishop of Rieg in Provence. In the account of his life, some mention was made of Augustine, and our author was satisfied. Nor is he less accurately informed as to Faustus's character than as to the details of his life! The epithet of *learned* is, indeed, most felicitously applied to one whom Augustine (*Confess. lib. v.*) mentions as remarkable for his *gross and excessive ignorance*! Were it not for the melancholy conviction that there are but too many whose heads or whose hearts are not sufficiently protected against even this shadow of an assailant, what feeling but one could be excited by the feeble outcry of such ludicrous malignity?

We proceed, with weary steps, to the exposure of a second portion of misrepresentation and falsehood. In the Preface to the Protevangelium, a work, like the last, founded on the early gospel of Mary, the Editor says: 'The allusions to it in the works of

* If any of our readers should have the curiosity to peruse this Gospel, they will be surprised to find not a single word in it having the remotest reference to this question. The source of the editor's blunder is a somewhat awkwardly constructed sentence in Jones, (Vol. II. p. 130.) who says, 'out of this Gospel—Faustus, after having endeavoured to prove that Christ was not the son of GOD till after his baptism, endeavours to prove that he was not of the progeny of David.' To express Jones's meaning, the sentence should run thus:—'Faustus, after having endeavoured to prove that Christ was not the son of GOD till after his baptism, endeavours to prove, out of this Gospel, &c.' the

the ancient fathers, are frequent, and their expressions indicate that it had gained a very general reception in the Christian world.*

Now not *one* of the ancient fathers refers to this gospel. Origen,* indeed, mentions a book which was ascribed to *James*, and *may* have been the original of the imposture before us. Epiphanius† records that the Ebionites, to gain proselytes to their own errors, forge scriptures, and ascribe them to James and the other Apostles. Is this also ‘an allusion to the Protevangelium’? But further, Epiphanius‡ and Tertullian§ also relate one or two traditions which are likewise alluded to in the Protevangelium, but without the slightest reference to it; indeed, Epiphanius (*Hæres.* lxxviii. § 7.) distinctly mentions the Jewish traditions as the source of much of his information about the birth of Christ, and the Virgin. We defy the Editor to produce another passage from any writer of sufficient antiquity, which refers to this book. These then are ‘the frequent allusions to the Protevangelium in the ancient fathers’! One, probably, mentions the work of which it is an imitation; another relates a common story also related by its author, and a third, if he alludes to it at all, speaks of it as spurious and apocryphal! It is superfluous to add, that the Editor’s declaration, as to the general reception which this gospel obtained in the Christian world, is pure invention. We quote another sentence from this preface, for the purpose of exhibiting his dexterity in the conversion of facts to his own purposes. ‘It is material,’ he observes, ‘to remark that the legends of the latter ages affirmed the virginity of Joseph; notwithstanding Epiphanius, Hilary, Chrysostom, Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylact, Ecumenius, and indeed all the Latin fathers till Ambrose and the Greek fathers afterwards, maintain the opinion of Joseph’s age and family, *founded on their belief in the authenticity of this book.*’ After what we have said, we need not add that this assertion is wholly destitute of truth; but the history of the statement is curious. The splendid list of names and authorities is, as usual, due to Jones; but Jones subjoins to it—not the Editor’s concluding remark, but the following one: ‘From all this, it is evident that the account of Joseph’s age and family, which is in the Gospel of Mary and the Protevangelium, met with a very general credit among Christians;’ that is,—it is very evident that the tradition adopted by the writer of this forgery was one in general circulation. The juggling change by which the Editor has made these fathers, instead of adopting the common story which the author of the Protevangelium

* Tom. xi. Comm. in Matth. p. 223.

† Epiphanius. *Hæres.* xxx. § 23.

‡ Op. Tom. ii. Ancorat. c. 60. There is another passage of the same nature, we observe, cited by Jones from Epiphanius. *Orat. de Laud. Virg.* vol. ii. p. 292.—but there is no doubt that this oration is falsely ascribed to Epiphanius.

§ Tertullian. *adv. Gnost.* c. 8.

inserted in his gospel for obvious reasons, receive it from him and on his authority, requires no comment.

Towards the end of this preface, we meet with the following remark. 'Postellus brought the MS. of this Gospel from the Levant, and asserts that it was publicly read as canonical to the Eastern churches, they not doubting that James was the author of it.' This statement (and we mention it as something remarkable) is the truth; but then it is not the whole truth. Had the Editor entertained any wish to put his readers in possession of the state of the case, he would have added that neither Fabricius nor Jones attach any credit to the story; that Fabricius directly questions Postellus's general credibility; and that Jones remarks, that even if Postellus's account be true, the practice of the Eastern churches in his time (the 16th century) cannot be of the slightest moment in determining the authenticity of this, or any other pretended gospel.

To press any further inquiry into the system pursued in this publication, and to penetrate deeper into the dark recesses of its falsehoods, is a task which we cannot inflict on ourselves, and which, we are persuaded, our readers will not require of us. Controversy, with a learned and candid adversary, conducted on proper principles, invigorates the mind; but the detection of the errors of hopeless ignorance, and the artifices of incurable dishonesty, is a task wearisome and revolting beyond conception. We have proceeded thus far because we conceive it a public duty to prove beyond doubt or contradiction, that Hone has a set of writers in his pay, with whom truth is an idle name, and honesty a by-word and a jest; men who, for their own evil purposes, are anxious to destroy every principle and feeling which binds the citizen to his country, and the spirit to its Creator. And assuredly no more satisfactory proof of wilful falsehood could be afforded, than we have found in the pages of the book before us. Its author has not been led into the crime of deceiving others by being the victim of deception himself; he has not produced false statements from mis-apprehension; he has not fallen into error through oversight or negligence. These things are the lot of human nature; and he who knows and trembles at his own weakness will be slow in condemning others, and in ascribing to an evil heart what may be the fruit of the same frailty in his brother. But in this case, charity can prompt no extenuation of the crime, and justice to others demands, that the deepest brand of shame should be stamped upon it. The pages of that work, from which Hone's editor has borrowed all his matter, contain a clear and a distinct refutation of every statement which he has published. The poison and the antidote were placed before him at once, and he could not learn one of the falsehoods which he has uttered, without knowing, at the same time, that it was a falsehood. He has chosen, therefore,

therefore, to deceive, without being deceived himself, and with a deep and desperate malignity, endeavours to convince others of what he knows to be false, and to lead them away from the truth which he recognizes and hates. To him we do not address ourselves: the voice of reproof and reproach would be directed in vain to one, who, before he sat down to his diabolical task, must have silenced the louder calls and admonitions of his own conscience. But we would earnestly exhort those, who, from an idle curiosity, are induced to purchase Mr. Hone's publications, and thus supply fuel to the flame, to consider* 'that such pernicious works would neither be published nor written, if they were discouraged, as they ought to be, by public feeling; and that every person therefore, who purchases such books, or admits them into his house, promotes the mischief, and thereby, as far as in him lies, becomes an aider and abettor of the crime.'

Before we conclude, it may not be amiss to present our readers with a short specimen of the Gospels which are here obtruded on the public. We have already shown how well the editor is qualified by his knowledge and his respectability to conduct such a publication; we now wish to show how far the publication itself would be advisable, if committed to other and purer hands.

'The First Infancy.—Chap. XIX.

- V. 4. On a certain day the Lord Jesus was with some boys who were playing on the house-top, and one of the boys fell down, and presently died.
5. Upon which the other boys all running away, the Lord Jesus was left alone on the house-top.
6. And the boy's relations came to him, and said to the Lord Jesus, Thou didst throw our son down from the house-top.
7. But he denying it, they cried out, Our son is dead, and this is he who killed him.
8. The Lord Jesus replied to them, Do not charge me with a crime, of which you are not able to convict me, but let us go ask the boy himself, who will bring the truth to light.
9. Then the Lord Jesus going down stood over the head of the dead boy, and said with a loud voice, Zeinunus, Zeinunus, who threw thee down from the house-top?
10. Then the dead boy answered, Thou didst not throw me down, but such a one did.
11. And when the Lord Jesus bade those who stood by take notice of his words, all who were present praised God on account of that miracle.

V. 16. Again, on another day, the Lord Jesus was with some boys by a

* Southey's Preface to the Vision of Judgment.

river, and they drew water out of the river by little channels, and made little fish-pools.

17. But the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows, and placed them about his pool on each side, three on a side.
18. But it was the Sabbath-day, and the son of Hanani a Jew came by, and saw them making these things, and said, Do ye thus make figures of clay on the Sabbath! And he ran to them and broke down their fish-pools.
19. But when the Lord Jesus clapped his hands over the sparrows which he had made, they fled away chirping.
20. At length the son of Hanani coming to the fish-pool of Jesus to destroy it, the water vanished away, and the Lord Jesus said to him,
21. In like manner as this water has vanished, so shall thy life vanish; and presently the boy died.
22. ¶ Another time, when the Lord Jesus was coming home in the evening with Joseph, he met a boy, who ran so hard against him, that he threw him down;
23. To whom the Lord Jesus said, As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall, nor ever rise.
24. And at that moment the boy fell down and died.'

And this is the monstrous stuff which (according to an article in the *Monthly Magazine*) is to 'command the attention of all, and the respect of those who do not yield their faith to the authority of Popish councils!' This is the horrible blasphemy which Sir Richard Phillips, the compiler of that edifying publication, tells us 'he shall not wonder to see bound up with the New Testament, and become the subject of many commentaries, expositions, and pious discourses'!

'In animam malevolam,' says the son of Sirach, 'sapientia intrare non potest;' and we have therefore no right to expect any more critical judgment from Messrs. Phillips and Hone: but we appeal from their notorious infidelity, from their groveling and perverted understandings, not to the learned and wise, but to the humblest reader of the Scripture in Christian sincerity, who feels as He, who made the heart and preached the Gospel meant that the lowest of his disciples should feel, that the Scriptures speak as never man spake, and that there is a voice of power in them which addresses itself to his inmost soul; we would ask him if he would not repel with indignation any attempt to place these drivellings of the most debasing superstition by the side of that book which he rightly deems the best. God forbid that we should think, for a moment, of making any contrast between the true Gospels and the false; or of attempting to give dignity, by human praise, to that which proceeded from infinite Wisdom!

We need not add to this specimen (and it is no unfavourable one)

one) of these Apocryphal Gospels. The simple history of them all is, that they consist of passages copied literally from the genuine Scriptures, with such additions and inventions as the fancy or folly of the artful or superstitious writers suggested. They might not be altogether ill calculated for a religion and a time in which the understandings of the people were to be degraded and enthralled. But in an age and country in which the great aim is to inspire juster and sounder views of religion, no motive but a mischievous one could have suggested the introduction of such impure and noxious matter to those who would never otherwise have heard of its existence. It must be remembered, too, that for those whom curiosity or literary inquiry might engage in the perusal of the Apocryphal writings, they existed already, in a form infinitely more useful and satisfactory; and this consideration will add one proof more to those we have accumulated of the base and malignant purposes of Mr. Hone, and his associates.

ART. III.—*Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the years 1799—1804.*
By Alexander de Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, &c. &c.
Vol. V. 8vo. pp. 865. London. 1821.

ALTHOUGH we have taken frequent occasions to deliver our opinion freely of the blemishes which pervade the literary productions of the Baron de Humboldt, we are not insensible of his merits; and cheerfully admit that, in the present instance, and in proportion as he advances into the interior of the equinoctial regions of America, he improves in manner as well as in matter. The sublime and majestic scenery of an invigorating climate, a productive soil, and a luxuriant vegetation, spread over a boundless territory intersected by magnificent rivers, has furnished his eloquent pen with so rapid a succession of new and interesting objects, as to relieve him from any necessity of indulging in those digressions which have sometimes been introduced to give interest to a barren subject. He is still, however, discursive; but as he indulges much less than formerly, in dry scientific dissertations, his beauties become more prominent, and those extraneous matters which, in a 'Personal Narrative,' we were disposed to consider as misplaced, are now thrown into shade, and occupy only the back ground of the picture.

We left the Baron de Humboldt and his companion Bonpland at the island of Panumana, near the confluence of the Rio Meta with the Oroonoko, in their progress up this magnificent river. In the two volumes before us,* they complete their navigation

* IX. and X. but vol. V. in the original.

and examination of its main branch as high as the junction of the Atabapo; whence they are carried by the Temi and Tuamini, and by a land-journey across the mesopotamia of the Oroonoko and Amazons, to the Rio Negro, a considerable branch of the latter river; then descending the Rio Negro to the confluence of the Cassiquiare, they proceed against the stream of this natural canal to the bifurcation of, or its ramification from, the Oroonoko, where they enter this majestic river a second time, and fall down the stream to Angostura, the capital of Spanish Guiana. We shall accompany our author along this route, in pursuance of our former plan, noticing such subjects only as may appear to be most interesting either from their novelty or importance.

On the 15th April the two travellers left the island of Panumana, and arrived the same day at the little village of San Juan Nepomuceno de los Atures, founded by the Jesuit Francisco Gonzales in 1748, and the last of the Christian establishments, in proceeding up the river, that owe their origin to the order of St. Ignatius. It is situated at the distance of a league from the foot of the great cataract, called by the Indians Mapura; and, with another of the same kind about twelve leagues higher up, named Maypures or Quittuna, is formed by innumerable rocky islets, and by compact dykes of granite which, crossing the river, connect two chains of mountains running at right angles to this part of the bed of the Oroonoko, or in the direction of east and west.

Though these rapids are sufficiently strong to interrupt, they do not wholly prevent the navigation of the Oroonoko. By the aid of ropes fixed to the crest of the rocks, the Indians are enabled, almost at all times, to haul up their barks or canoes; when the torrents happen to be too violent, they draw them on shore, and, by the help of rollers, force them along the margin till the river again becomes navigable. M. de Humboldt was surprized, he says, to find that, with all the whirling and foaming and tumultuous movement of the waters of the rapids, the roar of which may be heard at the distance of more than a league, the height of the fall, on the whole length of thirty-six miles, did not exceed twenty-eight feet perpendicular. The noise, which is three times as loud by night as by day, gives an inexpressible charm to these solitudes:—but what, says M. de Humboldt, ‘can be the cause of this increased intensity of sound in a desert, where nothing seems to interrupt the silence of nature?’ It is an observation as old as the days of Aristotle, and one which must have been very generally made, that sounds, and particularly those produced by the rushing of water, are more distinctly heard, and at greater distances, by night than by day; yet, as our
author

author justly observes, the velocity of sound decreases with the decrease of temperature, and the intensity diminishes in air agitated by a wind which blows contrary to its direction.

'It may be thought,' says M. de Humboldt, 'that, even in places not inhabited by man, the hum of insects, the song of birds, the rustling of leaves agitated by the feeblest winds, occasion during the day a confused noise, which we perceive the less because it is uniform, and constantly strikes the ear. Now this noise, however slightly perceptible it may be, may diminish the intensity of a louder noise; and this diminution may cease, if during the calm of the night the song of birds, the hum of insects, and the action of the wind upon the leaves, be interrupted. But this reasoning, even admitting its justness, can scarcely be applied to the forests of the Oroonoko, where the air is constantly filled by an innumerable quantity of moschettoes, where the hum of insects is much louder by night than by day, and where the breeze, if ever it be felt, blows only after sunset.'—vol. v. p. 68.

His own opinion is, that the presence of the sun acts upon the propagation and intensity of sound by the obstacles presented by the currents of air of different density, and the partial undulations of the atmosphere caused by the unequal heating of different parts of the soil; that the air being crossed in every direction by small currents of hotter air, the sonorous undulation is divided where the density of the medium changes abruptly; that partial echoes are thus formed, which weaken the sound, because one of the streams turns back on itself; that little movements may thus 'ride over each other;' and finally that this interruption of homogeneity in the elastic medium is the real cause of the less intensity of sound during the day.

The natural scenery around Atures affords a specimen of the descriptive powers of our author, which however suffers not a little in the verbose and languid translation of Helen Maria Williams, alias Mrs. Stone.

'The savannahs of Atures, covered with slender plants and grasses, are real meadows resembling those of Europe; they are never inundated by the rivers, and seem to wait to be ploughed by the hand of man. Notwithstanding their extent, they do not display the monotony of our plains; they surround groups of rocks, and blocks of granite piled on one another. On the very borders of these plains and this open country you find glens scarcely lighted by the rays of the setting sun, and gullies where the humid soil, loaded with arums, heliconias, and lianas, manifests at every step the wild fecundity of nature. Every where just rising above the earth appear those shelves of granite completely bare, that I described at Carichana, and which I have seen nowhere in the ancient world of such prodigious breadth as in the valley of the Oroonoko. Where springs gush from the bosom of these rocks, verrucarias, psoras, and lichens are fixed on the decomposed granite, and

and have there accumulated mould. Little euphorbias, peperomias, and other succulent plants, have taken the place of the cryptogamous tribes; and evergreen shrubs, rhexias, and purple flowered melastomas, form verdant isles amid desert and rocky plains. We are never wearied of repeating, that the distribution of these spots, the clusters of small trees with coriaceous and shining leaves scattered in the savannahs, the limpid rills that dig themselves a channel across the rocks, and wind alternately through fertile places and over bare shelves of granite, every thing here recalls to mind what our gardens and plantations contain most picturesque and lovely. We seem to recognize the industry of man, and the traces of cultivation, amid the wildness of the scenery.

‘But it is not the disposition of the ground that immediately skirts the mission of Atures, which alone gives the landscape so remarkable a physiognomy; the lofty mountains, that bound the horizon on every side, contribute to it also by their form, and the nature of their vegetation. These mountains are in general but seven or eight hundred feet in height above the surrounding plains. Their summit is rounded, as for the most part in granitic mountains, and covered with a thick forest of the laurel tribe. Clusters of palm trees, the leaves of which, curled like feathers, rise majestically at an angle of seventy degrees, are dispersed amid trees with horizontal branches; and their bare trunks, like columns of a hundred, or a hundred and twenty feet high, shoot up into the air, and appearing distinctly against the azure vault of the sky, “resemble a forest planted upon another forest.” When, as the moon was going down behind the mountains of Uniana, her reddish disk was hidden behind the pinnated foliage of the palm trees, and again appeared in the aerial zone, that separates the two forests, I thought myself transported for a few moments to the hermitage of the old man, which Mr. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre has described as one of the most delicious scenes of the Isle of Bourbon, and I felt how much the mien of the plants and their groupings resembled each other in the two worlds. In describing a small spot of land in an island of the Indian Ocean, the inimitable author of *Paul and Virginia* has sketched the vast picture of the landscape of the tropics. He knew how to paint nature, not because he had studied it scientifically, but because he felt it in all its harmonious analogies of forms, colours, and interior powers.’—pp. 44—47.

Nothing can be more deplorable than the state of the missions of the Oroonoko. Indeed there are but three of them in the space of a hundred leagues above the cataracts, and these are represented to have deteriorated, even to a greater degree than those of the lower Oroonoko, by the appointment of Franciscans to occupy the place of the Jesuits who originally established them. The mission of Atures had dwindled from 320 Indians to 47, and the numbers were still decreasing: they consisted of two different tribes—the one on the west of the Oroonoko, a dirty and disgusting people, called Guahiboes, proud of their
savage

savage independence, averse from fixed habitations and regular labour, and known to the missionaries by the name of *Indios andantes*—the others, on the east, composed of the Macoes and Salivas, a mild and tranquil people, not averse from agriculture, and not difficult to be brought under discipline. They support themselves at present chiefly by the cultivation of the cassava; under the Jesuits, they had maize, French-beans and other European vegetables: the fathers planted sweet oranges and tamarinds round the villages; and they possessed twenty or thirty thousand head of cows and horses in the neighbouring savannahs; whereas, now, both have disappeared, and horned cattle are talked of by the Indians as a race that is wholly lost. A few trunks of the orange and tamarind-trees, choked in the forests, are all that is left of the industrious activity of the first missionaries.

M. de Humboldt enumerates many causes of the present depopulation, some of which, however, existed in the time of the Jesuits. Epidemic fevers, when attended with great mortality, have frequently put whole villages to flight; the appearance of small-pox among them; a great drought, or any other unforeseen and unavoidable misfortune has seldom failed to disperse them among the woods. But that which, according to our traveller, chiefly tends to depopulate the settlements, 'is the repugnance of the Indians to the regulations of the missions; to which may be added, the insalubrity of a climate at once hot and damp, bad nourishment, want of care in the diseases of children, and the guilty practice of preventing pregnancy by the use of deleterious herbs.'

To prevent the missions from being wholly deserted, the fathers make hostile incursions into the villages of the independent Indians, under the name of *entrados*, which are avowedly undertaken for 'the conquest of souls,' though it is obviously necessary, in the first place, to secure the bodies. To effect this, the natives are usually attacked by night in their hovels, and their children seized and carried off to be distributed among the Indians of the missions, as serfs. An affecting instance of maternal tenderness, displayed on an occasion of this inhuman practice, is given by M. de Humboldt, which, he justly observes, 'proves how much the system calls for the care of the legislator.'

'In 1797 the missionary of San Fernando had led his Indians to the banks of the Rio Guaviare, on one of those hostile incursions, which are prohibited alike by religion and the Spanish laws. They found in an Indian hut a Guahiba mother with three children, two of whom were still infants. They were occupied in preparing the flour of cassava. Resistance was impossible; the father was gone to fish, and the mother tried in vain to flee with her children. Scarcely had she reached

reached the savannah, when she was seized by the Indians of the mission, who go to *hunt men*, like the Whites and the Negroes in Africa. The mother and her children were bound, and dragged to the bank of the river. The monk, seated in his boat, waited the issue of an expedition, of which he partook not the danger. Had the mother made too violent a resistance, the Indians would have killed her, for every thing is permitted when they go to the conquest of souls (*à la conquista espiritual*), and it is children in particular they seek to capture, in order to treat them in the mission as *poitos*, or slaves of the Christians. The prisoners were carried to San Fernando in the hope that the mother would be unable to find her way back to her home by land. Far from those children who had accompanied their father on the day in which she had been carried off, this unhappy woman showed signs of the deepest despair. She attempted to take back to her family the children, who had been snatched away by the missionary; and fled with them repeatedly from the village of San Fernando, but the Indians never failed to seize her anew; and the missionary, after having caused her to be mercilessly beaten, took the cruel resolution of separating the mother from the two children, who had been carried off with her. She was conveyed alone toward the missions of the Rio Negro, going up the Atabapo. Slightly bound, she was seated at the bow of the boat, ignorant of the fate that awaited her; but she judged by the direction of the sun, that she was removing farther and farther from her hut and her native country. She succeeded in breaking her bonds, threw herself into the water, and swam to the left bank of the Atabapo. The current carried her to a shelf of rock, which bears her name to this day. She landed, and took shelter in the woods, but the president of the missions ordered the Indians to row to the shore, and follow the traces of the Guahiba. In the evening she was brought back. Stretched upon the rock (*la Piedra de la Madre*) a cruel punishment was inflicted on her with those straps of manatee leather, which serve for whips in that country, and with which the alcades are always furnished. This unhappy woman, her hands tied behind her back with strong stalks of *mavacure*, was then dragged to the mission of Javita.

She was there thrown into one of the caravanseras that are called *Casa del Rey*. It was the rainy season, and the night was profoundly dark. Forests till then believed to be impenetrable separated the mission of Javita from that of San Fernando, which was twenty-five leagues distant in a straight line. No other path is known than that of the rivers; no man ever attempted to go by land from one village to another, were they only a few leagues apart. But such difficulties do not stop a mother who is separated from her children. The Guahiba was carelessly guarded in the caravansera. Her arms being wounded, the Indians of Javita had loosened her bonds, unknown to the missionary and the alcades. She succeeded by the help of her teeth in breaking them entirely; disappeared during the night; and at the fourth rising sun was seen at the mission of San Fernando, hovering around the hut where her children were confined. "What that woman performed," added the missionary who gave us this sad narrative,

tive, "the most robust Indian would not have ventured to undertake. She traversed the woods at a season when the sky is constantly covered with clouds, and the sun during whole days appears but for a few minutes. Did the course of the waters direct her way? The inundations of the rivers forced her to go far from the banks of the main stream, through the midst of woods where the movement of the waters is almost imperceptible. How often must she have been stopped by the thorny lianas, that form a network around the trunks they entwine! How often must she have swum across the rivulets that run into the Atabapo! This unfortunate woman was asked how she had sustained herself during four days? She said that, exhausted with fatigue, she could find no other nourishment than those great black ants called *vachacos*, which climb the trees in long bands, to suspend on them their resinous nests." We pressed the missionary to tell us whether the Guabiba had peacefully enjoyed the happiness of remaining with her children; and if any repentance had followed this excess of cruelty. He would not satisfy our curiosity; but at our return from the Rio Negro we learnt that the Indian mother was not allowed time to cure her wounds, but was again separated from her children, and sent to one of the missions of the Upper Oroonoko. There she died, refusing all kind of nourishment, as the savages do in great calamities.—pp. 234—238.

The Franciscans share with the natives the fevers which prevail during a great part of the year, from the violent heat, joined to the humidity of the air, on the thickly wooded banks of the Oroonoko. 'I have had my little fever (*ma calenturita*) only eight months,' said the good missionary of the Atures, who accompanied our travellers to the Rio Negro. The fits were violent, but of short duration; and appeared to produce great debility of the muscular system. The Indians are persuaded that these tertian fevers are owing to the pestilent exhalations which rise from the bare rocks of the raudales, or cataracts. These rocks exhibit a black surface, which, it appears, is a crust of the oxyd of iron and manganese, deposited by the overflowing of the river. It is pretended, that persons, after passing the night on them, have awakened in the morning with a violent paroxysm of fever; and so strong is the conviction of their unwholesome influence, that the Jesuits have been known, on several occasions, to remove their establishments to a distance from them. Among the causes of this alleged fact, M. de Humboldt is inclined to place 'an accumulated and radiated heat, a humid atmosphere, and the want of a free circulation of air;' for in this neighbourhood, he adds, 'no breath of wind ever agitates the foliage.' The peculiar physiognomy of these equatorial regions is that of grandeur and repose; whilst hurricanes and tempests belong to islands, to deserts destitute of plants, and to those spots, where parts of the atmosphere repose upon surfaces, from which the radiation of heat is
very

very various. The thermometer, in the month of April, rarely exceeded 75° of Farenheit.

The scenery around the cataract of Maypures is equally magnificent with that of Atures, and is described in equally glowing language. 'In the huts of the natives,' says M. de Humboldt, 'we found an appearance of order and neatness, rarely met with in the houses of the missionaries.' Plantains and cassava are the two plants chiefly cultivated; but the inhabitants have the advantage of a very nourishing beverage, furnished by the fruit of a palm-tree called *seje*, the infusion of which yields a yellowish liquor, that tastes like milk of almonds. Cakes of cassava are dipped into this liquor; and the missionaries observed, that during the two or three months the fruit was in season, the natives became visibly fatter. The population was under sixty; in the time of the Jesuits it amounted to six hundred.

In the village our travellers found an Indian family busily occupied in baking, in the open air, large earthen vessels, two feet and a half high. This branch of manufacture is peculiar, at present, to the various tribes of the great family of Maypures, but seems to have been common, heretofore, to the natives of both Americas. 'In every part of the forests,' says M. de Humboldt, 'far from any human habitation, on digging the earth, fragments of pottery and delft are found.' To the north of Mexico, in the territories of the United States, in Florida, and in every place where traces of ancient civilization are found, the soil covers fragments of painted pottery; and the extreme resemblance of the ornaments which they display is striking. Those on the pottery of Maypures are described as 'real *grecques*, meandrites, and figures of crocodiles, of monkeys, and of a large quadruped, which,' says our author, 'I could not recognize, though it has always the same squat form.' It was probably meant for a *tapir*. The colours employed are the oxyds of iron and manganese, and particularly the yellow and red ochres found in the hollows of sandstone. The American Indian is wholly unacquainted with the potter's wheel, which, we know from the highest authority, has been familiar to the nations of the east from the remotest antiquity.

'In this part of the New Continent, (says M. de Humboldt,) surrounded by dense forests of boundless extent, we almost accustomed ourselves to regard men as not being essential to the order of nature. The earth is loaded with plants, and nothing impedes their free development. An immense layer of mould manifests the uninterrupted action of organic powers. The crocodiles and the boas are masters of the river; the jaguar, the pecari, the dante, and the monkeys, traverse the forest without fear, and without danger; there they dwell

dwell as in an ancient inheritance. This aspect of animated nature, in which man is nothing, has something in it strange and sad. To this we reconcile ourselves with difficulty on the ocean, and amid the sands of Africa; though in these scenes, where nothing recalls to mind our fields, our woods, and our streams, we are less astonished at the vast solitude through which we pass. Here, in a fertile country adorned with eternal verdure, we seek in vain the traces of the power of man; we seem to be transported into a world different from that which gave us birth.'

The jaguars, or tigers, though less ferocious than those of the East, and less disposed to attack human beings, make great havock among the pigs of the poor Indians. The following striking instance of the rude familiarity of these animals amused us.

'Some months before our arrival, a jaguar, which was thought to be young, though of a large size, had wounded a child in playing with him; I use confidently this expression, which may seem strange, having on the spot verified facts which are not without interest in the history of the manners of animals. Two Indian children, a boy and a girl, about eight and nine years of age, were seated on the grass near the village of Atures, in the middle of a savannah, which we have often traversed. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a jaguar issued from the forest, and approached the children, bounding around them; sometimes he hid himself in the high grass, sometimes he sprang forward, his back bent, his head hung down, in the manner of our cats. The little boy, ignorant of his danger, seemed to be sensible of it only when the jaguar with one of his paws gave him some blows on the head. These blows, at first slight, became ruder and ruder, the claws of the jaguar wounded the child, and the blood flowed with violence. The little girl then took a branch of a tree, struck the animal, and it fled from her. The Indians ran up at the cries of the children, and saw the jaguar, which retired bounding, without making the least show of resistance.'—p. 76.

All animals of the feline tribe, even the lion and the striped tiger, are playful as well as ferocious, and their disposition towards the one or the other mood depends chiefly, we believe, on the state of the stomach: the jaguar of the Atures had no doubt breakfasted to his satisfaction, and played with the child just as a cat will with a mouse, when she is not hungry.

'It was among the cataracts of this neighbourhood,' says M. de Humboldt, 'that we began to hear of "the hairy man of the woods," that carries off women, constructs huts, and eats human flesh.' The natives, as well as the missionaries, firmly believe in the existence of this *anthropomorphous* monkey (as our author calls it), which they name *vasitri*, or the great devil, and of which they entertain a singular dread. Father Gilli, however, gravely relates the history of a lady (an inhabitant of San Carlos,) who

who lived several years with one of these savages in great domestic harmony: she found him, she said, kind and attentive; and was only induced to request some hunters to take her and her children back to society 'because she was tired of living so far from the church and the sacraments.' Sir Stamford Raffles has a story precisely of the same kind, respecting a lady of Borneo, who was carried off by an ourang-outang, with whom she dwelt for a long time, and received the most kind and endearing attentions from him. The vasisiri of the new continent has never been seen; but the Borneo man of the woods is frequently caught, and is said to make very extraordinary approaches to somewhat of a reasoning faculty. That, for instance, brought home by Lord Amherst, when affronted by any of the sailors would march to the gangway, and *threaten* to jump overboard: and we have been assured that another of the monkey tribe, called *unka puti*, (*simia lar*) in a fit of jealousy, actually got hold of a rope and hanged himself! Such stories as these, whether true or false, are certainly in common credence throughout the equatorial regions of both the new and old world; and our author says that he and his fellow traveller 'were every where blamed in the most cultivated class of society, for being the only persons to doubt the existence of the great anthropomorphous monkey of America.' He seems inclined to think, however, that this creature may exist in the person of one of those large bears, the footsteps of which resemble those of a man, 'and which is believed, in every country, to attack women:' as all articles of popular belief, even the most absurd in appearance, repose on real, but ill reported facts, he counsels future travellers to continue their researches on 'the hairy man of the woods,' and examine whether it may not be some unknown species of bear, or some very rare monkey, analogous to the *simia chiropotes*, or *satanas*, that has given rise to these singular tales.

The dread of monkeys, tigers, and crocodiles, sinks into nothing when compared with the *plaga de las moscas*,—the torment of insects. 'However accustomed,' says our traveller, 'you may be to endure pain without complaint, however lively an interest you may take in the object of your researches, it is impossible not to be constantly disturbed by the mosquettoes, zancudoes, jejens, and tempraneroes, that cover the face and hands, pierce the clothes with their long sucker, in the shape of a needle, and, getting into the mouth and nostrils, set you coughing and sneezing, whenever you attempt to speak in the open air—I doubt,' he adds, 'whether there be a country upon earth, where man is exposed to more cruel torments in the rainy season, when the lower strata of the air, to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, are filled with venomous

nomous insects, like a condensed vapour.' When a padre-guardian chuses to exercise his vengeance on a lay-brother, he sends him to Esmeralda, or, as the monks jocularly say, 'condemns him to the mosquettoes.' 'It is now,' says M. de Humboldt, 'neither the dangers of a navigation in small boats, the savage Indians, nor the serpents, crocodiles, or jaguars, that make the Spaniards dread a voyage on the Oroonoko; it is, as they say with simplicity, *el sudar y las moscas*, "the sweatings and the flies."' The only relief is to sleep in the midst of a drove of cattle, on whom these insects prefer to settle; or in small ovens (*hornitos*) out of which they have previously been driven by the smoke of wet brushwood. We pass over the natural history of the various kinds of tipulary insects; but it is worthy of remark that these creatures, as well as the crocodiles, shun the proximity of the *aguas negras*, or *black waters*. 'On the banks of the Atabapo, the Tuní, the Tuamini, and the Rio Negro,' says our author, 'we enjoyed a repose, I had almost said a happiness unexpected.' Yet these rivers cross thick forests, like the Oroonoko, and their waters, though coloured, appear to be equally pure.

The laboured details into which our author enters on the subject of those minute animals which are capable of rendering vast countries almost uninhabitable, and of the termites which devour paper, pasteboard, and parchment, with frightful rapidity, destroying not only records but whole libraries, are fully justified, he conceives, (and we agree with him,) by the general physiological views with which they are connected. After remarking that many provinces of Spanish America do not afford one written document which dates a hundred years back, he concludes this most interesting chapter by the following general and just observations:—

'In proportion as you ascend the table-land of the Andes, these evils disappear. Man breathes a fresh and pure air. These insects no more disturb the labours of the day, or the slumbers of the night. Documents can be collected in archives without our having to complain of the voracity of the termites. The moschettoes are no longer feared at two hundred toises of height; and the termites, still very frequent at three hundred toises of elevation, become very rare at Mexico, Santa Fe de Bogota, and Quito. In these great capitals, situate on the back of the Cordilleras, we find libraries and archives, that the enlightened zeal of the inhabitants augments from day to day. These circumstances, which I here only indicate, are combined with others, that insure a moral preponderance to the Alpine region, over the lower regions of the torrid zone. If we admit, agreeably to the ancient traditions collected in both the old and new worlds, that at the time of the catastrophe, which preceded the renewal of our species, man descended from the mountains into the plains, we may admit with still greater confidence, that these mountains, the cradle of so many various nations, will for ever remain

the centre of human civilization in the torrid zone. From their fertile and temperate table-lands, from these islets scattered in the ærial ocean, knowledge and the blessings of social institutions will be spread over the vast forests, that extend at the foot of the Andes, and are inhabited in our days by tribes, whom the very wealth of nature has retained in indolence.'—p. 116.

The two travellers departed from the mission of Maypures, on the banks of the great cataract, on the 21st of April. They landed at the mouth of the Rio Vichada, to examine the plants of that neighbourhood. The forests were here more thin than usual, and innumerable rocks of granite passing into gneiss were seen to rise from the plain in the forms of massy prisms, ruined pillars, and solitary towers, from fifteen to twenty feet in height. Amid this picturesque scenery, M. Bonpland found several specimens of the *taurus cinnamomoides*, a very aromatic species of cinnamon, known at the missions of the Oroonoko by the names of *varimacu*, and of *canelilla*. America has also its nutmeg-tree, the *myristica otoba*; and our author observes, 'that these barks and aromatic fruits would have become important objects of trade, if Europe, at the period of the discovery of the New World, had not already been accustomed to the spices and aromatics of India.' They are, however, known to be much inferior to the cinnamon of Ceylon, and the nutmeg of the Moluccas.

It would be doing injustice to M. de Humboldt to abridge any part of the following passage, which contains a grand and philosophical view of the various productions of the different countries of the earth.

'Every hemisphere produces plants of a different species; and it is not by the diversity of climates that we can attempt to explain, why equinoctial Africa has no laurineæ, and the New World no heaths; why the calceolariæ are found only in the southern hemisphere; why the birds of the continent of India glow with colours less splendid than the birds of the hot parts of America; finally, why the tiger is peculiar to Asia, and the ornithorhincus to New-Holland. In the vegetable, as well as in the animal kingdom, the causes of the distribution of the species are among the number of mysteries, which natural philosophy cannot reach. This science is not occupied in the investigation of the origin of beings, but of the laws according to which they are distributed on the globe. It examines the things that are, the co-existence of vegetable and animal forms in each latitude, at different heights, and at different degrees of temperature; it studies the relations under which particular organizations are more vigorously developed, multiplied, or modified; but it approaches not problems, the solution of which is impossible, since they touch the origin, the first existence of a germe of life. We may add, that the attempts which have been made, to explain the distribution of various species on the globe by the sole influence of climate, date at a period when physical geography was still in its infancy; when, recur-

ring incessantly to pretended contrasts between the two worlds, it was imagined, that the whole of Africa and of America resembled the deserts of Egypt and the marshes of Cayenne. At present, when men judge of the state of things not from one type arbitrarily chosen, but from positive knowledge, it is ascertained, that the two continents in their immense extent contain countries that are altogether analogous. There are regions of America as barren and burning as the interior of Africa. The islands that produce the spices of India are scarcely remarkable for their dryness; and it is not on account of the humidity of the climate, as it has been affirmed in recent works, that the New Continent is deprived of those fine species of *laurineæ* and *myristicæ*, which are found united in one little corner of the earth in the Archipelago of India. For some years past, the real cinnamon has been cultivated with success in several parts of the New Continent; and a zone that produces the coumarouna, the vanilla, the pucheri, the pine-apple, the myrtus pimenta, the balsam of tolu, the myroxylon peruvianum, the crotons, the citrosmas, the pejoa, the *incienso* of the Silla of Caraccas, the *quereme*, the pancratium, and so many majestic liliaceous plants, cannot be considered as destitute of aromatics. Besides, a dry air favours the development of the aromatic, or exciting properties, only in certain species of plants. The most cruel poisons are produced in the most humid zone of America; and it is precisely under the influence of the long rains of the tropics, that the American pimento, capsicum baccatum, the fruit of which is often as caustic and fiery as Indian pepper, vegetates best. From the whole of these considerations it follows, 1st, that the New Continent possesses spices, aromatics, and very active vegetable poisons, that are peculiar to itself, differing specifically from those of the ancient world; 2dly, that the primitive distribution of species in the torrid zone cannot be explained by the influence of climate solely, or by the distribution of temperature, which we observe in the present state of our planet; but that this difference of climates leads us to perceive, why a given type of organization develops itself more vigorously in such or such local circumstances. We can conceive, that a small number of the families of plants, for instance the musaceæ and the palms, cannot belong to very cold regions, on account of their internal structure, and the importance of certain organs; but we cannot explain why no one of the family of melastomas vegetates north of the parallel of thirty degrees, or why no rose-tree belongs to the southern hemisphere. Analogy of climates is often found in the two continents, without identity of productions.—p. 180.

Arrived at the mouth of the Rio Zama, our travellers entered a class of rivers which M. de Humboldt considers to merit great attention: the Zama, the Mataveni, the Atabapo, the Tuamini, the Temi, and the Guainia, are *aguas negras*, that is, their waters, seen in a large body, appear brown like coffee, or of a greenish black; but when the least breath of wind agitates their surface, they become of a fine grass-green, like the lakes of Switzerland: yet, says M. de Humboldt, they are beautifully clear, and agree-

able to the taste. He is unable to trace the cause of these coloured waters, but suggests that it may be owing to a mixture of carbon and hydrogen; and he quotes the opinion of Sir Humphry Davy that the tints of different seas may probably be owing to different proportions of iodine. The extreme purity of the black waters of these American rivers may be inferred from their limpidity, their transparency, and the clearness with which they reflect the images and colours of the surrounding objects. The smallest fish are visible at the depth of twenty or thirty feet; and the quartzose and granitic sand of the bottom clearly distinguishable.

On the 24th, they entered the Rio Guaviare, and at midnight reached San Fernando de Atabapo, at which resides the president of the missions of Oroonoko: the village contained two hundred and twenty-six inhabitants, and they appeared to be somewhat more civilized than in the other missions. There were also some traces of cultivation; and every Indian had a small plantation of cacao, or chotolab trees. Here, too, grew in abundance the *pirijao* palm, with a trunk of sixty feet high, and guarded with thorns. The fruit of these trees furnishes a farinaceous substance, as yellow as the yolk of an egg, slightly saccharine, and extremely nutritious: it is eaten, like plantains or potatoes, boiled, or roasted in the ashes, and affords an aliment as wholesome as it is agreeable. Each tree bears only three clusters; but each cluster contains from fifty to eighty nuts, at first yellow like the apple, and growing purple in proportion as they ripen. M. de Humboldt enumerates from eighty to ninety species of palms peculiar to the New Continent, and most of them in some way or other highly serviceable to man. Well, therefore, in journeying through the forests of the Oroonoko, might he be reminded (as he says, he was) of the assertion of Linnæus, that 'the country of palm-trees was the first abode of our species, and that man is essentially palmivorous.'

On the 29th, our travellers arrived at the mission of San Baltasar, where they were lodged with a Catalan missionary, a lively and agreeable man, who had planted a good garden, in which the fig, the lemon, the persea, and the mammee were growing together. The Indian plantations were also in a better condition than those of the Oroonoko missions. Pursuing the route of the Zama and the Tuamini, whose inundations intersect the thick forests, they arrived, on the first of May, at the mission of San Antonio de Javita, where they had the pleasure of finding a very intelligent and affable monk. The Indians, to the number of one hundred and sixty, are much employed here in the construction of boats, from a large species of laurel, which the missionaries call

call sassafras, but which M. de Humboldt names *ocotea cymbarum*. The wood is yellow, resinous, almost incorruptible in water, and has a very agreeable smell; the trunks are hollowed out by the joint means of fire and the hatchet. Trees of various kinds and magnificent dimensions, with straight bodies of more than one hundred feet high, adorned these forests, many of them furnishing gummy and resinous substances, which are objects of trade in the village of Javita, where they remained a few days in order to prepare for transporting their boat and effects across the *portage* of Pimichin. The climate of this mission is represented as extremely wet, the rains continuing nearly the whole year: they fell in such torrents while our travellers staid, that M. de Bonpland was prevented from collecting and drying specimens of plants, and M. de Humboldt from making astronomical observations; but they had an opportunity of getting some information respecting a singular substance called *dapitcho*, resembling caoutchouc, or indian-rubber; which is formed into balls for playing at the Indian game of tennis, or cut into cylinders to be used as corks, or moulded into great masses to serve as drumsticks. This species of caoutchouc is dug out of the ground, and was found by our travellers between the roots of two trees known by the name of the *jacio*, and the *curvana*. The first is the *hevea* or *siphonia* of modern botanists, which furnishes the caoutchouc of commerce in Cayenne; the second, which appears not to be known, is a plant with pinnate leaves, with milky juice, but thin and almost destitute of viscosity. M. de Humboldt inclines to believe that the *dapitcho* is the result of an extravasation of the sap from the roots, masses of which were found of two feet in diameter and four inches thick, at the distance of eight feet from the trunks. The same process, he thinks, of the formation of this coagulated juice, is similar to that which takes place at the depth of five or six inches between the roots of the *hymenea courbaril*, where masses of the resin *anime* (erroneously called *copal*) are discovered; and which are sometimes mistaken for amber. 'This phenomenon,' he adds, 'seems to throw some light on the origin of those large masses of *electrum*, which are picked up from time to time on the coast of Prussia.'

In advancing towards that branch of the Amazons called Rio Negro, the country became rather better peopled. Tribes of forty or fifty families existed, independent of the missions, but generally in hostility with each other, and cherishing animosities according as they dwelt in the territory which had been seized on by the Spaniards or the Portuguese. On the banks of the Amazon, and the Rio Negro, the Indians of the neighbouring Portuguese and Spanish villages detest each other. These poor

people speak only the American tongue, they are ignorant of what passes 'beyond the great salt-pool;' but the gowns of their missionaries are of a different colour, and this displeases them extremely. Here, however, the natives appeared to have something like a religion of their own. They were influenced by a Good Principle known by the name of *Cachimana*, and an evil one, *Jolokiamo*, less powerful, but more artful and active. The chief symbol of their worship is the *botuto*, or sacred trumpet, a tube of baked earth, the charge of which is confided to certain old Indians, who affect to live a pure life, in a state of celibacy, and to inflict on themselves flagellations, fastings, and other painful exercises.—Have they not, we may fairly ask, adopted these practices from the missionaries?—These *piaches*, as they are named, who are at once priests, physicians, and conjurors, evoke the evil spirit *Jolokiamo*, by certain grotesque dances, which the missionaries call the 'dance of the devils.' The *botuto*, too, has dances performed in honour of its sacred character. Women are not permitted to see this marvellous instrument, whose sounds declare the will of the great spirit, *Cachimana*. 'If they have the misfortune to catch a glimpse of it, even by accident, they are put to death without mercy.'

As M. de Humboldt permits nothing to escape him, it was to be expected that the contested points of the sources of the Rio Negro, and of the bifurcation of the Oroonoko, which connects the two rivers, would undergo a minute investigation. His researches into the accounts of former travellers, historians, and geographers, occupy, in fact, nearly a hundred pages, of which no abridgement, that we could make, in any reasonable space, would do justice to the author, or prove satisfactory to the reader. We shall proceed, therefore, with our travellers down the Rio Negro, on the banks of which the first mission is that of Marva, displaying an agreeable air of ease and prosperity, and containing about one hundred and fifty Indians; the second that of San Miguel de Davipe, where they were treated, as much to their surprise as delight, with a bottle of Madeira wine. Here they found considerable quantities of the *mani* resin, and of cordage from the *chiquechique* palm, which M. de Humboldt says deserves to be better known in Europe. It is exported to the West Indies, where it costs from fifty to sixty per cent. less than cordage of hemp.

Near the mouth of the Cassiquiare, which is the connecting stream of the Oroonoko and the Amazons, stands the fort of San Carlos del Rio Negro, on the Portuguese boundary. A few dismounted cannon were guarded by two men, and three or four Indian huts surrounded the fort. No less than twelve species of
smilax,

smilax, furnishing the *sarsaparilla*, are found in this neighbourhood, of which the smilax siphilitica of the Cassiquiare, and the *smilax officinalis* of the river Magdalena, are most esteemed on account of their diuretic properties.

In this place M. de Humboldt found in the possession of the Indians, certain green stones, known by the name of *Amazon stones*, 'because the natives pretend, according to an ancient tradition, that they come from the country 'of the women without husbands,' or 'women living alone.' The substance of these green stones, our traveller tells us, belongs to the *saussurite*, the real jade. It takes a fine polish, and passes from apple-green to emerald green; is translucent at the edges, extremely tenacious, and sonorous to such a degree, that when cut into thin plates and suspended by a thread, it yields an almost metallic sound, if struck by another hard body. The form given to the Amazon stones is most commonly that of the Persepolitan cylinders, longitudinally perforated, and loaded with inscriptions and figures. 'It is not the Indians of our days,' observes M. de Humboldt, 'that pierced such hard substances, giving them the forms of animals and fruits. Such works, like the perforated and sculptured emeralds, which are found in the Cordilleras of New Grenada and Quito, denote anterior civilization.' He is perfectly satisfied that the natural soil of the Amazon stone is not in the valley of the river Amazon, and that both the river and the stone have obtained the name from a nation of warlike women, whom Father Acuna and Oviedo have confounded with the Amazons of the ancient world. M. de la Condamine brought home many testimonials of the Amazons of the new world, a set of independent women, who received men into their society in the month of April only. Both Raleigh and Orellana had heard, and have recounted the exploits, of the warlike republic of women without husbands. The missionary Gili tells us that Aikeambenanoes (the Tamanac name for these Amazons) is a compound word signifying *women living alone*, and he learned, he says, from an Indian that such a community did exist,—that their chief occupation was the fabrication of *sarbacans* and other weapons of war; that they had intercourse once a year with the neighbouring tribes, and that all the male children were killed in their infancy. Our traveller's own idea is, that women, in different parts of America, wearied of the state of slavery in which they were held by the men, may have occasionally united themselves together, as fugitive negroes sometimes do; and that the desire of preserving their independence rendered them warriors; but that the account of them, like most other traditions, has been grossly exaggerated.

On the 18th May, they entered the Cassiquiare, which was to
conduct

conduct them once more into the Oroonoko. The banks of this stream are thickly covered with trees of the largest dimensions; the air was stagnant, heated and humid, and the torment of the mosquitoes augmented in proportion as they increased the distance from Rio Negro. In this unwholesome atmosphere they passed twelve miserable days, during which they scarcely saw the sun or a star, so dense a fog hung over the bordering forests. The state of the Christian settlements on this river is so deplorable, that on the whole extent of its course, about fifty leagues, there are not to be found two hundred inhabitants.

At the mission of Mandavac, the good father complained of his having spent 'twenty years of mosquitoes in the bosques del Cassiquiare,' witnessing, in dreary solitude, the atrocious crimes of his flock, which he could neither prevent nor punish: among other abominations, he stated that an Indian alcade had, a few years before, *eaten* one of his wives, after having taken her to his plantation, and fattened her. M. de Humboldt seems disposed to believe not only in this story, but in that of the anthropophagous Indians; for, in giving the history of one Cocuy, a warrior chief, who had his harem of women, of whom he devoured the fairest and the fattest; he observes, '*I have no doubt, that Cocuy was a little of a cannibal.*' An old Indian captain, who attended our travellers in their herborizations, assured them that, in his youth, he had seen almost all the Indian tribes of the countries of the Upper Oroonoko eat human flesh, but, 'that it was only that of enemies, taken in battle.' Stories of cannibalism have existed in all ages and countries; it marks the extreme of savage ferocity, and it is related by one tribe of another, to inspire terror, or fix an indelible stain on their character. The Spaniards, meeting with most opposition from the bold and warlike Caribees, rendered them odious by making the names of Carib and cannibal synonymous, and, in consequence of it, condemning the whole nation to slavery. Some time after, when the falsehood of the charge was made manifest, it was propagated by the grave historian Herrera, that these people were cured of their cannibal appetites by devouring a Dominican monk; 'they all fell sick of him,' says he, 'and would no longer eat either monks or laymen.' We have always set our faces against vague reports of human beings feeding on their fellow-creatures from choice. To devour the flesh of enemies from a savage thirst of revenge, is a proceeding unhappily not confined to the Indians of the woods and wilds of the New Continent: in the midst of that capital which presumes to take the lead in science and civilization, scenes of this kind have taken place, which would disgrace the most ferocious Indians of America,

America, yet it would be surely incorrect to say that Frenchmen delighted to feast on human flesh. We can also conceive, (indeed the fact is sufficiently well authenticated,) that men pressed by hunger may feed on human flesh; but not from choice: we believe nothing of that 'vitiated appetite,' or, as our author expresses it, in the case of Cocuy, that 'peculiar predilection,' which would fatten a favourite mistress for the sake of feeding upon her. Nor do we think that he has been very happy in the instance which he has brought forward, 'among the terrible and well-ascertained examples' of anthropophagy from dire necessity. 'In Egypt, (he says) in the thirteenth century, the habit of eating human flesh pervaded all classes of society; extraordinary snares were spread for physicians in particular. They were called to attend persons who pretended to be sick, but who were only hungry; and it was not in order to be consulted, but devoured.' This absurd story is collected from De Sacy's translation of 'An Account of Egypt, by Abd-Allatif,' whom M. de Humboldt calls 'an historian of great veracity.' Our impression of this Mahomedan's 'veracity' is somewhat different, on recollecting him to be the same man who *saw* on the faces of the pyramids of Giza, as many inscriptions as would fill ten thousand volumes! We attach about the same degree of credit to the two stories—that is to say, we do not believe a syllable of either.

The innumerable swarms of ants and other insects, the natural consequence of the heat and humidity of the air, render it next to impossible to cultivate any of the culinary plants of Europe. If a missionary would enjoy a salad, he fills an old boat with mould and suspends it between two trees, or places it on a scaffold. As the travellers approached the bifurcation of the Oroonoko, the luxuriousness of the vegetation increased in an extraordinary manner. There was no longer a beach: a palisade of tufted trees formed the bank of the river, appearing like a canal of twelve hundred feet in width, bordered by two enormous walls, clothed with lianas and foliage. No human creature appeared in these forests. 'Not five boats,' says M. de Humboldt, 'pass annually by the Cassiquiare; and since we left Maypures, that is, for a whole month, we had not met one living soul on the rivers which we went up, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the missions.'

On the 21st May, they once more entered the bed of the Oroonoko, three leagues below the mission of Esmeralda. Opposite to the point where the bifurcation of the Oroonoko takes place, the granite group of Duida rises in an amphitheatre on the right bank of the river to the height of 8,000 feet. At the foot of this mountain lies Esmeralda, the most solitary and remote Christian

Christian settlement on the Upper Oroonoko—it is a little hamlet with eighty inhabitants, surrounded by a lovely plain, bathed by rills of black, but limpid waters, and decorated with clumps of the *Mauritia* palm, the sago tree of America. Here large pine-apples are found, of a delicious flavour, growing solitary among the grasses, like our *colchicum autumnale*; while the *karatas*, another species of the *bromelia*, is described as a *social* plant, like our whortles and heaths.

No missionary resides at Esmeralda. A monk, living at the distance of fifty leagues, visits the spot five or six times a year, to celebrate mass; but an old officer, who took our travellers for Catalonian shopkeepers, received them very cordially, and on seeing their packages of brown paper used in drying their plants, pitied their ignorance in bringing to the mission such kind of merchandize, where, says he, we write so little. This veteran united in his person the civil and ecclesiastical authority; he taught the children to count their beads; he rang the bells; and in the ardour of his zeal for the service of the church, he sometimes employed his staff of office in a manner not the most agreeable to the natives. Among the congregation were several mulattos and copper-coloured people, who fancied they were white, and called themselves Spaniards, because they were not quite so red as the Indians: they were, for the most part, malefactors, who had been banished from the lower parts of Guyana, and were in a state of absolute starvation. Not a cow or a horse is to be found; and the inhabitants are so indolent as to be frequently reduced to the necessity of eating smoked monkey-hams, and flour of the pounded bones of fish; cultivating nothing but a little cassava and a few plantains—‘yet,’ says M. de Humboldt, ‘the site of the mission is highly picturesque; the surrounding country is lovely, and of great fertility. I never saw clusters of plantains of so large a size as these; and indigo, sugar, and cacao might be produced in abundance, if any trouble were taken for their cultivation.’ This spot obtained its name and temporary celebrity from a mineralogical error. ‘The granites of Duida and Maraguaca contain, in open veins, fine rock crystals, some of them of great transparency, others coloured by chlorit, or blended with actinote;’ and these were taken for diamonds and emeralds. This delusion has long since vanished, and Esmeralda is now regarded by the monks as a place of banishment and malediction.

It is still famous, however, for the fabrication of that active and deadly poison employed by the Indians in war, in the chase, and as a remedy for gastric obstructions, and known by the name of *curare*. Like the woorara, the ticuna, the upas-tieute, and some other vegetable poisons, it destroys only when introduced into the

the vascular system. It is extracted from a liana, or creeper, called *bijuco de mavacure*, a plant of the *strychnos* family, and of which the bark and a part of the alburnum contain this terrible poison. An old Indian, whom M. de Humboldt visited while preparing the curare, observed, that it was better than that black powder used by the white people, which makes a noise, whereas, ours, said he, 'kills silently.' Taken internally, the natives consider it as an excellent stomachic; and the missionaries maintain, that the flesh of animals is never so good as when they have been killed by a poisoned arrow. Father Zea, who accompanied our travellers, had a live fowl and an arrow brought to his hammock every morning, not choosing to confide the important operation of pricking it in the right place to any other person. It took two or three minutes to kill a large bird by pricking it in the thigh; and it was sometimes ten or twelve before a pig or a pecori expired.

'When we reached Esmeralda,' says M. de Humboldt, 'the Indians were just returned from an excursion which they had made to the eastward, to gather *juvias*; and their arrival was celebrated by a festival.' The *juvia*, a species of palm, is one of the most majestic trees of the New World, and is found in a wild state in the forests of the Upper Oroonoko: though not more than two or three feet in diameter, it frequently attains the height of a hundred and twenty feet. The fruit is generally as large as the head of a child, and contains from fifteen to twenty nuts in each pericarp; they are of a triangular form, and are sold in this country and Portugal under the name of Brazil chesnuts. When fresh, their taste is most agreeable. The fruit falls to the ground, our traveller says, 'with a tremendous noise,' when the monkeys, the manavires, the squirrels, the cavies, the parrots, and the macaws catch the signal, and hasten to the spot to dispute the prey. They have all strength enough to break the ligneous tegument of the seed; they get out the kernel and carry it to the tops of the trees. 'A tale is very current,' M. de Humboldt says, 'on the banks of the Lower Oroonoko, that the capuchin and cacajao monkeys place themselves in a circle, and, by striking the shell with a stone, succeed in opening it.' These monkeys, it is added, are taught to ascend the tree, and to throw down the ripe nuts. This we can readily believe, as the *simia carpolegus* (the *bruh* of the Malays) is trained by the natives of Sumatra to ascend the trees for the purpose of throwing down the cocoanuts, 'the ripe ones of which,' says Sir Stamford Raffles, 'he selects with great judgment, and pulls no more than he is ordered.'*

* *Linnæan Transactions*.—v. XIII.

The festival was celebrated by dancing, and by all the excesses of the most savage intoxication, which lasted for several days. The women, however, were excluded from the entertainment; their business was to serve the men with fermented liquors, palm-cabbage, cakes made of fish flour, and other delicate viands prepared for the occasion; among which were large roasted monkeys blackened by smoke. M. de Humboldt says that the manner in which these anthropomorphous animals are placed, in a sitting posture on a wooden grating, to be broiled and blackened at the same time, is singularly disagreeable to the eyes of civilized man, and that 'on seeing the natives devour the arm or leg of a roasted monkey, it is difficult not to believe that this habit of eating animals, that so much resemble man in their physical organization, has, in a certain degree, contributed to diminish the horror of anthropophagy among savages.'

At this festival, the Indian *men* (for the women, as we have said, took no part in it) danced in a circle with most consummate gravity, to the slow and plaintive sounds of a series of reeds of unequal length, resembling the pipe of Pan; the uniting of these reeds, and drawing from them a succession of sounds by passing them before the lips, is, according to M. de Humboldt, a simple idea, such as naturally presented itself to every nation. 'The Greeks,' he observes, 'said, with truth, that reeds had contributed to subjugate nations by furnishing arrows; to soften men's manners by the charms of music, and to unfold their understanding by affording the first instruments for tracing letters'—uses which, he thinks, mark three different periods in the history of nations: the tribes of the Oroonoko have as yet, he says, attained merely the first step of dawning civilization, 'the reed serving them only as an instrument of war and of hunting:—on his own principle, they have reached the second.'

Languid and weak from bad and scanty food, the perpetual torment of insects, and a protracted voyage in narrow and damp boats, our travellers left the mission of Esmeralda on the 23d of May, not sorry to set the head of their boat down the stream. The banks were on both sides entirely deserted, and M. de Humboldt observes, that 'there is something melancholy and painful in this aspect of a river, in which not even a fisherman's canoe is seen.' It has not however been always thus. Besides the painted pottery frequently dug up in the forests; here and in other parts of Guayana, he says, 'rude figures resembling the sun and moon, and different animals, are found traced on the hardest rocks of granite, and attest the anterior existence of a people, very different from those who became known to us on the banks of the Oroonoko.' We cannot follow M. de Humboldt in the speculations

to

to which these sculptured rocks give rise; but we may without difficulty accede to the conclusion which he draws from them. 'I do not assert that these figures prove the knowledge of the use of iron, or that they denote a very advanced degree of culture; but even on the supposition, that instead of being symbolical, they are the fruits of the idleness of hunting nations, we must still admit an anterior race of men, very different from those who now inhabit the banks of the Oroonoko and the Rupunuri.' As we meet with pretty nearly the same sort of performances by the uninstructed Hottentots of Southern Africa, we should certainly deem them 'the fruits of idleness' in both cases.

Proceeding down the stream at the rate of four miles an hour, our travellers reached the mission of Santa Barbara in thirty-five hours from Esmeralda. It is situated near the confluence of the Rio Ventuari, which, next to the Guaviare, is perhaps the largest tributary stream of the Oroonoko. The village consisted of one hundred and twenty inhabitants, and considerable traces of industry were manifest; but the best part of the produce was reserved for the Church. They were in daily expectation of a massive silver lamp purchased by the labour of the neophytes. 'Let us hope,' says M. de Humboldt, 'that after the arrival of this lamp, they will think also of clothing the Indians, of procuring for them some instruments of agriculture, and of assembling their children in a school.'

On the 27th May they reached San Fernando de Atabapo, and were lodged in the same house as when going up the river a month before. The president of the missions, who resides here, was not at all easy as to the real object of the journey made by our travellers; and at their departure pressed M. de Humboldt earnestly to leave a writing in his hands, bearing testimony to the good order that prevailed in the Christian settlements on the Oroonoko, and the mildness with which the natives were generally treated. He convinced this worthy ecclesiastic, however, that the testimony of a heretic, two hundred leagues from the coast, and in the centre of the missions, when he was, as the inhabitants of Cumana archly say, *en el poder de los frayles*, (in the power of the monks,) might have somewhat of a suspicious appearance, as rather compelled than voluntary: and he ventured to offer, in lieu of it, some good advice as to the treatment of the Indians; but, observes M. de Humboldt, 'I believe the president wished that those who gather plants and examine rocks would renounce that indiscreet interest in the copper-coloured race, and in the affairs of human society in general.'

On the 27th they reached the mouth of the Rio Mataveni, and the following day the great cataract of Maypures or Quittana. On the

the morning of the 31st they passed the rapids of Guahiboes and Garcita, and in the evening landed on the eastern bank of the river in order to visit the cavern of Atarupe, the sepulchre of a whole nation now lost. The account of this visit is sufficiently curious to induce us to give it in the author's own words.

'We climbed with difficulty, and not without some danger, a steep rock of granite, entirely bare. It would have been almost impossible to fix the foot on its smooth and sloping surface, if large crystals of feldspar, resisting decomposition, did not stand out from the rock, and furnish points of support. Scarcely had we attained the summit of the mountain, when we beheld with astonishment the singular aspect of the surrounding country. The foamy bed of the waters is filled with an archipelago of islands covered with palm-trees. Toward the west, on the left bank of the Oroonoko, stretch the savannahs of the Meta and the Casanare. They resembled a sea of verdure, the misty horizon of which was illumined by the rays of the setting sun. Its orb, resembling a globe of fire, suspended over the plain; and the solitary Peak of Uniana, which appeared more lofty from being wrapped in vapours that softened its outline; all contributed to augment the majesty of the scene. Near us the eye looked down into a deep valley, enclosed on every side. Birds of prey and goatsuckers winged their lonely flight in this inaccessible circus. We found a pleasure in following with the eye their fleeting shadows, as they glided slowly over the flanks of the rock.

'A narrow ridge led us to a neighbouring mountain, the rounded summit of which supported immense blocks of granite. These masses are more than forty or fifty feet in diameter; and their form is so perfectly spherical, that, appearing to touch the soil only by a small number of points, it might be supposed, at the least shock of an earthquake, they would roll into the abyss. I do not remember to have seen any where else a similar phenomenon, amid the decompositions of granitic soils. If the balls rested on a rock of a different nature, as it happens in the blocks of Jura, we might suppose, that they had been rounded by the action of water, or thrown out by the force of an elastic fluid; but their position on the summit of a hill alike granitic makes it more probable, that they owe their origin to the progressive decomposition of the rock.

'The most remote part of the valley is covered by a thick forest. In this shady and solitary spot, on the declivity of a steep mountain, the cavern of Atarupe opens itself; it is less a cavern than a jutting rock, in which the waters have scooped a vast hollow, when, in the ancient revolutions of our planet, they attained that height. We soon reckoned in this tomb of a whole extinct tribe near six hundred skeletons well preserved, and so regularly placed, that it would have been difficult to make an error in their number. Every skeleton reposes in a sort of basket, made of the petioles of the palm-tree. These baskets, which the natives call *mapires*, have the form of a square bag. Their size is proportioned to the age of the dead; there are

are some for infants cut off at the moment of their birth. We saw them from ten inches to three feet four inches long, the skeletons in them being bent together. They are all ranged near each other, and are so entire, that not a rib, or a phalanx is wanting. The bones have been prepared in three different manners, either whitened in the air and the sun; dyed red with onoto, a colouring matter extracted from the *bixa orellana*; or, like real mummies, varnished with odouriferous resins, and enveloped in leaves of the *heliconia* or of the plantain tree. The Indians related to us, that the fresh corpse is placed in damp ground, in order that the flesh may be consumed by degrees; some months after, it is taken out, and the flesh remaining on the bones is scraped off with sharp stones. Several hordes in Guyana still observe this custom. Earthen vases half-baked are found near the *mapires*, or baskets. They appear to contain the bones of the same family. The largest of these vases, or funeral urns, are three feet high, and five feet and a half long. Their colour is greenish gray; and their oval form is sufficiently pleasing to the eye. The handles are made in the shape of crocodiles, or serpents; the edge is bordered with meanders, labyrinths, and real *grecques*, in straight lines variously combined. Such paintings are found in every zone, among nations the most remote from each other, either with respect to the spot which they occupy on the globe, or to the degree of civilization which they have attained. The inhabitants of the little mission of Maypures still execute them on their commonest pottery; they decorate the bucklers of the Otaheiteans, the fishing implements of the Eskimoes, the walls of the Mexican palace of Mitla, and the vases of ancient Greece. Every where a rhythmic repetition of the same forms flatters the eye, as the cadenced repetition of sounds soothes the ear. Analogies founded on the internal nature of our feelings, on the natural dispositions of our intellect, are not calculated to throw light on the filiation and the ancient connections of nations.'—p. 615.

M. de Humboldt assigns many reasons for concluding that some of these *mapires* and painted vases could not be more than a century old. Several families of the Atures still existed in 1767; and our travellers saw an old parrot at Maypures, which 'was not understood, because it spoke the language of those people.' They found the skulls of an European race mingled with the skeletons of the natives, and preserved with the same care.

'We withdrew (says M. de Humboldt in one of those descriptive and picturesque passages which flow with such sweetness and simplicity from his pen) in silence from the cavern of Ataruipe. It was one of those calm and serene nights, which are so common in the torrid zone. The stars shone with a mild and planetary light. Their scintillation was scarcely sensible at the horizon, which seemed illumined by the great nebulae of the southern hemisphere. An innumerable multitude of insects spread a reddish light on the ground, loaded with plants, and resplendent with these living and moving fires, as if the stars of the firmament

ment had sunk down on the savannah. On quitting the cavern, we stopped several times to admire the beauty of this singular scene. The odoriferous vanilla, and festoons of bignonia, decorated the entrance; and above, on the summit of the hill, the arrowy branches of the palm-trees waved murmuring in the air.'—p. 623.

The situation of Uruana is extremely picturesque. Granite rocks rise in the form of pillars, and rear their heads above the tops of the tallest trees of the forest. No where does the Oroonoko display a more majestic aspect; more than three miles in width, it flows without a winding like a vast canal. This mission is peopled by the Otomacs, a tribe in the rudest state of existence, and presenting, as we are told, one of the most extraordinary physiological phenomena. 'They eat earth; that is, they swallow every day, during several months, very considerable quantities, to appease hunger, without injuring their health.' These people are of robust constitutions; hideous in appearance, savage, vindictive, ravenous, and passionately fond of fermented liquors. Their usual food is fish, the catching of which is necessarily suspended during the inundations; it is then that they swallow such quantities of earth; and surprizing, says M. de Humboldt, as it may appear, they do not become lean during the long lent of the overflow. In their huts were found balls of this earth, (a very fine and unctuous clay of a yellowish gray colour,) often of five or six inches in diameter, piled up in pyramids three or four feet high.

We cannot follow our author through twenty pages of inquiry into the use of earths by various people, as an article of food; it is sufficient to observe that on this, as on every other question, he collects all the facts and authorities that exist on the subject, from the balls of the Otomacs, to the *steinbutter* of the quarrymen of Kiffhœuser, 'who spread a very fine clay upon their bread, instead of butter, and find it singularly filling and easy of digestion.'

On the 7th June our travellers left Uruana, and in ten days reached Angostura, the capital of Guyana, having made, in seventy-five days, a voyage of 500 leagues almost wholly on great rivers, and generally stretched at full length, (not quite as much at their ease as the Athenian ambassadors to the Persian court,) in a narrow canoe, under a burning sky, and surrounded by swarms of mosquitoes. 'Coming from an almost desert country, we were struck,' says M. de Humboldt, 'with the bustle of a town, which has only six thousand inhabitants. Humble dwellings appeared to us magnificent, and every person with whom we conversed, seemed to be endowed with superior intelligence.' We can readily enter into his feelings, when he saw for the first time, 'wheaten bread on the governor's table.'

And

And here we must take leave of the present portion of the work, the remainder of this volume (about a hundred and eighty pages) being occupied with geographical details on the delta of the Oroonoko, and on the voyages and travels which have been performed on this magnificent river and its numerous branches; and more particularly with a review of the old writers on the equinoctial regions on the New Continent, the hazardous enterprises to discover the country of the El Dorado, or *Gilded Man*, (el rey o' hombre dorado,) and the numberless traditions on the subject. These, together with those of the lake Parime, or white sea, and the city of Manoa, have long been exploded by sober geographers: yet were they not without some foundation. It was natural that they, whose sole object was the search after gold, should, in their ignorance, mistake for gold all that glittered; and Raleigh, in the south, no more meant to deceive, than Frobisher (with his 'marcasites of gold') did in the north, when he gave a description of 'that gilded king (el dorado) whose chamberlains, furnished with long sarbacans, blew powdered gold every morning over his body, having first besmeared it with aromatic oils'; or when he asserted that 'every mountain, every stone in the forests of the Oroonoko, shines like the precious metals'; and that 'if it be not gold, it is the *madre del oro*.' It was the general ignorance of the age that made both these intrepid adventurers mistake the spangles of mica for the dust of gold.

To say merely that we have been pleased with the narrative and observations which this circumnavigation (for we may so call it) of five great rivers of America, the Apure, the Oroonoko, the Atabapo, the Rio Negro, and the Cassiquiare, has produced, would convey but an imperfect expression of our own feelings, and of that tribute to the merits of M. de Humboldt to which he is so eminently entitled. The views he has taken of this magnificent country are so clear, detailed, and comprehensive, that the reader has perpetually before him a panorama of the surrounding objects as he travels along. The features of the route, it is true, are of the grandest and most striking description; but where the lord of the creation plays so subordinate a part as in the forests of the Equinoctial regions of the New World, it required the talent and the research of a Humboldt to give to his observations and descriptions that degree of interest which those volumes will be found to possess. Dull and wearisome as many parts of his discussions certainly are, we toil through them with the certainty that some ingenious theory, some beautiful illustration, some curious facts will be brought to elucidate the point in question. Nothing is left undescribed by the author, nothing undefined; indeed, if he have any fault, beside that of indulging too much in scientific and

philosophical dissertations, it is that of being too minute and discursive in his physical researches. The subject, however, is important, and of increasing interest;—but we must stop; and we cannot better conclude this article, than with the author's concluding paragraph:

‘I have described in this and the preceding volume the vast provinces of Venezuela and Spanish Guyana. While examining their natural limits, their climate, and their productions, I have discussed the influence produced by the configuration of the soil on agriculture, commerce, and the more or less rapid progress of society. I have successively passed over the three regions that succeed each other from north to south; from the Mediterranean of the West Indies to the forests of the Upper Oroonoko and of the Amazon. The fertile land of the shore, the centre of agricultural riches, is succeeded by the steppes, inhabited by pastoral tribes. These steppes are in their turn bordered by the region of forests, the inhabitants of which enjoy, I will not say liberty, which is always the result of civilization, but a savage independence. On the limit of these two latter zones the struggle now exists, which will decide the emancipation and future prosperity of America. The changes which are preparing cannot efface the individual character of each region; but the manners and condition of the inhabitants will assume a more uniform colour. This consideration perhaps adds an interest to a tour, made in the beginning of the 19th century. We like to see traced in the same picture the civilized nations of the shore, and the feeble remains of the natives of the Oroonoko, who know no other worship than that of the powers of nature; and who, like the Germans of Tacitus, *deorum nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod solâ reverentiâ vident*.’—p. 863.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs from 1754 to 1758*. By James, Earl of Waldegrave, &c. London. 1821. Small 4to. pp. 176.

JAMES, second Earl of Waldegrave, the author of these Memoirs, was the great grandson of James II. by Arabella Churchill, sister of the great Duke of Marlborough. His grandfather, a roman-catholic, was created a baron by his royal father-in-law, followed him into exile, and died at Paris in 1689. His son, however, became a protestant in 1722, and was successively created Viscount Chewton Earl of Waldegrave, and a Knight of the Garter. His eldest son, born in 1715, was the author of these Memoirs, and succeeded to the title in 1741; and in 1743, notwithstanding his jacobite connexions, was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber by the personal favour of George II.

‘Such offices were then held in high estimation; they often led to favour and greatness. It was in the spirit of those times to be more greedy of imaginary honours, than obsequious to real power. Noblemen of the first rank sought with avidity employments which their descendants regard with indifference, or reject with disdain, as badges of

of dependence, rather than marks of distinction or importance?—*Introduction*, p. viii.

This observation of the editor is very just; and it is not uninteresting, nor foreign from our subject, to examine what may be the cause of such a change—for we do not believe that men, high or low, are more disinterested or less ambitious now than they were a reign or two ago. We are aware that the alteration is attributed *exclusively* to a *spirit of independence*; and that a philosophical indifference to court-favour is considered as one of the results of 'the force of public opinion.' There is some truth in this: the motives and actions of public men, and particularly of those who may be connected with the government, are liable to such misrepresentations—and on the other hand—those who oppose the Court and reject its honours are so naturally the objects of popular applause, that the same vanity which formerly courted the smiles of kings now flatters a more noisy but not a more discriminating or honourable patron.

But there is also another circumstance which has still more tended to lower the rate of such offices as Lords of the Bedchamber—we mean the alteration in the modes of the private life of our sovereigns:—such places gave, as the editor says, in the reign of George II., access to the king's presence and opportunities of intercourse and of influence; but his late Majesty's domestic taste and habits (and probably the general influence of the age co-operating with those tastes and habits) induced him to get rid, as much as he could, of the irksome ostentation of his rank, and to live, as far as he might, as a *private gentleman*. One by one, the pride, pomp and circumstances of the *court*, (as it was understood in the times of our grandfathers,) vanished—the royal circle became matter of personal selection rather than of official designation; Lords of the Bedchamber became in fact sinecurists, and they have now no more share in the personal society of the sovereign, and little more access to his person, than any other noblemen: if, 'the descendants of noblemen of the first rank' now despise or reject what their ancestors sought with so much eagerness, it is not, we believe, that they are less vain, or less interested, or less ambitious, but because the places themselves, in the present state of society, can no longer contribute either to vanity, interest or ambition. If the Court of England should ever be re-established on its old principles, and if some future monarch should condemn himself to live the life of a *king*, and to find amongst his *official* servants all the pleasures of his *private society*, we do not doubt that we should see these now disregarded offices rise again into the same kind of request and consideration in which they were held in the time of George II. and his predecessors.

Soon after the death of Frederic Prince of Wales, dissensions in the family of the young Prince, afterwards George III., led to the resignation of his Governor, Lord Harcourt; Lord Waldegrave was, in 1752, selected by the King to succeed him; and with this appointment, though they affect to begin two years later, we must take up the *Memoirs*.

The first and greatest value of works of this nature is TRUTH, and under this general term we include not merely accuracy as to facts, but impartiality as to persons, and a critical judgment in weighing the *motives* of men—making a charitable allowance for the actions of antagonists, and viewing those of friends with a judicious distrust. So high a degree of impartiality is perhaps unattainable—we certainly are not aware of any of this class of writers to whom it is entirely attributable, and, generally speaking, it is only their *admissions against* themselves which can be safely relied on; all the rest, even mere matters of fact, are so distorted or discoloured, that in the memoirs of opposite partizans we can hardly believe we are reading the characters of the same men and the story of the same times.

An additional mischief is, that these very works which are, from the infirmity of our nature, the least entitled to implicit credit, do also, from the same infirmity, receive it. We are naturally credulous, and when a man sits down in the calm retirement of his closet to give us an account of what he himself has seen or done, he can hardly fail, if he has any plausibility, to carry us along with him. We become his confidants, and are flattered by being let into the secret; and a whole train of feelings concur in rendering us the dupes of the vanity, the malignity, the prejudices, or the errors of the writer. *Memoirs* are, in truth, literary scandal, and are, generally speaking, liable to all the suspicions which attach to verbal scandal.

We have dwelt with some earnestness on this preliminary topic, both because it is of great general importance in appreciating this class of literature, and because it ought to be particularly kept in view when, as in the *Memoirs* before us, the partiality is so artful and so gentlemanlike as neither to offend our taste, nor to excite our suspicions. They are written undoubtedly with ability and temper, and with an appearance of more candour than is usual in political writing; but we must say that the *candour* even of Lord Waldegrave was no match for the ordinary feelings of human nature, and that, with the soberest air of impartiality and dignity, he sometimes permits his little personal feelings to distort facts, to discolour truth, and even to make insinuations of the *grossest* nature. This observation is particularly striking throughout all that part of his work which relates to his late Majesty, his mother the princess-

cess-dowager, and the persons who formed the court and council of Leicester House.

Lord Waldegrave begins by hinting that, in the rupture with his predecessor, the princess was chiefly in fault, and he talks quite patriotically about the want of due authority in the late governor, of backstair-manners and of nursery-influence. We fancy a very different story might be told: but let us examine the justice of these insinuations by the light which Lord Waldegrave himself gives us. He honestly confesses that the princess-dowager, 'during the life of the prince her husband, had distinguished herself by the most decent and prudent behaviour,' p. 36. ;—and that she continued, until long after the appointment of Lord Waldegrave, 'the same wise and dutiful behaviour;' so that 'in a word, his Majesty's tenderness for the princess and her family, and the princess's duty and obedience to the King were applauded by the whole nation.'—p. 37.

But while the Princess conducted herself in a manner so exemplary, Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich, as Lord Waldegrave himself states the matter, 'attempted to form an interest (about the young prince) *independent of the mother.*' p. 37. Now we beg to ask, was it unnatural, was it blameable in the princess-dowager to wish for the removal of persons who so grossly betrayed their trust, and betrayed it for the purpose of breaking the strongest tie of nature—a mother's interest with her child? Kings must, perhaps, be educated on different principles from other men; but who will venture to blame the indignation of a mother who finds her son's tutors endeavouring to make an *interest in his mind against her*? It is unnecessary to add a word more on this point, except that Lord Harcourt's *resignation* ought, if Lord Waldegrave represents the matter truly, to have been an open *dismissal*.

To Lord Harcourt succeeded Lord Waldegrave; and here again the princess-dowager might have justly complained; for in the midst of 'the most decent and dutiful behaviour' on her part, a governor was appointed, as far as appears from these Memoirs, without her previous consent or approbation: but, instead of complaint or ill humour, her royal highness and the prince received Lord Waldegrave most graciously, and all went on good-humouredly and kindly—(Lord Waldegrave tells us that he almost looked upon himself as a favourite)—till the year 1755, when 'the scene,' says his lordship, 'suddenly changed,' and all the praise of '*dutiful behaviour*' is now as suddenly sunk in insinuations of *intrigue, disobedience, and opposition to the King.*' Such insinuations make of course considerable impression, particularly when contrasted with the favourable account so lately and so candidly given of the princess's conduct; but after a few pages we find that this sudden

change took place just about the time that the dowager and the young prince thought they could dispense with *Lord Waldegrave's services*! Lord Waldegrave looks upon his authority as a portion of that belonging to the royal grandfather, and he is inclined to treat the desire of getting rid of *him* as downright rebellion against the king; but before we join altogether in Lord Waldegrave's feelings on this point, let us recollect that the prince was in his eighteenth year—that he was, at least in the King's and Lord Waldegrave's opinion, old enough to be *married* (for the choice of a lady was one of the topics of difference)—nay, that Lord Waldegrave was not removed until many months after the prince had attained his *legal majority* fixed under the Regency act. It was surely high time to think of getting rid of a governor when the pupil had become by law entitled to govern these realms.

But even if this were not the case, he could not, with any show of justice, have complained of their not being fond of him, for, as the Editor admits, 'Lord Waldegrave had failed to acquire the confidence of his pupil; and he does not seem to have ingratiated himself with the princess-dowager, who always suspected him, and (in the language of his friend Horace Walpole) "took for a spy a man who would have scorned to employ one."' The praise, even if just, is not great; but though he might have scorned to employ a spy, it is not quite so clear that he did not condescend to act a little like one—In the appendix to these *Memoirs* some confidential letters of Mr. Fox to his political friends are given, from which it is clear that Lord Waldegrave gave intelligence of the proceedings and feelings at Leicester House to Mr. Fox, who, as is well known, was looked upon as the avowed opponent of that party, on account of his devotion to the Duke of Cumberland.

Perhaps these passages in Mr. Fox's letters may not quite justify the calling Lord Waldegrave a *spy*; but surely there is enough to excuse the princess for some little disbelief of his lordship's exclusive attachment to her and his pupil, and to relieve her from all the blame of Horace Walpole and all the insinuations of Lord Waldegrave of her having unjustly suspected the latter. But whether the Princess of Wales had reason to take Lord Waldegrave for a spy or not,—whether or not she had reason to be satisfied with his original appointment or conduct,—all the world must confess that a young prince of eighteen, whom they already thought of marrying, and who was of age by law to govern his kingdoms if his grandfather should die, might, without any disobedience or spirit of intrigue, wish to be relieved from the authority of a governor, and to see his household placed on a more manly and respectable footing. So blind is self-interest to every other consideration, that Lord Waldegrave was evidently of a different opinion; and the abolition of his office,—
though

though delayed five months,—though communicated to him with all possible delicacy,—though conducted between him and the prince and princess with great politeness, and though softened to his lordship by the grant of a lucrative sinecure, yet left an impression on his mind, and has communicated a colour to his pages, highly unjust both to the princess-dowager and to his late Majesty; and, therefore, we must receive, with great caution and with much abatement, the characters which he draws of these illustrious persons, and of Lord Bute, to whose increasing influence he chose to attribute the loss of an office which, in fact, had expired by the course of nature.

We do not make these observations to depreciate Lord Waldegrave's general veracity, much less to accuse him of wilful misrepresentation; but human nature is, at best, but human nature, and Lord Waldegrave would have been more than man if he had been above all those feelings, which, paltry and erroneous as moralists justly call them, the historian and the philosopher must admit to be implanted and folded up in the innermost recesses of the human heart. Indeed Lord Waldegrave has too much good sense to pretend to any such exemption from human infirmity—he honestly says,

‘I will advance no facts which are not strictly true, and do not mean to misrepresent any man; but will make no professions of impartiality, because I take it for granted that it is not in my power to be quite unprejudiced.’—p. 3.

We shall begin by selecting some of the most prominent of these portraits, not only because they are more capable of being extracted, but because they are in fact the most interesting part of the work, remarkable on account of the persons they delineate, and curious by the ability and opportunities which the painter possessed (with the drawback we have just alluded to) of producing accurate likenesses.

His character of his friend and master George the Second may perhaps be suspected of somewhat of a tinge, the reverse of that which is thrown over the princess-dowager; but it is ably drawn, and will mainly serve to do the worthy monarch justice, and to rescue him from the wanton ridicule of some contemporary writers.

‘The King is in his 75th year; but temperance and an excellent constitution have hitherto preserved him from many of the infirmities of old age.

‘He has a good understanding, though not of the first class; and has a clear insight into men and things, within a certain compass.

‘He is accused by his ministers of being hasty and passionate when any measure is proposed which he does not approve of; though, within the compass of my own observation, I have known few persons of high rank who could bear contradiction better, provided the intention was apparently good, and the manner decent.

' When any thing disagreeable passes in the closet, when any of his ministers happen to displease him, it cannot long remain a secret; for his countenance can never dissemble: but to those servants who attend his person, and do not disturb him with frequent solicitations, he is ever gracious and affable.

' Even in the early part of life he was fond of business; at present, it is become almost his only amusement.

' He has more knowledge of foreign affairs than most of his ministers, and has good general notions of the constitution, strength, and interest of this country: but being past thirty when the Hanover succession took place, and having since experienced the violence of party, the injustice of popular clamour, the corruption of parliaments, and the selfish motives of pretended patriots, it is not surprising that he should have contracted some prejudices in favour of those governments where the royal authority is under less restraint.

' Yet prudence has so far prevailed over these prejudices, that they have never influenced his conduct. On the contrary, many laws have been enacted in favour of public liberty; and in the course of a long reign, there has not been a single attempt to extend the prerogative of the crown beyond its proper limits.

' He has as much personal bravery as any man, though his political courage seems somewhat problematical: however, it is a fault on the right side; for had he always been as firm and undaunted in the closet as he shewed himself at Oudenarde and Dettingen, he might not have proved quite so good a king in this limited monarchy.

' In the drawing-room, he is gracious and polite to the ladies, and remarkably cheerful and familiar with those who are handsome, or with the few of his old acquaintance who were beauties in his younger days.

' His conversation is very proper for a tête-à-tête: he then talks freely on most subjects, and very much to the purpose; but he cannot discourse with the same ease, nor has he the faculty of laying aside the king in a larger company; not even in those parties of pleasure which are composed of his most intimate acquaintance.

' His servants are never disturbed with any unnecessary waiting; for he is regular in all his motions to the greatest exactness, except on particular occasions, when he outruns his own orders, and expects those who are to attend him before the time of his appointment. This may easily be accounted for; he has a restless mind, which requires constant exercise; his affairs are not sufficient to fill up the day; his amusements are without variety, and have lost their relish; he becomes fretful and uneasy, merely for want of employment; and presses forward to meet the succeeding hour before it arrives.

' Too great attention to money seems to be his capital failing; however, he is always just, and sometimes charitable, though seldom generous: but when we consider how rarely the liberality of princes is directed to the proper object, being usually bestowed on a rapacious mistress or an unworthy favourite, want of generosity, though it still continues a blot, ceases, at least, to be a vice of the first magnitude.

' Upon the whole, he has some qualities of a great prince, many of a good

good one, none which are essentially bad; and I am thoroughly convinced that hereafter, when time shall have wore away those specks and blemishes which sully the brightest characters, and from which no man is totally exempt, he will be numbered amongst those patriot kings, under whose government the people have enjoyed the greatest happiness.—p. 4—7.

The character of his late Majesty George III. must be read with a large share of those allowances which we have already stated.

‘The Prince of Wales is entering into his twenty-first year, and it would be unfair to decide upon his character in the early stages of life, when there is so much time for improvement.

‘His parts, though not excellent, will be found very tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised.

‘He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable.

‘When he had a very scanty allowance, it was one of his favourite maxims that men should be just before they are generous: his income is now very considerably augmented, but his generosity has not increased in equal proportion.

‘His religion is free from all hypocrisy, but is not of the most charitable sort; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbour.

‘He has spirit, but not of the active kind; and does not want resolution; but it is mixed with too much obstinacy.

‘He has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent, and has strong prejudices.

‘His want of application and aversion to business would be far less dangerous, was he eager in the pursuit of pleasure; for the transition from pleasure to business is both shorter and easier than from a state of total inaction.

‘He has a kind of unhappiness in his temper, which, if it be not conquered before it has taken too deep a root, will be a source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence; but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet; not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill-humour. Even when the fit is ended, unfavourable symptoms very frequently return, which indicate that on certain occasions his Royal Highness has too correct a memory.

‘Though I have mentioned his good and bad qualities, without flattery, and without aggravation, allowances should still be made, on account of his youth, and his bad education: for though the Bishop of Peterborough, now Bishop of Salisbury, the preceptor; Mr. Stone, the sub-governor; and Mr. Scott, the sub-preceptor, were men of sense, men of learning, and worthy, good men, they had but little weight and influence. The mother and the nursery always prevailed.

‘During

‘ During the course of the last year, there has, indeed, been some alteration; the authority of the nursery has gradually declined, and the Earl of Bute, by the assistance of the mother, has now the entire confidence. But whether this change will be greatly to his Royal Highness’s advantage, is a nice question, which cannot hitherto be determined with any certainty.’—pp. 8—10.

The justice of some traits of this picture has been proved by experience, and some of the solid and most valuable parts of his late Majesty’s character will be traced in the foregoing sketch; but it is evident that, besides the latent *prejudice against the prince on political grounds*, there is somewhat of the short-sightedness of the governor in one or two particulars.

The *uncommon indolence*, or want of application, of boys has been a subject of grave and well-founded complaints with pedagogues in all ages and countries; but we are not quite sure that, even in this particular, his lordship did not a little mistake the character of his pupil:—the prince was remarkably sedate and reserved even when a boy, and had a very early sense of the dignity of his station, and of the restraint which it became him to impose upon himself: other young men, from fifteen to eighteen years of age, have amusements and pursuits of a nature from which the prince’s judgment, solid beyond his years, restrained him; and this strict guard over his conduct, in so young a man, naturally gave him an appearance of inactivity, which his subsequent life fully and completely contradicted.

To the same source may be attributed that *sullenness* which Lord Waldegrave notices;—heats of passion, which his lordship might have thought pardonable, did not seem so to the proud and kingly spirit which he had to govern; but which it is to be feared he did not understand; and when the high-minded youth retired to his closet to enjoy, as the governor supposed, his own ill-humour, he probably felt that he was practising the virtue of a stoic, and that he retired from the presence of those who had offended him—(not to indulge in ill-humour, but)—in order to avoid expressing it in a manner which he thought unbecoming.

If, however, to this portrait we add some touches from two sketches made also in his youth, we shall probably arrive at a fair estimate of the early character of George the Third; and his early character was one which, we may almost without qualification say, no action of his subsequent life ever belied. A wonderful precocity in youth and a no less wonderful consistency in age!

Dodington tells us that in more than one interview with the princess-dowager, she gave him the following account of her son:

‘ I then took the liberty to ask her, what she thought the real disposition of the prince to be?—She said, that I knew him almost as well

as she did; that he was very honest, but she wished that he was a little more forward, and less childish, at his age.

'She repeated that he was a very honest boy, and that his chief passion seemed to be for his brother Edward—that he was not a wild, dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole—that *those about him knew him no more than if they had never seen him*. That he was not quick, but, with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent.'—*Dodington's Diary*, p. 171. 173. 356.

Let us observe that Lord Waldegrave himself was at this period one of 'those about him,' and that he seems indeed not to have known as much of his character and disposition as might have been expected.

Lady Hervey too, who must have had good opportunities of knowing the disposition of the young prince, thus speaks of him in one of her lately published letters:—

'Every one, I think, seems to be pleased with the whole behaviour of our young king: and indeed so much unaffected good nature and propriety appears in all he does or says, that it cannot but endear him to all; but whether any thing can long endear a king or an angel in this strange factious country, I can't tell. I have the best opinion imaginable of him, not from any thing he does or says just now, but because I have a moral certainty that he was in his nursery the *honestest, truest, most good-natured* child that ever lived; and you know my old maxim, that qualities never change; what the child was, the man most certainly is, in spite of temporary appearances.'—*Lady Hervey's Letters*, pp. 271, 272.

Our readers would not forgive us if we did not lay before them the portrait of that extraordinary person the Duke of Newcastle, who ruled so long the destinies of our country—a man of whose pictures it may be truly said that the more they seem to approach to *caricature* the more accurately like they are.

'The Duke of Newcastle is in his thirty-fifth year of ministerial longevity; has been much abused, much flattered, and still more ridiculed.

'From the year 1724 to the year 42 he was Secretary of State, acting under Sir Robert Walpole: he continued in the same station during Lord Granville's short administration: but Granville, who had the parts and knowledge, yet had not, at all times, the discretion of an able minister, treated him with too much contempt; especially as he wanted his assistance in the House of Commons, where he had little interest of his own.

'After Granville's defeat, the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham became joint ministers: here he seems to have reached the highest degree of power where he can reasonably hope to maintain himself.

'Ambition, fear, and jealousy, are his prevailing passions.

'In the midst of prosperity and apparent happiness, the slightest disappointment

appointment or any imaginary evil, will, in a moment, make him miserable: his mind can never be composed; his spirits are always agitated. Yet this constant ferment, which would wear out and destroy any other man, is perfectly agreeable to his constitution: he is at the very perfection of health, when his fever is at the greatest height.

‘His character is full of inconsistencies; the man would be thought very singular who differed as much from the rest of the world as he differs from himself.

‘If we consider how many years he has continued in the highest employments; that he has acted a very considerable part amongst the most considerable persons of his own time; that, when his friends have been routed, he has still maintained his ground; that he has incurred his Majesty's displeasure on various occasions, but has always carried his point, and has soon been restored both to favour and confidence; it cannot be denied that he possesses some qualities of an able minister. Yet view him in a different light, and our veneration will be somewhat abated. Talk with him concerning public or private business, of a nice or delicate nature, he will be found confused, irresolute, continually rambling from the subject, contradicting himself almost every instant.

‘Hear him speak in parliament, his manner is ungraceful, his language barbarous, his reasoning inconclusive. At the same time, he labours through all the confusion of a debate without the least distrust of his own abilities; fights boldly in the dark; never gives up the cause; nor is he ever at a loss either for words or argument.

‘His professions and promises are not to be depended on, though, at the time they are made, he often means to perform them; but is unwilling to displease any man by a plain negative, and frequently does not recollect that he is under the same engagements to at least ten competitors.

‘If he cannot be esteemed a steady friend, he has never shown himself a bitter enemy; and his forgiveness of injuries proceeds as much from good nature as it does from policy.

‘Pride is not to be numbered amongst his faults; on the contrary, he deviates into the opposite extreme, and courts popularity with such extravagant eagerness, that he frequently descends to an undistinguishing and illiberal familiarity.

‘Neither can he be accused of avarice, or of rapaciousness; for though he will give bribes, he is above accepting them; and instead of having enriched himself at the expense of his master, or of the public, he has greatly impaired a very considerable estate by electioneering, and keeping up a good parliamentary interest, which is commonly, though perhaps improperly, called the service of the crown.

‘His extraordinary care of his health is a jest even amongst his flatterers. As to his jealousy, it could not be carried to a higher pitch, if every political friend was a favourite mistress.

‘He is in his sixty-fourth or sixty-fifth year, yet thirsts for power in a future reign with the greatest solicitude; and hereafter, should he live

live to see a Prince of Wales, of a year old, he will still look forward, not without expectation that in due course of time he may be his minister also.'—pp. 10—14.

We pass over, for the moment, the character of Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham), and shall collect some sketches of Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, of whom Lord Waldegrave gives an account somewhat less unfavourable than the other writers of the day.

'Fox had also many personal friends, and more political followers; being looked upon as the rising minister in the House of Commons, in case either of Mr. Pelham's death, resignation, or removal to the House of Peers.

'He had, moreover, the support of the Duke of Cumberland, and the distribution of military preferment; which added greatly to his strength, by furnishing the means of gratifying his dependents.

'At the same time, though Fox derived these advantages from his attachment to the duke, the prejudice might, upon the whole, be still greater than the benefit.

'Fox had also his share of calumny, being represented as a man of arbitrary principles, educated in the school of corruption; a proper minister to overturn the constitution, and introduce a military government.

'Few men have been more unpopular; yet when I have asked his bitterest enemies what crimes they could allege against him, they always confined themselves to general accusation; that he was avaricious, encouraged jobs, had profligate friends, and dangerous connections; but never could produce a particular fact of any weight or consequence.

'His warmth or impetuosity of temper led him into two very capital mistakes; he wantonly offended the Chancellor by personal reflections or ridicule in the affair of the Marriage Act: he also increased the number of his enemies by discovering an eagerness to be the minister, whilst Mr. Pelham was still alive: many of whose friends might possibly have attached themselves to him, if, instead of snatching at the succession, he had coolly waited till it had been delivered into his hands.

'He has great parliamentary knowledge, but is rather an able debater than a complete orator; his best speeches are neither long nor premeditated; quick and concise replication is his peculiar excellence.

'In business he is clear and communicative; frank and agreeable in society; and though he can pay his court on particular occasions, he has too much pride to flatter an enemy, or even a friend, where it is not necessary.

'Upon the whole, he has some faults, but more good qualities; is a man of sense and judgment, notwithstanding some indiscretion; and with small allowances for ambition, party, and politics, is a warm friend, a man of veracity, and a man of honour.'—p. 21, 22, 24, 25.

This character deserves, perhaps, the praise of impartiality, for it is not very complimentary, and Mr. Fox appears to have been the private as well as the political friend of Lord Waldegrave. It was
his

his lordship who negotiated Mr. Fox's appointment to be Secretary of state and of the cabinet in 1755; (p. 34.) and we have already seen that in Mr. Fox's favour Lord Waldegrave even condescended to be the tale-bearer of what passed at Leicester House.

Before we proceed to the historical part of this work, we must make one observation which has no doubt struck every reader of the history of the latter years of George the Second, but which is no where more likely to occur than in a perusal of these *Memoirs*.

So completely was the court and the parliament divided by factions, *not* parties, and so entirely were intrigues for power, and *not* principles of public policy, the motives of statesmen, that this weak and ambitious Duke of Newcastle thought he strengthened his government, by having men of the rank and talents of Pitt and Fox in such subordinate offices as Paymaster and Secretary at War; and it was no uncommon thing to see these eminent persons, who ought to have been the leaders of the House of Commons, opposing their own colleagues, and creating, often openly, more often underhand, an opposition to the measures of a government, of which they were nominally members. Nor were they singular in this practice: their own subordinates, Legge and Lyttelton, Halifax and Dodington, all imitated their examples, and betrayed their friends, or coalesced with their enemies with the most impudent indifference, and—as Dodington himself so emphatically expresses it, when talking of Legge—*tout pour la tripe*, 'all for quarter day.'

Lord Waldegrave seems, indeed, inclined to charge the intrigues of Leicester House (his *bête d'aversion*) with the blame of all the ministerial change and confusion which he records. We, on the contrary, think we see other and very different elements of discord. With the Duke of Newcastle leading the House of Lords, and Sir Thomas Robinson the House of Commons—while Pitt and Fox were not merely subordinate, but suspected—it is surely not surprising to find the government a prey to intestine dissensions.

At last, in the year 1755, 'the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwick, foreseeing the confusion which was likely to arise from the state of our affairs at home, as well as abroad, obtained his Majesty's leave to strengthen themselves in their ministerial capacity, by forming new alliances'—and to whom, will the reader believe that they applied for assistance?—to Mr. Pitt! *Their own Paymaster*—their own *colleague* was to be a *new alliance*; and why, will the reader again believe that this hopeful negotiation failed?—because Mr. Pitt insisted on being Secretary of State. 'Neither was it his intention to be a secretary merely to write letters according to order, or to talk in parliament like a lawyer from a brief; but to be really a minister.'—p. 44.

Pretensions so outrageous the Duke of Newcastle could not entertain,

tain, and 'Fox, in his turn, must be treated with : ' Fox, *their own Secretary at War*, was to be bought over, and to constitute a *new alliance*. Fox made nearly the same demands as Pitt; but as he was the less able, and therefore the less formidable associate, he was accepted; and after much demur on the part of the king, and much tremulous hesitation on the part of the Duke of Newcastle, so far succeeded as to be made Secretary of State. Mr. Pitt was turned out, and carried his small party with him, except Sir George Lyttelton, who remained with the administration, and took the place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, vacated by his friend Legge.

But the administration thus formed received a blow in the capture of Mahon, and the failure of Admiral Byng, which not even the accession of Mr. Fox's talents could compensate; besides, it appears, from the concurrent testimony of Dodington and Lord Waldegrave, that while Newcastle submitted to Fox's demand of being Secretary, he carefully avoided granting the annexed condition,—that the Secretary should be a real efficient minister.

'The powers gave ear, and granted half his prayer;
'The rest the Duke dispersed in empty air.'

'In a word, Fox thought himself ill used both by king and minister; he also foresaw that the loss of Minorca must add strength to the opposition, the nation being now on their side: moreover if any *personal attack* was made against him, that he should be weakly supported: he therefore thought it prudent to avoid the storm; asked an audience of the king, entered into a short detail of his grievances; and obtained his Majesty's permission to resign his employment.

'This resignation was nowise pleasing to the Duke of Newcastle, who meant that Fox should have continued in a responsible office; with a double portion of danger and abuse, but without any share of power.'—p. 82.

Here we must observe some discrepancy between Lord Waldegrave's and Dodington's account of Mr. Fox's resignation, which, as Lord Waldegrave tells the story, was the *cause*, but, as Dodington states, was rather the *consequence* of the dissolution of the Duke of Newcastle's government.

Lord Waldegrave and Dodington concur in representing Fox as dismayed at the state of public affairs, and even *personally alarmed* by the untoward events in the Mediterranean; but the former states, that when he resigned, the Duke of Newcastle still continued minister, and knocked at every political door for assistance to supply Fox's place, and to enable him to resist his approaching opposition;—that he applied to Pitt, 'who would listen to no terms, and absolutely refused to treat;' (p. 83.)—to Lord Egmont, 'who refused to engage unless he was removed to the Upper House, which was directly contrary to his Grace's purposes; the House

House of Commons being the only place where he wanted assistance : ' (p. 84.)—that he next tried to exchange employments with Lord Granville, the President of the Council, but Granville refused,—and ' at last, when every proposal had been rejected, when no man would stand in the gap, the Duke of Newcastle unwillingly resigned his employment, which he had not courage to hold.'—p. 84.

On the other hand, Dodington states that on the 19th October Mr. Pitt was sent for to town, and he came, but he returned, rejecting all terms till the *Duke of Newcastle* was removed; on the 27th the king sent for Fox, and told him that the Duke of Newcastle *would resign* and bade him think of an administration. Fox on this made overtures to Pitt; but Pitt declined to meet him or indeed to treat with him at all. The Duke of Devonshire, who was now designated as the new First Lord of the Treasury, went down on the 31st to Mr. Pitt to endeavour to induce him to retract the positive exclusion he gave Fox, but in vain—although the duke was anxious to have had Fox as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 11th November the Duke of Newcastle resigned, as did Mr. Fox on the following day.

It is now of little importance whether Lord Waldegrave or Dodington is the most accurate; but it must be observed, that Dodington writes a journal from day to day and is particular in all his dates, and that Lord Waldegrave gives no date, and that therefore his representation of the order of events—and in political negotiations the order of events is very important—is probably not so correct as Dodington's: besides, Lord Waldegrave may be suspected of favouring, by a discreet silence, the character of Fox—he describes him as resigning at once and without hesitation or intrigue, and alludes to the subsequent negotiation as an alternative to which the king and Duke of Devonshire were driven by the unreasonableness of Pitt's demands; while Dodington exhibits Fox as holding on to the last,—as anxious to coalesce with his proud rival,—and as ready to separate from his late colleague to act under his successor. The mere facts perhaps do not greatly differ in the two accounts, but Lord Waldegrave places, we think, Mr. Fox's conduct on higher ground than it seems to deserve. The real state of the case probably was, that Fox's precipitate retreat broke up the government, and that he continued till the very last moment his intrigues and efforts to obtain his share in the new administration.

The result of all, however, was that the king was obliged reluctantly to submit to Pitt's demands, and that a new administration was formed, composed in a considerable measure of his friends; but what seems a very extraordinary circumstance, and promising no great cordiality in the new government, Fox and the Duke

Duke of Newcastle left as many friends behind them in important offices as the new ministers brought in. The King seems to have been infatuated towards the Duke and his party, and to have hated and dreaded, not equally, but in proportion to Newcastle's feeling towards them, both Pitt and Fox. He had admitted Mr. Fox reluctantly; but Mr. Pitt took the cabinet by storm: and this administration was no sooner formed than the King appears to have made no secret that it was distasteful to him. His Majesty's first public difference with them was on the subject of Admiral Byng: we never had any doubt of the justice and the policy of executing that unhappy officer, which were only brought into question by the bungling temporizing of the court-martial itself, who, with gross *moral cowardice*, endeavoured to do away the effect of a sentence which they had passed unanimously, and to the justice of which they, after all the efforts of compassion, of friendship and of faction, ultimately adhered: but we own that we are not a little disgusted to find that his fate was decided in the King's closet, not on grounds either of public justice or royal mercy, but as a weapon which the King and his ministers were endeavouring to use against each other. We cannot think that Lord Waldegrave does his royal friend much credit by the following account of the transaction; but he undoubtedly marks, with deep criminality, the conduct of the ministers, as well for the motives which made them wish to save, as for those on which they finally abandoned the wretched admiral.

‘ Their mutual dissatisfaction was soon increased by the affair of Admiral Byng, who had been condemned by a court-martial, but at the same time had been strongly recommended to his Majesty's mercy.

‘ The popular cry was violent against the admiral; but Pitt and Lord Temple were desirous to save him: partly to please Leicester House, and partly because making him less criminal, would throw greater blame on the late administration.

‘ But, to avoid the odium of protecting a man who had been hanged in effigy in every town in England, they wanted the King to pardon him without their seeming to interfere; agreeable to the practice of most ministers, who take all merit to themselves when measures are approved of, and load their master with those acts of prerogative which are most unpopular.

‘ His Majesty however, not chusing to be their dupe, obliged them to pull off the mask; and the sentence against the admiral was not carried into execution, till, by their behaviour in parliament, they had given public proof of their partiality.’—p. 91.

Lord Waldegrave then proceeds to state that the King soon resolved to get rid of his ministers, and this leads him to an account of another negotiation in which he had himself to play a principal, though, as the matter has been hitherto a secret, not a very conspicuous part.

When Lord Waldegrave left the prince's service he had been granted the reversion of a Tellership of the Exchequer which, in less than two months, devolved upon him by the death of Lord Walpole—on this occasion he waited on the King to return thanks for the favour which had been thus unexpectedly fulfilled.

‘He received me very graciously; told me how glad he was that he had granted the reversion at the right time, for that at present it would not have been in his power. He moreover insisted that I should continue Warden of the Stannaries some time longer, if it were only to exclude some impertinent relation of the new minister.

‘He then expressed his dislike to Pitt and Lord Temple in very strong terms; the substance of which was, that the secretary made him long speeches, which possibly might be very fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension; and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic.

‘That as to Temple, he was so disagreeable a fellow, there was no bearing him; that when he attempted to argue, he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil, he was exceeding troublesome, and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant.’—p. 94.

These reasons, except the last, were certainly not enough to justify his Majesty's determination to change his servants, and savour more of personal aversion and petty spleen than Lord Waldegrave seems to suspect. The King, however, soon adverted to the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Waldegrave was employed to sound his Grace.

‘“I know he is apt,” said the king, “to be afraid, therefore go and encourage him; tell him I do not look upon myself as king, whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels: that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance, and that he may depend on my favour and protection.”’—p. 96.

The duke, however, was, in Lord Waldegrave's opinion, too timid to undertake what he most ardently desired. ‘I had found his Grace’ (he says) ‘just as I expected; eager and impatient to come into power, but dreading the danger with which it must be accompanied.’—p. 96. Lord Waldegrave (completely duped, as we think, by Newcastle as to the cause of his refusal) was unable to bring about the desired arrangement; and at last the King, impatient to be relieved from servants who were personally odious to him, applied to Fox, who so far succeeded as to have some promise and prospect of support; and on these slender hopes, the first blow was struck about the end of March by dismissing Lord Temple from the Admiralty and replacing him by Lord Winchelsea, one, if we may venture to use the expression, of the conspirators.

It was imagined that, on this occasion, Mr. Pitt would immediately have resigned, but he did not choose to save his enemies
any

any trouble, and he attended the duties of his offices with calm dignity and even paid his respects at court with more than usual assiduity till, in about a week after Lord Temple's dismissal, the King, finding that he would not go, was obliged to turn him out.

Lord Waldegrave was now charged with a new commission, being ordered to notify to Sir T. Robinson that the King meant him for secretary of state, and to Lord Duplin that he was designed for chancellor of the exchequer; but they both (secretly influenced no doubt by Newcastle) declined, and the King had now no other resource but to give that Duke carte blanche to form a government, but on conditions, which the King hoped might exclude Pitt, and under a promise from Newcastle, that if Pitt should be unreasonable, he, Newcastle, would go on without him.—Pitt, however, would not accept the terms, and

‘ In consequence of this disagreement, another plan of administration was immediately formed, whereby Pitt and his adherents were to be totally excluded: the Duke of Newcastle to be at the head of the treasury; Sir George Lee to be his Chancellor of the Exchequer.’—p. 109.

But the Duke, unmindful of his promise to go on without Pitt, now refused to redeem his pledge, and Pitt, by the intervention of Leicester-House and the mediation of Lord Chesterfield, became all of a sudden more tractable. In consequence of these mutual concessions, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke had several conferences with Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute.

‘ Articles of peace and amity were at last agreed upon; and a plan of administration was prepared, which was carried to Kensington to receive the royal assent, without having given the least notice to Sir George Lee, or to any of those gentlemen, who a few days before had entered into engagements with the Duke of Newcastle, and were waiting in their best cloaths, in hourly expectation of being sent for to court, to kiss his Majesty's hand.’—p. 112, 113.

But though the Duke was so ready to abandon his engagements, he found the King not quite so plastic—his Majesty refused to admit Lord Temple, or to displace Lord Winchilsea; and now occurs the only point upon which Lord Waldegrave's account of the transaction gives any absolutely new light. The King, on the emergency of his distress, pressed Lord Waldegrave to accept *himself* the place of first minister and to form a government. One cannot but here pause to remark into what straits his Majesty had suffered himself to be driven by his uncandid conduct towards his late servants, when he was reduced to the necessity of forcing the office of prime minister upon a nobleman unknown to public life, incapable of public speaking, and unacquainted with public business. But the project might, perhaps, have had at least a temporary success,

had not Lord Holdernessee, secretary of state, upon whom the King reckoned, suddenly (and, as regarded his Majesty, most ungratefully) thrown up his employment, and thus multiplied the difficulties. This was undoubtedly (as there is now good reason to think most of the preceding difficulties had been) a manœuvre of the Duke of Newcastle's; for though his Grace in the most solemn manner denied that he had any share in it, he sillily and shamelessly contradicted his own assertion in the course of the very conversation in which he had advanced it.

Notwithstanding this untoward event, Lord Waldegrave and the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford, Earls Granville, Winchilsea, Gower, and Mr. Fox continued for some time their endeavours, rather than their expectations, of forming a government, to the exclusion of Pitt and Temple, and without the *present aid* of the Duke of Newcastle. The king seeing, however, that this would not succeed, put the negociation into Lord Mansfield's hands, who was to treat with the Duke and Mr. Pitt on the terms of excluding Temple, and including Fox; but Lord Mansfield's success was no greater than that of his predecessors, and the credentials were at last transferred to the Duke of Newcastle's old and firm friend Lord Hardwicke, and *then*—

'At last the treaty was concluded, the substance of which was, that the Duke of Newcastle should be first Commissioner of the Treasury, without one man at the board who really belonged to him; and Legge was to be once more his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt was to be again Secretary of State: Lord Temple to be Privy Seal, in the room of Lord Gower, who was to be Master of the Horse, in the room of the Duke of Dorset; who was to have a large pension, under the name of additional salary, annexed to his place of Warden of the Cinque Ports.

'Pratt was to be made Attorney-general, in the room of Sir Robert Henley; who was made Lord Keeper, with a pension, and a good reversion for his son.

'Fox was to be paymaster; and Potter, who formerly held half that office, was to be made one of the Vice Treasurers of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Cholmondeley, who was also to have a very considerable pension on the Irish establishment.

'But the most surprising phenomenon was Lord Anson returning to his old employment, in spite of his unpopularity, and of all the abuse which had been raised against him by the very men who were now to be his associates, either at the cabinet council or at the board of admiralty.'—pp. 134, 135.

Lord Waldegrave himself was kindly remembered by the King, and honoured with the Garter; and so ended one of the most extraordinary and chaotic negociations, or rather struggles, which ever occurred between contending statesmen. To us the '*mot de l'énigme*'

Ténigme seems clear enough: the Duke of Newcastle's talents for shuffling and intrigue were never doubted; and if, on any occasion, the old law adage—*scelus fecit, cui prodest*—be applicable; it is in such transactions as those we have been alluding to. His Grace had sagacity enough to discover that his unpopular administration could not continue, and rather than lose power altogether, he was obliged, reluctantly we have no doubt, to consent to share it with Pitt; but finding the King resolved against this, his Grace had no other mode of bringing his Majesty into his terms than by letting him *try* to make other arrangements, all of which the Duke took care to defeat. If the *end* could justify the *means*, something might be said for Newcastle; for the king's antipathy to Mr. Pitt was unreasonable, and his conduct towards him almost unconstitutional; and considering the weight, the influence, the popularity, and the habitual success of Pitt, Newcastle was, in fact, doing a public service in forcing him into the councils of the country. We readily acquit the Duke of any such enlarged view, or any such patriotic intention; we believe he acted solely on his own little feelings of personal interests; but, it must be confessed, that an arrangement which restored cordiality between the monarch and the heir apparent, and which invigorated the councils of the country by the energies and good fortune of the *great* Lord Chatham, was one which, however brought about, was happy for the nation.

But though Mr. Pitt had great talents and great claims on public confidence, it would be unjust to conceal that the King and his personal friends and advisers looked upon him as a factious and dangerous demagogue, in whose hands the continental interests of England would be desperate, and the monarchical constitution hardly secure. The old King had not yet fully discovered that the hottest patriot sometimes makes the most accommodating minister—he little hoped that Mr. Pitt would become the champion of foreign alliances, and thunder in the ears of his astonished and subdued auditors that Hanover ought to be as dear as Hampshire. Our last extract from Lord Waldegrave shall be his character of this extraordinary man.

‘ Mr. Pitt has the finest genius, improved by study and all the ornamental part of classical learning.

‘ He came early into the House of Commons, where he soon distinguished himself; lost a cornetcy of horse, which was then his only subsistence; and in less than twenty years has raised himself to be first minister, and the most powerful subject in this country.

‘ He has a peculiar clearness and facility of expression; and has an eye as significant as his words. He is not always a fair or conclusive reasoner, but commands the passions with sovereign authority; and to inflame or captivate a popular assembly is a consummate orator. He has courage of every sort, cool or impetuous, active or deliberate.

'At present he is the guide and champion of the people : whether he will long continue their friend seems somewhat doubtful. But if we may judge from his natural disposition, as it has hitherto shown itself, his popularity and zeal for public liberty will have the same period ; for he is imperious, violent, and implacable ; impatient even of the slightest contradiction ; and, under the mask of patriotism, has the despotic spirit of a tyrant.

'However, though his political sins are black and dangerous, his private character is irreproachable ; he is incapable of a treacherous or ungenerous action ; and in the common offices of life is justly esteemed a man of veracity and a man of honour.

'He mixes little in company, confining his society to a small juncture of his relations, with a few obsequious friends, who consult him as an oracle, admire his superior understanding, and never presume to have an opinion of their own.

'This separation from the world is not entirely owing to pride, or an unsociable temper ; as it proceeds partly from bad health and a weak constitution. But he may find it an impassable barrier in the road of ambition ; for though the mob can sometimes raise a minister, he must be supported by persons of higher rank, who may be mean enough in some particulars, yet will not be the patient followers of any man who despises their homage and avoids their solicitations.

'Besides, it is a common observation, that men of plain sense and cool resolution have more useful talents, and are better qualified for public business, than the man of the finest parts, who wants temper, judgment, and knowledge of mankind. Even parliamentary abilities may be too highly rated ; for between the man of eloquence and the sagacious statesman there is a wide interval.

'However, if Mr. Pitt should maintain his power a few years, observation and experience may correct many faults, and supply many deficiencies : in the mean time, even his enemies must allow that he has the firmness and activity of a great minister ; that he has hitherto conducted the war with spirit, vigour, and tolerable success ; and though some favourite schemes may have been visionary and impracticable, they have at least been more honourable and less dangerous than the passive, unperforming pusillanimity of the late administration.'—p. 15—17.

One not unimportant fact we must add upon the subject of the negotiations we have been describing : 'Dodington was'—says Lord Waldegrave in the commencement of the affair—'*the only person ready to engage ;*' and Dodington tells us that on the final arrangement he was the *only one excluded*. And we shall terminate our observations on this point with Dodington's summary of the whole affair.

'The King kept his word with Fox, and made him paymaster—but his Majesty was not pleased to behave so to me.

'Thus ended this attempt to deliver the King from hands he did not like, and it failed—from Lord Hallifax's duplicity, which drew a greater affront

affront upon him, than I ever remember offered to any body;—from the Duke of Newcastle's treachery and ingratitude, who, after having given his word to the King, that he would never join Mr. Pitt, but by his Majesty's consent, forced the King to consent;—and by his Majesty's timidity, who dared not to support any body, even in his own cause.'—*Dodington's Diary*, p. 397, 398.

In conclusion, we have little to add to what we said at the outset. The facts stated in the *Memoirs* are not new, with the exception of Lord Waldegrave's own attempt to form a ministry, of which, strange to say, we find no trace in *Dodington* nor any other contemporary, and which, after all, was an incidental intrigue of no importance; but though the facts were pretty well known, they are related with greater detail—with a more extensive knowledge of all the parts of the transaction, and with a juster appreciation of the characters of the several persons and parties than any other writer has had either the opportunity to collect or the ability to convey. With the abatement of his prejudice against Leicester-House and Mr. Pitt, and a little partiality towards Kensington and Mr. Fox, his lordship is not merely a candid but an enlightened historian—his facts are accurate—his feelings good—and his principles honourable; as a literary man, his work is entitled to all the praise of which such a work is susceptible; his style is unaffected and polite—always clear, often forcible, and sometimes lively; and if his lordship had taken the trifling trouble of *dating* the proceedings as he went along, we should have been inclined to say, that his *Memoirs* were the best we had ever read, and to have proposed them, as far as our opinion would have any weight, as a model of this species of writing.

The Editor, who is understood to be Lord Holland, has introduced the work by a biographical and critical preface, written with so much taste and good sense that we rather regret that he has not explained the text here and there by a few notes written in the same style and spirit—they would have been a valuable addition to the work:—he has also enriched it with the addition of three or four extremely entertaining letters from Mr. Fox to Lord Hartington and Mr. Ellis—they are at least as amusing as the *Memoirs* themselves, and much more valuable. We cannot but hope that the care which has preserved them, may have preserved others of the same kind;—and perhaps the great taste which the world has of late shown for works of this class may lead to the publication of more of the original letters of Mr. Fox.

This leads us to make an observation or two on the price of this book. It is a thin 4to. of 176 pages, and contains not more letter-press than might fill about fifty pages of our Review, and therefore, although the paper and type are very splendid, the price of twenty-

five shillings charged for it may appear enormous, and so we confess it seemed to us till we heard of the enormous sum given for the copyright. These *Memoirs* do so much honour to Lord Waldegrave, that his friends, we should have thought, might for that reason alone, have favoured us with the publication; but, as that was not the case, and as we are afraid that, after all, large prices will be found the surest stimulant to valuable publications, we cannot complain that the bookseller, like any other tradesman, rates his ware by what it costs him; and we are rather, in regard to the general interests of literature, inclined to applaud the liberality and spirit which have of late years—and never more than at this moment—distinguished the English booksellers.

A practical proof of the effect of this liberality has just reached us.—We understand that the sum so liberally given for Lord Waldegrave's *Memoirs* has awakened out of the dust of the family scrutoirs, 'Memoirs of his own Time by Horace Walpole,' that Mr. Murray has purchased them at a magnificent price, and that they are in the press, and will shortly be given to the world.—We confess we expect *Memoirs* from Horace Walpole with much impatience.

ART. V. *Narrative of the Chinese Embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, in the years 1712, 13, 14, and 15; by the Chinese Ambassador, and published by the Emperor's authority, at Pekin. Translated from the Chinese, and accompanied by an Appendix of Miscellaneous Translations.* By Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart. LL.D. and F. R. S. London. 1821.

CHINA swallows up about one-tenth part of the habitable globe; and contains, at the lowest estimation, one-fourth of the population of the whole earth. Yet,—so we get our tea comfortably for breakfast, we seem to trouble our heads as little about the Chief of this vast empire and his two hundred millions of subjects, as he and they perhaps—do theirs, about us. We have not much to say of ourselves—but the Chinese, notwithstanding this mutual indifference, are a shrewd, an industrious, and an ingenious people, far superior to all other oriental nations, whether Pagan or Mahometan, however low we may be pleased to place them on our scale of civilization.

If we were asked in what the Chinese excel the rest of Asiatics, our reply would be, in every respect—in arts, manufactures, and agriculture; in civil polity, in literature and in morals. We do not make this assertion from vague report, but from personal knowledge, and indisputable facts and observations. Their immense

mense population, for instance, is fed, clothed, and lodged, exclusively, from the produce of their own soil; fed (and this is no slight degree of distinction) from tables, and seated on chairs; clothed for the most part in cottons, and decently covered from head to foot; and a twentieth part of their numbers, or about ten millions, splendidly habited in embroidered silks and satins. If to these, we join the moral obligation, (so extensively carried into practice, as to relieve the community from the public maintenance of paupers,) which compels the younger branches of a family to support their aged relations; and the almost universal education, as far as reading and writing go, we may perhaps be induced to concede to the Chinese not only that superiority which we have claimed for them over the rest of the Asiatics; but even to doubt whether they do not possess certain advantages, which some even of the more enlightened European nations cannot boast.

We are very far from being the panegyrists of the Chinese: their government we believe to be practically a bad one, and their religion worse; the one, we think, renders them selfish and distrustful; the other superstitious and hypocritical; yet, unamiable as they certainly are, and cold and repulsive as they necessarily must be, where women are wholly excluded from society, we cannot help thinking that a darker shade has been cast over some parts of their character than they really deserve. We will even go a step farther, and add that, reflecting on the circumstances we have mentioned, of the truth of which there can be no doubt, we are disposed to fancy that a closer intimacy might incline us to entertain a somewhat more favourable opinion of them than we have hitherto ventured to avow. Unhappily, however, the nature of their internal policy, hostile to all international connections, and a language unlike any other on the face of the globe, forbid all hope of a more enlarged intercourse than that which at present subsists, and which, as every one knows, is limited to a single out-port, on the very skirts of this great empire, where a few commercial companies, like our own, are merely tolerated for the sake of facilitating an exchange of a few articles of luxury, for Nankins, Bohea and Congo.

In speaking of the government as a bad one, we mean the practical administration of it, by the subordinate officers: for the sovereign of China is very far from being a despot. It is, of course, impossible for us to penetrate into the arcana of the Chinese court; but we shrewdly suspect, from all that we have seen and heard, that the 'Great Emperor' is little more than a puppet in the hands of a few great officers, and that he enjoys, in fact, no more real power than was possessed by the successors of Darius, while they unconsciously promulgated, as their own, the irre-

irrevocable decrees of the Seven Princes of Persia.—Be this as it may, the Emperor of China, good man, never appears in any other light than as a benevolent agent, always ready to palliate the crimes, to mitigate the punishments and alleviate the sufferings of his people. To them he frequently appeals; and, on all occasions of national calamity, publicly confesses his errors, and acknowledges his misconduct to be the cause of the divine displeasure. The natural consequence of this is an universal love and respect for the person, who, whatever his private character may be, is thus studiously exhibited to his subjects in an amiable point of view. Insurrections against his authority are partial and of rare occurrence; the disturbances that occasionally happen originate generally from a scarcity of provisions; they are mere rebellions of the belly, and are as speedily suppressed by a removal of the cause which produced them, as the slow movements of a cumbrous and invariable machine will admit. If we are to believe that human nature and human feelings are pretty nearly the same in all countries, modified only by education and habit, we must admit that a government, which, for three thousand years or more, has been able to keep together, under one bond of union, the largest mass of population which any nation on the face of the earth could ever boast—can hardly be considered as a bungling or fortuitous machine; but one rather that has within it certain corrective movements and self-protecting springs, by which its regulations are governed and its duration preserved.

In a letter now before us, from an ancient and most respectable missionary in China, the writer observes, in speaking of the quiet and peaceable succession of the new Emperor on the death of his father last year, ‘*Les Chinois n’ont pas à envier les lumières et les théories chimériques de vos réformateurs, libéraux, Radicaux, illuminés, jacobins et Carbonari, et autres démagogues d’Europe.*’ The good father is right: and dreadful indeed would be the aggregation of human misery, if any of these accursed pests of society should work their way amongst them, and succeed in unsettling the minds of two hundred millions of a peaceable and contented people.

Of the extreme desire manifested by the government that the sovereign should stand well with the people, the will of the late Emperor Kia-king and the proclamation on the accession of his son and successor *Tou-kuang* (both of which we have just received) are curious and convincing documents; we shall lay before our readers the substance of these state-papers, as they appeared in the *Pekin Gazette*. The Will of Kia-king is dated the 2d September, 1820, the day on which he died—suddenly, as it would seem,—and is, as usual, the composition of his ministers. It com-
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mences thus: 'The Great Emperor, who received from heaven and revolving nature the dominion of the world, hereby announces his last will and testament to the subjects of his empire.'—He then enumerates the advantages which he derived from the three years instruction and advice of his venerable father, after he mounted the throne from which he had retired, and continues.

'I have considered that the stability of a nation, and the grand principles of social order consist in adoring heaven, imitating our ancestors, being active and diligent in all matters of government, and benevolent towards the people. I have borne in mind that heaven raises up princes for the sake of the people; and that the duty of affording to the people sustenance and instruction is imposed on *The One Man*.'

He then goes on to remind the people, among other things, how, in conformity with these principles, he suppressed insurrections and disturbances—that he issued from time to time large sums of money to repair the banks of the Yellow River, 'which from ancient days till now has always been the scourge of China'—that he had frequently remitted the taxes, and all arrears, in order to diffuse abundance and create in all ranks of his subjects a general joy—that while his heart was rejoicing in the universal plenty that the country was blessed with in consequence of an abundant harvest, he set out, in reverential obedience to the institutions of his ancestors, on a hunting excursion into Tartary, and that, to avoid the great heat, he stopped one day at a cottage on the mountain:—'and though,' continues he, 'I am advanced beyond the sixth decade of my life, and can mount and descend a hill without being fatigued, yet, on this occasion, the intense heat of the atmosphere affected me, so that yesterday, when I gave the whip to my horse in crossing the mountain of "Expanded Benevolence," I felt the phlegm rise in my throat even to suffocation, and had reason to apprehend that I had not long to live.* However, in obedience to the rules of the departed sages of my family, I had already, in the fourth year of my reign, in the fourth month, on the tenth day, at five o'clock in the morning, previously appointed an heir to the throne; which appointment I myself sealed and locked up in a secret casket.'—This casket the great officers of state are commanded to open without delay:—they very well knew where to look for it.

A few days after the death of Kia-King, appeared the proclamation of his successor, in which the virtues of his late father are enumerated, and the extreme reluctance set forth with which his

* If we may trust the information which we have received from Canton, this 'phlegm in the throat' was a hempen cord administered on the 'Benevolent' Mountain by his courtiers. He was accounted every way inferior to the four Tartar emperors who preceded him.

unworthy successor was compelled to yield to the general voice and to occupy the vacant throne. Next follows the *He-cha-ou*, or 'proclamation of joy,' in which he announces his intention of holding a solemn feast in honour of heaven and earth, and of the superintending deities of the land and its produce; and of conferring benefits on all ranks and descriptions of people. These marks of imperial beneficence are arranged under twenty-two different heads, and consist chiefly of gifts to the great officers of state—promotion of one step to all civil and military officers Tartars and Chinese—permission to officers below a certain rank to send one of their sons to an imperial college—restoration of officers who have been suspended from rank or pay, or both—a general amnesty to all criminals, except those convicted of rebellion or murder—and (adds the *He-cha-ou*) 'if any person shall again accuse those so pardoned for their former offences, the accuser shall be punished according to the crime alleged against the accused;' (the Chinese must surely have a wonderful propensity for bringing offenders to justice, to make a hint of this kind necessary);—remission of the public debts of officers in the army—increase of pensions to superannuated soldiers, &c. &c.

Such are the means employed at the commencement of a reign, and frequently repeated in the course of it—at least in the *Pekin Gazette*—to manifest to the people the paternal solicitude and unceasing benevolence of their sovereign.

To the late, and still more to the present Sir George Staunton, we are mainly indebted for that practical knowledge, confined as it certainly is, which we possess, of the manners and internal policy of this singular people;* and the little volume now before us, affords a very considerable insight into the system of conducting the only external relations which they wish to hold, and the light in which they are desirous of appearing to their only civilized and powerful neighbours, the Russians. It also shows, by a few specimens of the lighter kinds of literary composition, and by several decrees and ordonnances of the government and internal police, their sentiments, feelings, and actions: nor is it deficient in interest as a literary curiosity, being, as far as we know, the only instance of a Chinese in the higher rank, recording his transactions, and describing foreign nations and manners, different in all respects from his own.

The principal part of the volume is occupied with a relation of the proceedings of an Embassy, sent in the year 1712, by *Kang-hi*, the wisest and the most energetic of the Tartar Emperors, whose race now fills the throne of China, to the Khan of the Tourgouths,

* The translation of the *Tu-tsing-leu-lee*, or the Criminal Code of China, elucidates the real nature of the Chinese government, far better than all the commentaries of the Jesuits.

a considerable tribe of Eleuth or Calmuc Tartars, seated, at that period, on the banks of the Volga, a little to the northward of the Caspian. The narrative of this embassy is sufficiently authenticated by its publication, under the emperor's special authority, and by a copy of it being deposited in the imperial library in Peking. But we have a better test even than this of its authenticity, and also of the author's fidelity, in the comparison of his statements and notices on passing objects, with those of honest John Bell of Autermony, who traversed the very same ground just seven years afterwards; and it is not unworthy of remark that the two accounts, (notwithstanding the little which the two writers could possibly have in common, of feelings, habits and prejudices,) accord so well, that we may be permitted to doubt whether so striking a coincidence would be found in the separate narratives of two Europeans of the same nation.

There is something amusing in the candour and simplicity, with which the Chinese ambassador enumerates his own disqualifications and disgrace. 'I *Tu-li-shin*, &c. was born in the year *Ting-Vee*, of the reign of the Emperor *Kang-hee* (1667). When I was young, my family was poor, and I was myself of a weak and sickly constitution.' He then goes on to say, that by great application to the duties of the various offices in the government to which he had been appointed, he succeeded at last to be nominated to the superintendence and custody of the sacred animals belonging to the department of the Supreme Court of Rites and Ceremonies. 'Unfortunately,' he adds, 'my talents and capacity proved inadequate to the proper discharge of my several duties, and I failed to answer the expectations which the Emperor, in his gracious goodness, had formed, when he thus selected and employed me. Having been in consequence censured and dismissed altogether from the public service, I retired to *Lin-loo*, where I remained for seven years and upwards, devoting my time to the cultivation of my farm, and to the service of my parents.'

It may seem strange to us that a person should be found fit for an ambassador, who had not 'the talents and capacity' to take care of the holy hogs and hens devoted to the altar; but, besides that this self-abasement may be a matter of good taste in the celestial empire, and go for no more than it is worth, we find from the *Ta-tsing-leu-lee*, or 'Penal Code of China,' that the animals destined for the grand sacrifices, are not only required to be in the state prescribed by the ritual regulations, which are extremely voluminous, but that severe punishments await the superintendant of those rites, if they be not reared and fed according to the law; if they be lean or injured, and, above all, if any of them be permitted to die. These superintendants may, in fact, be con-

considered as a part of the priesthood of the established religion of Boudh; and the ceremonies required by it exact the most minute and unremitted attention.

But the system of degradation is not meant to entail perpetual exclusion. Besides, a foreign mission is so little desirable in the eyes of a Chinese, that the first volunteer is generally accepted; and accordingly *Tu-li-shin* (who had, in his rural occupations, probably improved his practice in the treatment of hogs and hens) took courage, and, though degraded and dismissed from his former offices, on hearing of the intention of government, requested to be employed on the occasion: he was immediately appointed, and 'had again the happiness of witnessing the benign influence and excellent effects of the sacred virtues of his Majesty;' at the same time he received the Emperor's instructions for his conduct on this long and painful journey, the route of which was utterly unknown to himself or any of his companions. These instructions are not only curious, as pointing out, in a very explicit manner, the line of policy in which he was to be guided in his communications with the Russians; but as they evince a sagacious and comprehensive system of policy on the part of the Chinese government; and we cannot avoid adding, that if the good *Tu-li-shin* could afford to speak thus humbly of such talents as he possessed, China must have been less deficient in official characters of enlarged minds, than we have been usually taught to consider it.

After some preliminary instructions relative to the Khan of the Tourgouths, he is directed to meet the *Cha-hun*, Khan of Russia (the Czar Peter), if he should send to desire a conference; and in that event he is ordered, on his introduction, to 'conform to the customs and ceremonies of that country.' If asked what is principally esteemed and revered in China, he is to say: 'In our empire, fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice, and sincerity, are esteemed above all things. We revere and abide by them. They are the principles upon which we administer the empire, as well as govern ourselves. In the face of danger we firmly adhere to them. We likewise make sacrifices and oblations; we pray for good things, and we deprecate evil things; but if we did not act honestly, if we were not faithful, pious, charitable, just and sincere, of what avail would be our prayers and sacrifices? In our empire, fidelity, filial piety, charity, justice and sincerity are our ruling principles, the objects of our veneration, and the constant guides of our conduct. In our empire, therefore, there is no hostile array of shields and spears, no severe punishments are inflicted; we have now for a long time enjoyed uninterrupted peace and tranquillity.' This, as Sir George Staunton observes, is a summary

mary of the Confucian faith;—the practice, we suspect, is another thing. If asked as to the arts and productions of China, *Tu-li-shin* is to say, ‘It is with us as with other countries, some districts are rich, others are poor;’ and he is then to remark, that a report had reached China, that the kingdom of Russia was not at peace with its neighbours, but engaged in actual hostilities; and if so, he is directed to inform them, with an amiable simplicity, that as his Imperial Majesty has no designs to infringe the peace, ‘they may immediately remove and employ their frontier troops if they see occasion to do so, without the least hesitation or uneasiness.’

If any assistance should be solicited as to fire-arms, artillery and such like, the ambassador was to say, that ‘the length of the way was extremely great; the road over high mountains and rugged rocks, through forests, marshes, and dangerous and difficult passes without number; that, ‘by the laws of China, fire-arms are prohibited goods, and their exportation beyond the frontiers never permitted.’ If further pressed on this subject, he was to add, ‘we are now specially employed upon a mission to the residence of *A-yu-kee*, the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, we can hardly, therefore, venture to take upon ourselves to address his majesty, upon subjects which are so totally unconnected therewith.’

If any inquiries should be made of them respecting the attentions paid in China to the aged, they were to say, ‘Our emperor, every year, seeks out and distinguishes those who are remarkably aged. Each time from twenty to thirty are selected, who have attained to the age of 100 years; and more than 10,000 are generally found in each province, who have exceeded the age of ninety; they are all suitably favoured and rewarded.’ They are reminded that ‘as the Russians are of a vain and ostentatious disposition,’ they will doubtless make a display of the several things they possess. On such occasions they are directed neither to express admiration nor contempt, but merely to say, ‘whether our country possesses, or not, such things as these, it is quite out of our province to determine; some things, indeed, there are, which we have seen, and others have not seen; but there are other things, again, which others have seen, though we have not; on these subjects, therefore, we are by no means sufficiently informed.’ They are then instructed to refuse the presents that may be offered to them, again and again; but if closely pressed, to accept only a small part, alleging that they have nothing valuable with them to make a suitable return. They are cautioned against drinking wine immoderately, against immodest women, and against the corrupt manners and customs of the Russians; but at the same time admonished, that ‘if, while they are within the Russian territories, they should themselves chance to see any of the women
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of the country, or to witness any occurrence that may seem absurd in their eyes, they are nevertheless to preserve always their gravity and composure, and by no means to be lightly given to scoffing or ridicule.' And finally, they are to say, if questioned as to their rank and offices, 'We are only officiating magistrates belonging to the outer tribunals of government, and by no means either great officers of state, or immediate attendants on the person of his majesty.'

With these instructions *Tu-li-shin* sets out on his mission, detailing, in the form of a journal, the observations which he made, and the events which occurred upon his route; minutely describing his conversations with the several public authorities among the Russians and Tourgouths, with whom he communicated; and particularly those which he held with Prince Gagarin, the Governor-general of Siberia, and with *A-yu-kee*, who, as we said, had migrated with his tribe from their original place of settlement in Eastern Tartary, to that extensive tract of country which was granted to them by the Russians, between the Volga and the Jaik, in the vicinity of the Caspian. It does not appear that the object of the present embassy was a direct invitation for that tribe to return; though we have no doubt that a result of this kind was secretly contemplated by the Chinese court. It was not however successful on the present occasion: but the hint was not lost; and we know from the '*Mémoires sur les Chinois*,' that in the reign of Kien Lung, in the year 1771, the Tourgouths actually did return to their former settlements in the neighbourhood of China; and, in the same work, we have the public record of their submission to the Chinese government.

After a long and tedious journey, in every part of which, however, they were courteously entertained, and assisted by the Russian authorities, and during which no attempt whatever was made, either to mislead or obstruct them, notwithstanding the equivocal object of their mission, they reached the camp of the Khan of the Tourgouths, who received them with all possible respect and attention, asked them a multitude of pertinent questions respecting China; and on their departure sent them a present of seventy-six horses, and 400 dried bullocks' hides; together with a further present of seventy-two horses and 200 hides, from his son, the acceptance of which, conformably with their instructions, was declined, with the exception of a horse a-piece, which, after much pressing, they condescended to receive.

This Ayuke, or Ayuke-khan, was a chief of very considerable importance; for we find from Mr. Bell, that in the year 1722, about nine years after the journey of the Chinese ambassador, he was visited by the Czar Peter and his Empress, and invited with
his

his Queen to an entertainment on board the Emperor's galley on the Volga. The 'Ayuka-khan,' says Bell, 'is an old man, about seventy years of age, yet he is hearty and cheerful. He is a prince of great wisdom and prudent conduct, is much respected by all his neighbours for his sincerity and plain dealing; and I recollect that, when I was in Pekin, the Emperor of China made very honourable mention of him.' On this visit it was settled that 5000 of his Tartar cavalry should join the Russian forces on their march into Persia, which they did immediately, and were of great service in that expedition.

As Mr. Bell has described the countries and people through which the Chinese ambassador proceeded, so much better and more fully than the latter could be expected to do, it would be superfluous to enter into any detail of his observations; and we shall therefore content ourselves with remarking, that in all his conferences with Prince Gagarin and the other Russian officers, he seems to have conducted himself agreeably to the tenor of his instructions; that he parried all questions put to him, like a skilful diplomatist; and that he, and all his people, behaved, on all occasions, with great propriety and discretion, and very much to the satisfaction of the 'celestial Emperor,' who, on his return, employed him on another embassy to the Russian frontier.

Our limits forbid us to detail the ambassador's conversations with Prince Gagarin; but they are curious, and contain a great deal of information respecting both Russia and China in those days. Gagarin is called by the ambassador, *Kokolin*, the only way in which a Chinese can pronounce the name. In Voltaire's 'History of the Russian Empire,' this Prince is said to have suffered decapitation, after being twenty years at the head of the Chinese commerce: but Bruce (then an officer in the Russian service) tells us, that having confessed to the Czar the crime laid to his charge, of way-laying and robbing the imperial caravan coming from China, which it was his duty to protect, and afterwards denied it to the senate, alleging that the confession had been extorted from him through fear; his majesty was so exasperated that 'he ordered a gallows, in imitation of Haman's, fifty cubits high, to be erected before the senate-house,' on which he was hanged in presence of all the senators, to most of whom he was either related or allied.

The remainder of the volume consists of the translation of part of a novel;—notices of four dramas;—a treatise on the culture of the cotton plant;—and several extracts from the Pekin Gazette. These are the articles which make us best acquainted with the genius and disposition, the temper and manners of the people,

and the real nature of their government and municipal regulations. We have often thought, and indeed have ventured to declare in a former article, that a series of the Pekin Gazette for one year would convey a more complete notion of what is actually passing in this great empire, than the whole body of information contained in that ponderous work of the missionaries, 'Mémoires sur les Chinois.' The extracts here given will, we think, be found exceedingly curious. 'The Pekin Gazette,' as Sir George Staunton says, 'is a state engine of no inconsiderable importance, and exhibits obvious proofs of an anxiety to influence and conciliate public opinion upon all state questions, which, under a government theoretically so despotic, would hardly have been expected.' It undoubtedly does; and if we did not know the labour and difficulty of the undertaking, we should regret exceedingly that he had not indulged somewhat more liberally in this part of his subject.

The Novel is imperfect; that part of it, however, which has been translated, evidently displays diversity of character among the educated ranks of society, and develops many peculiar manners and customs totally at variance with those we meet with in Europe; neither is it deficient in incident: judging, however, from the little that is given, it appears to be much inferior to that beautiful novel, the *Hao-kiou-tchuan*, or Pleasing History. Sir George indeed tells us, that 'the sequel was not of sufficient interest to encourage him to proceed in the work; and that it was found to be disfigured by two incidents which, at least the latter, rendered it unsuitable to his purpose, and totally irreconcilable with our European notions and feelings.' To the 'want of interest,' we have nothing to reply; but it seems to have escaped Sir George that, in the translations of foreign novels, it is information that is sought, and not a correspondence of feeling.—'The denouement,' he adds, 'is brought about by a very unnecessary recourse to magic; and the hero of the piece having, by a sort of under-plot, fallen into a love adventure with another damsel, equally amiable, but less nobly connected, he is under no embarrassment from this awkward dilemma, but is happily united in marriage to both the ladies, to the entire satisfaction and approbation of all the parties.' Even in this, we see nothing absolutely forbidding. We are not, much accustomed indeed, in this strict and decorous portion of the globe, to see a man *accommodated*, as Corporal Bardolph has it, with two wives at the same moment, except in a German tragedy; but we can bear the circumstance very well when related of the rampant followers of Fo and Boudh, and, to say the truth, rather expect it than otherwise: we fully admit, however, the overwhelming force of the ingenious translator's first plea, and are pretty

pretty sure that no second foot will ever reach the spot where he first stopped from fatigue.

After all, we strongly suspect that one of the most interesting portions of Chinese general literature will be found in the drama. So few have been the translations of this species of composition, that no adequate opinion can at present be formed of its merits. Excepting the tragedy of the 'Orphan of the House of Tchao,' imperfectly translated by Father Premare, and the version of the 'Heir in Old Age,' by Mr. Davis, (of the latter of which an account will be found in No. XXXII.) we know of no other specimens in any European language. Both these pieces, and the notices of four others now given by Sir George Staunton, are taken from a celebrated collection of one hundred plays, known by the name of *Yuen-jin-pe-tchong*. In the neat and well written preface to the present volume, we find some judicious remarks on the Chinese drama, which, on the whole, Sir George seems disposed to think less calculated than their novels to reward the labour of the translator: their plays, he says, are too local and national to please much as mere compositions; and their minute beauties of style and language must of course be injured or lost in a translation. All this, we doubt not, is strictly true; but at the same time, judging from the 'Heir in Old Age,' we are convinced that they let us see more of the habits, manners, and sentiments most prevalent in domestic life, than any other species of composition.

We regret to have to add, that Sir George Staunton more than hints at having abandoned his Chinese pursuits. We cannot, however, be much surprized at it. Those only who have made the attempt to acquire some little knowledge of it, can duly appreciate the labour and unremitting attention required to make any available progress in a language that may be said to have neither alphabet nor grammar; but to consist of a series of pictured ideas, which none but a native well acquainted with the manners, customs and feelings of his countrymen, can be quite sure of always decyphering correctly. That a gentleman, and a scholar in the full sense of the word, should devote his valuable time to the literature of a country and a people, about which, as we before observed, curiosity seems so little alive, could hardly be expected. With all this, however, the decision pains us; as no one, we believe, remains in the country to fill his place; and the day may, and, we think, must arrive when a knowledge of the Chinese language will be found of infinite importance to the interests of Great Britain.

It should not be forgotten that the Himalaya is now the only barrier between this empire and ours in the east; and that we

have found the means to pass it in more places than one :—but, even supposing no other intercourse to take place between the two nations except that at Canton, it is not very creditable that it should be solely conducted through the medium of a ridiculous jargon of English, which the Chinese find their advantage in learning. It would increase but little the expense of Hertford College, by adding to that establishment a Chinese professor, while it would prepare the young writers, destined for Canton, for the study of a language, which, unprepared, they find little or no inducement to commence on the spot; but the attainment of which would give to their employers certain advantages which they seem not duly to appreciate.

ART. VI.—*Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, a Heroic Poem, with Notes and occasional Illustrations.* Translated by the Rev J. H. Hunt, A.M. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 2 vols. Mawman. 1818.

THAT an adequate translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* was a desideratum in English literature, is an opinion which few will contest who have compared with the original poem those translations which had been already offered to the world. If that of Hoole has found its way into our libraries, it has been, we apprehend, for no better reason than that, till the late republication of Fairfax, no other was generally accessible: for besides the frequent omissions and misconceptions of which Hoole is guilty, he is chargeable with the still more fatal sins of tameness and insipidity to a degree which is hardly to be paralleled, even in that flattest and tamest period of English heroic poetry when the imitators of Pope had racked his sweetness to the very lees, and poverty and meanness were almost universally mistaken for a chaste and classic simplicity.

'Fairfax,' says Hume, 'hath translated Tasso with an elegance and ease, and at the same time with an exactness which for that age is surprizing. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correspondent line in the translation.' Now 'it is written,' as the servant in *Romeo and Juliet* observes—'that the shoemaker should meddle with his yard, and the taylor with his last;—and, certainly, the historian ought to keep to his chronicle. Fairfax was, indeed, a poet in every sense of the term; and we will confess that if there was any thing which, in the first instance, prejudiced us against the critical fairness and poetical feeling of the present translator, it was the careless and half-contemptuous manner in which he affects to regard as obsolete a composition familiar, we believe, to every youthful reader of taste and feeling.

Beautiful,

Beautiful, however, as the poetry of Fairfax is, yet in another circumstance, which to a translator is still more necessary than poetry, his deficiency is so great as to overturn whatever claim he might else make to having rendered Mr. Hunt's labours superfluous. Instead of numbering, as Mr. Hume says, line for line with his original, he does not even number stanzas:—he is, in fact, habitually inaccurate and regardless of the meaning of his text; he takes leave of his author in almost every page, and wanders to the right or left just as his lively imagination prompts him. It cannot be said of him as of Mr. Hoole, that he has given an outline of the Jerusalem, divested of all grace and ornament; but his graces and ornaments are almost entirely his own. In short, his poem is a very delightful one; but it must be to another source that they must apply who desire to form any adequate conception of the real merits of the stately and melancholy child of genius, the fantastic lover of the Princess Eleanor, and the converser with aerial spirits.

Of the present work, we certainly cannot say that it exactly corresponds to our ideas of what a translation of Tasso ought to be. It has the defect of being written, not in stanzas, but in couplets; the worst arrangement of measure, perhaps, ever applied to an heroic poem, and one which is less suited to the Jerusalem Delivered than to any other heroic poem, except the Orlando. Even blank verse, though in translations it seldom happens that the writer of it can sustain his tone sufficiently above prose to make a long poem throughout poetic, would be far better suited to the variety, the richness, the vivacity of the Italian writers, than that stately and unvaried sound which shuts up all sense and harmony within the compass of twenty syllables. But when Ariosto and Tasso have themselves furnished us with the model of a stanza admitting of an almost infinite variety of pause and harmony, more easy in execution than the couplet itself, and to the ear infinitely more agreeable, nothing but a strange pertinacity in adhering to old opinions could lead a man of Mr. Hunt's taste and talents to follow Hoole in the very peculiarity which, even more than his want of fire, contributes to the languor and tediousness of his narrative. Nor has Mr. Hunt himself escaped from the consequences of his unfortunate election. He is sometimes inflated and sometimes obscure from the mere necessity of conforming to a cadence which cannot be varied with impunity, and whose limits are often too extensive for a single idea, while they are almost uniformly too narrow for more.

But having expressed ourselves thus plainly and strongly as to the principal and pervading defect of Mr. Hunt's attempt, we should be unjust if we did not allow, that in almost all the other

requisites of a translator he ranks not only above his two immediate competitors, but above far the greater number of those who have aspired to make the readers of our language familiar with the poetry of other lands and other ages. He is more faithful than Pope or Dryden, more spirited than Cowper or Warton, and he has less mannerism and affectation than Mr. Sotheby. He is obviously well acquainted with his original, and has read him with all the enthusiastic admiration which a translator ought to feel, which is sure to increase in proportion to the intensity of the labour bestowed on his author, and of which the author in the present instance is confessedly worthy.

To such an attempt there was sure to attach the apprehension of a want of novelty. Tasso was supposed to be a well known writer, though in point of fact many, even of those who regarded themselves as Italian readers, knew little more of him, we believe, than that his poem had Godfrey for its hero and the Delivery of Jerusalem for its action. It was not therefore unlikely that those who had been content to talk of him at second hand, and from the tasteless criticisms of Boileau and Voltaire, would still find this sufficient for their purpose, and experience little curiosity to inquire further into the merits of an author, whose 'clinquant' and injudicious mixture of Paganism and Christianity, Gothic and classical mythology, Oriental and European manners, had been so long the subject of common place declamation and censure. Nor,—had the poet been better known than he really was, or had his reputation suffered less from the attacks of the French critics, was it likely that a work so laborious and extensive as this before us should obtain any great degree of popularity in an age which has rioted so much in the richness of original productions; and learned to look back with something more than weariness on the long and regular narratives, the classical imagery and classical correctness of style and taste, from which our more patient and studious fathers derived years of calm and deep enjoyment.

It must not, however, be imagined that because Tasso was the avowed imitator of Virgil he is therefore deficient in original vigour; that, whatever truth may be found in the criticisms to which we have alluded, his faults are not abundantly compensated by beauties of the highest kind; or that those faults, in fact, however they may impeach his judgment, are not themselves of a nature to raise our opinion of his imaginative powers, and to contribute to the interest and entertainment which a perusal of his poem affords. With Homer it would indeed be idle to compare him; nor is there any thing in the Jerusalem, from beginning to end, equal to the glorious episode of Dido, or the descent of Æneas into the shades. Yet if in these respects, as well

well as in the sustained vigour and majesty of his style, he is inferior to Virgil, there are many circumstances in which he can endure no unfavourable comparison with him. The choice of a subject, though that of the *Jerusalem Delivered* has been highly and generally extolled, we cannot think one of these. It is a vulgar error to suppose that a theme of great political interest is necessary for the ground-work of a great poem; such themes, on the contrary, from being already familiar in their naked and historical form, are less capable than most others of that varied ornament which poetry delights to scatter over the ground which she selects for her operations; of that breathless and suspended interest which is absolutely necessary to make a long story endurable. We know so little of what Homer's heroes really were, that we are not shocked at hearing actions ascribed to them, or finding them placed in situations which transcend all common experience of mankind—*οἱ τοι νῦν βῆροισι σιῖσι*. It is the same with the heroes of Gothic romance, whose names are only transmitted to us in a cloud of mythology and wonder, which is become their proper element, and in which the wildest exploits and the most appalling witcheries are in their proper places, and therefore specious and probable. But when, instead of an imaginary siege of Paris in the unknown age of Charlemagne; and of Paladins and knights whom the poet was at full liberty to bewitch or send to the moon at his pleasure; we have what professes to be a narrative of events in the 12th century, in which the personages are counts and princes of France and Italy familiar to the general reader of history, and of whose persons, manners and mode of warfare we can form no idea different from that which we entertain of other captains and statesmen; it is a little too much to introduce amazons and enchantresses, or to make the capture of a strong city depend on the success of a single knight in cutting down an enchanted tree in a neighbouring forest. It is true that a belief in witchcraft was general, or perhaps universal in Tasso's day; but it was not in witchcraft of this exaggerated kind: nor was any soul then alive who supposed that witchcraft of any kind was to be opposed and conquered by the valour of a single warrior, or by any other means than the kindred and appropriate follies of holy water and exorcism: and above all, a man of judgment, however he may employ popular and temporary superstition as an ornament and an accessory, will never make the hinge of a story which he designs to live to posterity, turn exclusively on such contrivances. It is not thus that Shakspeare makes use of witches. With him they serve indeed to tempt and to bewilder—to dazzle the ambition of his hero by their magical illusions, and to prompt him to deep

and still deeper guilt, at first by prospects of a crown, and afterwards by intimations of the hazardous and unsound elevation to which his perfidy had served to raise him:—but Hecate and her crew are not so much the agents as the chorus of his drama; and the murder of Duncan and the fall of Macbeth are perpetrated by means merely human, and to which the supernatural machinery can hardly be said to contribute.

But if the subject of *Tasso* labours under this defect, it is free from one still greater with which that of *Virgil* is justly chargeable. The heroes of *Tasso*, Godfrey, Tancred and Rinaldo, are all interesting characters. We really grieve for their disappointments; we are really anxious during their difficulties and dangers; we really and honestly rejoice in their success. But the 'pious *Æneas*' of *Virgil* is rather a mean creature, who first seduces and then betrays and deserts his high-minded benefactress; forces himself into a foreign land against the will of its inhabitants, usurps the hand of a princess already betrothed to another, and sacrifices his rival while asking for his life, and when he had previously deprived him of the power of resistance. Except in the old romance of *Tirant the White*, we know not where to find so remarkable a proof of perverted moral feeling:—the impetuosity and even the cruelty of *Achilles* are amiable in comparison.

Besides this instance, in which *Tasso* is actually superior to *Virgil*, we will confess that, making due allowance for the growing bad taste and pedantry of the times in which he lived, when a servile imitation of the ancients was an established principle of criticism, and when nothing was relished which was not well stored with point and *concelli*;—in the essential points of fancy, of elegance, of occasional splendour of diction; in discrimination of character; in the power of exciting pity and expressing tenderness, we should be inclined to place him if not on the same level, yet little beneath the Mantuan Bard. Nor, perhaps, is it too much to say, that if a person equally skilled in both languages were to read the *Æneid* and the *Jerusalem* in the original, or, which is the same thing for the present purpose, in equally good translations, he would confess that he had derived the greatest pleasure from the latter.

The opening lines of every poem are naturally among the parts on which the author bestows most labour. There is, indeed, an absurd canon, which has been still more absurdly extended and commented on by the French critics, and which seems to tend another way;—but common sense, which is always synonymous with genuine taste, will teach us that in order to gain the attention of the hearer, it is necessary to do our best in the first instance; not indeed by an ostentatious promise of future excellence, like the opening of the Indian *Ramayana*, but by the selection of the most appropriate

appropriate and striking imagery, and the greatest polish and elegance of diction, to build up a *προσωπον τηλαυγες* to that fabric which we have no other means of inducing strangers to visit. This is, in fact, the rule which every poet has followed; and few more pleasing lines can be found in Tasso than his invocation, including that simile of the infant, which no lover of nature can read without delight; though Voltaire, who was doubtless a competent judge as to the taste of his countrymen, declares that it would have appeared to the French 'unworthy of the majesty of the *Epopée*!' Mr. Hunt's version is, perhaps, more than usually diffusive: it cannot, however, be read without pleasure.

'Th' illustrious chief who warr'd for Heav'n, I sing,
And drove from Jesus' tomb th' insulting king.
Great were the deeds his arms, his wisdom wrought;
With many a toil the glorious prize he bought:
In vain did Hell in hateful league combine
With rebel man, to thwart the great design;
In vain the harness'd youth from Afric's coasts
Join'd their proud arms with Asia's warlike hosts;
Heav'n smil'd; and bade the wand'ring bands obey
The sacred ensigns of his lofty sway.
'Immortal Muse! not thou, whose brows are crown'd
With laurels pluck'd on Heliconian ground,
But thou, who dwell'st the heav'nly tribes among,
Prompting to angel choirs seraphic song,
While brightest stars their golden radiance shed
In unextinguish'd glories, round thy head!
Thy aid I crave! do thou my breast inspire,
And breathe o'er all my song celestial fire!
And thou forgive, if other charms than thine,
Earth-born attractions, deck my varied line,
If to my aid I call bright Fiction's pow'rs,
And weave with Truth divine, Aonian flow'rs.
The world, thou know'st, affects with giddy joy,
The flatt'ring bard, whom lighter themes employ,
And Truth's stern page, when playful Fancy aids,
The wayward heart allures, subdues, persuades.
So to her sick'ning babe, the mother's care
Spreads, with sagacious hand, the honey'd snare
Round the full cup, with healing juices fraught;
Th' unconscious infant sucks the bitter draught
With greedy lips, and cheated of his pain,
Drinks health and life, and blooms and smiles again.'

vol. i. pp. 3—5.

The description of the angel who is sent to Godfrey, adheres more closely to the original, and is in an equally glowing style of poetry.

'Human

' Human his shape, his mien, his radiant eye,
 But cloth'd in more than mortal majesty :
 That glowing age he chose, when youth began
 To reach the middle space 'twixt boy and man :
 His hair, of waving amber, pure and bright,
 Was wreath'd with rosy rays, that beam'd immortal light.
 Wings of unrivall'd speed his limbs infold ;
 Of dazzling whiteness they, and fring'd with gold ;
 With these he cleaves the winds, and sails sublime
 O'er lands and seas, in ev'ry varying clime.
 Clad in such gorgeous guise, more swift than thought,
 Earth's pendent globe the heav'nly herald sought ;
 Tow'rd Syria's realms his downward way he won,
 And pois'd his wings o'er wood-crown'd Lebanon.
 Near high Tortosa's walls he dropp'd to earth,
 What time the golden sun, at morning's birth,
 Half in the skies display'd his orient head,
 Half lay conceal'd in Ocean's briny bed :
 And Bouillon's prince, just wak'd from slumber, pour'd
 His early adorations to his Lord,
 When from the east, companion of the sun,
 But brighter far, the glitt'ring stranger shone.'

vol. i. pp. 9—11.

Mr. Hunt's copy of the beautiful picture of Armida, though generally faithfully and elegantly finished, is not so universally happy. He has misunderstood the image which is conveyed in the '*mamme acerbe e crude*':—and when he talks of the '*analyzing gaze*' of Fancy he certainly uses an idea which, however it may be borrowed from the schools, is any thing but classical, and of which Tasso himself knows nothing. Yet even here is much to praise.

' In native curls her waving ringlets flow,
 Yet added curls the breathing gales bestow :
 Her eye was fix'd upon herself alone,
 As greedy of Love's treasures, and its own :
 Glow'd on her cheek the rose's purple light,
 Though soften'd by the blending iv'ry's white ;
 But on her lips, whence breezy fragrance blows,
 In all its genuine lustre bloom'd the rose.'—vol. i. p. 128.

The pleasing and popular episode of Herminia is translated with great fidelity, and with a spirit of poetry which not only leaves Hoole far behind, but, which is no common praise, is not, in any part, excelled by Fairfax. We pass it over, however, in order to make room (and it is all we can spare) for an extract from a passage often copied—the Gardens of Armida. We do not know that they ever appeared (except in the free imitation of Spenser in his bower of Acrasia) in so graceful an English dress before.

' Still

' Still lakes of silver, streams that murmur'ing crept,
 Hills, on whose sloping brows the sunbeams slept,
 Luxuriant trees, that various forms display'd,
 And vallies, grateful with refreshing shade,
 Herbs, flow'rets gay with many a gaudy dye,
 And woods, and arching grottoes met their eye.
 What more, than all enhanc'd those beauties rare,
 Though art was all in all, no signs of art were there:
 Seem'd as if Nature reign'd in ev'ry part,
 Such easy negligence was mix'd with art:
 Nature herself, in frolic, might appear
 To imitate her imitator here.
 'Twas magic's spell call'd forth the genial breeze,
 That fill'd with pregnant life the bursting trees;
 Eternal bloom they yield, eternal fruit,
 The fruitage rip'ning while the blossoms shoot.
 The self-same tree on one o'erloaded twig
 Bears the full-ripen'd, and the nascent fig;
 The apple hanging on one bough is seen
 In ev'ry shade of golden, and of green.
 Where most the genial Sun the garden cheer'd,
 Creeping aloft, the luscious vine appear'd;
 Here clusters crude, there yellower grapes it bore,
 Or ruby-red, and rich with nectar'd store.
 Unnumber'd birds, the leafy boughs among,
 Trill'd the wild music of their wanton song.
 Murmur'd the undulating air around;
 The rills, the leafy grots return'd the sound,
 As loud or low the quiv'ring zephyrs rung:
 When ceas'd the birds, an echo deep they flung,
 But when the feather'd choir restor'd their lay,
 The echo, gently whisp'ring, died away:
 Or chance the concert made, or art design'd,
 Each swelling song the music-breathing wind
 Alternate answer'd, and alternate join'd. }
 Amid the rest one beauteous warbler flew,
 With purple bill, and plumes of various hue;
 His pliant voice assum'd the human tone,
 Each note, the shrill, the soft, the deep, his own.
 With wond'rous skill, mellifluous, loud, and long,
 Surpassing all belief, he pour'd his song.
 Their meaner strains his list'ning fellows clos'd;
 The whisp'ring winds grew silent, and repos'd:
 " Behold how, bursting from its covert, blows
 With virgin blushes deck'd, the modest rose;
 With half her beauties hid, and half reveal'd,
 More lovely still she seems, the more conceal'd.
 Grown bolder soon, her bosom she displays
 All, naked to the winds; then soon decays,

And

And seems the same enchanting flow'r no more,
 Which youths and virgins fair admir'd before.
 Thus transient and ephem'ral fades away
 The flow'r, the verdure, of man's short-liv'd day
 And though the year bring back the vernal hour,
 No more his verdure blooms, no more his flow'r.
 Cull we the rose, while laughs th' auspicious morn
 Of that bright day, which must no more return:
 Cull we the rose; love's transports let us prove,
 While love may answer and reward our love."
 ' He ceas'd; with one accord the feather'd throng
 Join'd in applausive chorus to his song.
 The playful doves renew'd their am'rous kiss;
 Each living thing was melted into bliss.
 Seem'd as th' unbending oak, the laurel chaste,
 And ev'ry tree amid that flow'ry waste,
 Seem'd as the Earth, the waves, imbib'd the charm,
 And lifeless Nature's self with love grew warm.'

vol. ii. pp. 192—194.

To compare such lines as these with the corresponding attempts of Hoole would be mere loss of time; nor is their smoothness and harmony more remarkable than the fidelity with which, on the whole, they conform not only to the sense but the words of the original. This is the general, and perhaps the most remarkable, characteristic of Mr. Hunt's translation. It is seldom, indeed, except where the restraint of the couplet and its rhyme has imposed the necessity of a 'pendant' to those thoughts which are simply expressive in the original, that we find any new lines introduced; and, though Mr. Hunt has been more prodigal of epithets than *Tasso*, there are not many passages in which they appear to have been inserted merely to fill up a gap, or to serve as stepping stones in his descriptions. The most glaring instance in which he has enlarged on his original is, perhaps, the picture of the Phoenix.

' As when the Phoenix, wond'rous bird, reborn,
 Visits the glowing kingdoms of the morn,
 Gives to the Sun, in gay confusion roll'd,
 His thousand hues, vermilion, azure, gold;
 His form divine transcendent glories deck,
 Flame on his breast, and tremble on his neck;
 Majestic to the breeze his pinions wave,
 And sparkles the bright crown that Nature gave:
 To watch his flight the pleas'd spectators throng,
 And nations wonder as he sails along;
 Behind, around, the birds their homage bring,
 And grace the brilliant progress of their King.'

vol. ii. p. 235.

These

These are splendid lines, but they can hardly be called a version of

'Come alhor che'l rinato unico augello
I suò Etiopi à visitar s'invia,
Vario, e vago la piuma, e ricco, e bello
Di monil, di corona aurea, natia;
Stupisce il mondo, e vada dietro, ed à i lati,
Meravigliando, essercito d' alati.'

A more serious offence against his author is, however, to be found in the insertion of occasional 'concetti' which are not in Tasso, and which, as concetti were Tasso's besetting sin, ought, therefore, to have been the more diligently guarded against. Thus, canto iii. l. 173, we find,

'And mid the storm of war, the sun of beauty beams.'
and, again, canto v. l. 197,

'Nor checks the fire that lights him to his tomb.'

These antithetic images are themselves not in the best taste, and, what is of more importance, Mr. Hunt must bear the whole demerit of them, since nothing of the sort occurs in the *Gierusalemme Liberata*.

Occasionally Mr. Hunt mistakes the sense of his original. In canto iv. stanza 9, 'Il gran caso,' means the fall of the rebel angels, not 'the chance of battle.' In the 29th stanza of the same book 'abito' refers not to the *dress*, but the *person* or *carriage* of the beautiful Armida. Again in canto xiii. stanza 45, 'e'l manco è in lui la tema' does not mean that 'fear robb'd him of all sense,' but that all fear of consequences was lost in a stronger passion. That other instances may occur in the course of the work is certainly possible. We have not compared the whole, line by line, with the original; but the first five cantos we really have thus compared, and have detected no other instances of mis-translation, nor any greater offences against taste or accuracy than we have already noticed.

Of Mr. Hunt's versification we have already spoken in terms of praise. We sometimes, indeed, though not often, meet with a careless line. The same word is repeated too soon, and similar phrases occur too often in different parts of the poem, a negligence against which Dryden piqued himself on having guarded. But these are trifling faults in the course of eighteen thousand lines; and we scarcely know where to look for more general and sustained smoothness and spirit during so long and arduous a career, unless it be to the—what shall we call it?—the super-human effort which produced that masterpiece of rhyme, Pope's version of the *Iliad*.

Nor if Mr. Hunt's faults were far more numerous, redeemed as they

they are throughout by the genuine feeling of a poet and the taste of a well-nurtured scholar, should we feel inclined to lay any great stress on them. It is pleasant, in the present day, when novelty rules supreme in taste as well as in more serious affairs; when almost all who can write, and many who never read, aspire to the praise of original bards, and clog our critical path with productions more numerous, more deformed, more loathsome and contemptible than ever Egypt spawned after her widest inundation; it is refreshing to meet with men who, with powers which could entitle them to hold no humble place in the list of inventive writers, have sufficient diffidence of their own merits, or sufficient veneration for those of their predecessors, to employ themselves in the less brilliant, but not less useful toil of naturalizing to our soil and language those mighty strangers from whom Spenser and Milton drew their largest draughts of inspiration; and by the diligent study of whose works it is that future poets like Spenser and Milton are to arise, if ever they arise amongst us. It was on the Italian School that the original English School of poetry was formed. Whatever other lessons it has since derived from France or Germany have been, at best, of doubtful advantage, and the scions thus transplanted have never readily taken root in our soil. It is by a return to our original models that our ancient vigour and correctness is most likely to be restored: and we are, therefore, grateful to the labours of Mr. Carey and Mr. Hunt, of whom the first opened to us the wild and romantic recesses of Dante's Vision, and the second has brought forward Tasso in a costume at once accurate and graceful. Ariosto yet remains, inferior to Dante in severe sublimity, inferior to Tasso in taste and correctness, but superior to both in the richness and various delight of his enchanted and enchanting wilderness. What bard will undertake the adventure?

Mr. Hunt has subjoined to the bottom of his pages some scholarlike and useful notes, illustrative of the classic sources whence Tasso borrowed much of his imagery. For the notes at the end of the work we cannot say much; they begin by a needless and preposterous comparison between Tasso and Milton, the last of whom, in his zeal for the former, he endeavours, absurdly enough, to disparage. In another place we have a flippant undervaluing of Cowper; and there are some lines from the French, on a most hideous and disgusting subject, introduced 'apropos de rien,' and without any merit of their own to recommend them, which Mr. Hunt must discard from his next edition, if he has any value for his own character as a man of taste and feeling, or as a clergyman. He has also, evidently from heedlessness, quoted, in another place, a sceptical observation of the Encyclopedists re-
specting

specting angels, without refuting it; and when there was no kind of necessity for introducing it at all. We could have given him credit for understanding French without such proofs as these; yet we really cannot conceive any other motive for drawing them from the recesses of his Eton or Cambridge common-place-book.

ART. VII.—*Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B. D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company.* 8vo. Fourth edition.

IN noticing the Memoirs of a person, who is represented by his biographer, as 'the faithful and laborious pastor—the self-devoted Missionary—the indefatigable translator of the Scriptures—the preacher of the gospel to the heathens, and the erect and courageous Christian confessor,' we cannot help expressing our regret, that works of this description are so seldom sent into the world with just claims to general favour. The fact seems to be, that they are commonly published with a view to attract the attention of persons of a particular turn of mind; and the compilers of them are therefore led (and in a language peculiar to themselves) to profess doctrines, and advance opinions, as likely to displease the majority of readers, as to gratify the taste of those for whom they are especially meant. It is rarely too, that a man of cultivated understanding or sound judgment can be found to engage in the undertaking itself, which is therefore usually assigned to some young enthusiast, whose piety is his only recommendation. An uncommon share of earnestness in the sacred cause to which he has dedicated himself, ought, beyond all doubt, to be the principal feature in the character of a missionary; but much more than this is requisite to secure success: and unless he combine prudence with zeal, worldly acquirements with spiritual wisdom, and a little common sense with religious ardour, he will seldom be able to inspire others with the same feelings that govern himself. 'I have sometimes been ashamed,' said one who well knew what was necessary to qualify a missionary for a proper discharge of his duty, 'to see the Christian put to silence by the intelligent Bramin upon some point relating to the history of the eastern nations, or to the present state of man, and I have felt anxious for the credit of Christianity, if I may so speak, on such occasions; for the argument from fact, and from the existing state of things, is a strong ground for the Christian and his adversary, in all discussions relating to a revelation from God. This is well illustrated in the history of St. Paul, who disputed with the learned at Athens on their own principles, and quoted their poets in defence of the gospel.'

There

There is something so heroic, so sublime in the determination to forsake home, country, friends, kindred, and all that can render life desirable, for the sake of those who are strangers to God, that it is impossible not to venerate the missionary, who has determined to make his grave among the inhabitants of a distant land. Our affections, our admiration, our best wishes, our most fervent prayers go with him. We hardly inquire whether he be a Catholic, a Baptist, a Moravian, or a Church-of-England-man. We watch him with anxiety, and identify ourselves with him in all his hopes and fears. Our mortification is therefore severe, to find (on reaching the scene of his labours) his zeal unaccompanied with any of those qualities which we hoped would distinguish a man of such ardent and resolute character. When we look to see him display talents of research, and to throw new light upon questions hitherto undetermined, and which he has opportunities of examining successfully, he rejects them with affected scorn, and leaves us as much in the dark as before. When we hope to see him benefit by some fortunate concurrence, he superstitiously waits for a preternatural intimation, for some internal experience, for something or other which he expresses in the phraseology of his sect or party. When we expect information on some interesting topic of history, literature, science or philosophy, he more than disappoints—he pains us, by triumphing in his own indifference upon these subjects; and declaring that nothing can occupy his attention, but the main object of his mission, and the glory of God! Surely it is no sin, it is nothing incompatible with his sacred calling to be, and to appear to be a naturalist, a scholar, or a philosopher. It is no crime against the simplicity of the gospel to advance the cause of truth by making observations upon the manners, the customs, or the antiquities of the people among whom he is residing. It would not be distrusting the power of the Most High to employ human means of conversion, and to facilitate the grand task, by showing how advantage may be taken of the existing character and peculiarities of a people, and how they may be made subservient to the designs of Providence.

Considering the valuable materials which the compiler of the volume before us had in his possession, he might, we think, have produced something which would have been justly liable to none of these objections. He was entrusted with the arrangement of the papers of a man eminently gifted by nature, and highly accomplished by education; of one in whom to the more important character of a faithful servant of God, were united all the qualifications which conciliate the affections and admiration
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of mankind. Mr. Martyn, though strongly tinctured with the gloom and peculiar colouring of a party, had yet within him all the elements of the scholar and philosopher; and must have left many observations behind him, many incidents of a personal nature, calculated to excite the liveliest interest, and to throw a thousand charms around a Memoir, which, by the omission or sparing introduction of them, his biographer has, in many places, contrived to render inanimate and tiresome.

Mr. Henry Martyn was born in Cornwall in the year 1781; of parents whose circumstances did not place them much above the humbler ranks of life; but his early display of talent induced them to make every effort for his advantage, and to send him to St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of seventeen. The earnestness with which he applied to his studies justified the expectation of his family; and his labours were crowned with the highest academical honours. He was the senior wrangler, and first Smith's-prizeman of his year, (1801) distinctions which, it is well known, none but men of promising talents can obtain. These and other honours thickened upon him before he had completed his twentieth year; but they did not divert his mind from the 'one thing needful': his religious turn became more and more decided, and he had scarcely exceeded the age of twenty-one, when he formed the heroic, and, considering his worldly prospects, the almost unprecedented resolution of dedicating himself to the service of God, as a missionary to the east. It was the remark of a friend, that, 'to have known only the employments of Mr. Martyn's more free and unfettered moments, would have led to the conclusion, that the classics and poetry were his predominant passion.' He said of himself, at the very time when he was earnestly soliciting to have the mission church at Calcutta put under his superintendence, 'since I have known God in a saving manner, painting, poetry, and music have had charms unknown to me before. I have received what I suppose to be a taste for them; for religion has refined my mind and made it more susceptible of impressions from the sublime and beautiful.'

Without recurring again to the humble attainments and inexperience in general of missionaries, we may observe, that having no opportunity of rising into notice at home, they are the more inclined to forsake a country which holds out few hopes to them, and to embrace a mode of life, which, though it be one of toil and self-denial, is probably not much more so to many of them, than that with which they would have to struggle upon their native soil. But the sacrifice which Henry Martyn made was full and absolute. He voluntarily resigned all that had hitherto been his recreation and delight. He was prepared to renounce

honours of which he might well be proud; friends who loved him, and a world which was smiling upon him. He was ready to submit to privations, which his weak constitution was ill able to encounter. He consented to humiliations from which his sensibility must have been inclined to shrink with abhorrence, and made up his mind to pass the rest of his life with no other source of happiness than that which proceeds from within. The following extract from his Journal will show that he was not insensible to the sacrifice of worldly prospects, and that he entered upon his new engagement with feelings, which one paramount consideration alone could enable him to subdue.

‘The dejection I sometimes labour under seems not to arise from doubts of my acceptance with God, though it tends to produce them, nor from desponding views of my own backwardness in this divine life; for I am more prone to self-dependence and conceit; but from the prospect of the *difficulties I have to encounter in the whole of my future life*. The thought that I am to be unceasingly employed in the same kind of work, among poor ignorant people, is what my proud spirit revolts at. To be obliged to submit to a thousand uncomfortable things that must happen to me, whether as a minister or a missionary, is what the flesh cannot endure. At these times I feel love neither to God or man, and in proportion as these graces of the spirit languish, my besetting sins, pride, discontent, and unwillingness for every duty make me miserable.’—p. 34.

It is melancholy to reflect upon the mischief which results from pressing certain subjects upon the attention of minds too delicately framed to contemplate them closely. A young man of Mr. Martyn’s extreme sensibility required to be thrown into very different company from that with which he was usually surrounded. Such purity and primitive simplicity as his were in no danger of suffering from cheerful society: but unhappily for him several of his friends and connections belonged to a party who seemed to think, that unless the Christian can entirely abstract his hopes, his fears, his cares and joys from this world, all is wrong with him; and who therefore denounced every acquiescence with the customs, and any fondness for the amusements of social life, as sinful, and even damning. Associating with such persons, we can easily understand how the poor youth could sometimes be delivered up to the gloomy apprehensions which occasioned such expressions as the following.

‘I set before myself the *infinite mercy of being out of hell*.’—‘Ah what a heart is mine!’—‘The indistinctness of my view of its desperate wickedness is terrible to me.’—p. 54.

‘I found a want of the presence of God from the fear of having acted against the suggestions of conscience, in indulging myself with reading the amusing account of Dr. Vanderkemp, instead of applying myself

myself to the severer studies of the morning. God be merciful to me a sinner. *It is a mercy that I am out of hell.*

Mr. Martyn's biographer appears to record these and other melancholy reflexions of a similar kind with a great deal of complacency, and without being at all aware that he is giving an unfair and unsatisfactory representation of that religion, which we are sure he would wish to describe as the most inviting and consolatory to man.

The time was now arrived, when this exemplary pattern of piety and heroism was to embark for a region which could have no charms for him, but as a scene of exertion in the service of Christ. Before he set foot on board, he had determined, when once he should leave England, to leave it for ever. And here it is due to the illustration of his Christian character to mention, that they were not merely the ties of habit, friendship and family which bound him to his country: there were others of a stronger and more tender kind. He had nourished a deeply fixed attachment for one every way worthy of him. The affection was mutual, and why he was not united to the excellent woman to whom allusion is made, is a secret which his biographer has not enabled us to disclose. From Mr. Martyn's high sense of honour, and from the anguish which he suffered in consequence of the separation, there is reason to believe that some undue influence was used, and that he was persuaded by over zealous friends to prefer a life of celibacy, as the one most compatible with his labours as a missionary.

On his way to Portsmouth, where he was to embark for India, such was the oppression of heart under which he laboured, and the intensity of his feelings, that he fell into a convulsion fit, unable either to suppress or conceal his emotions. 'He felt loth,' he said, 'to forsake all on earth, and compared his feelings to those of a man, *who should suddenly be told*, that every friend he had on earth was dead.'

Contrary winds forced the ship in which he sailed to put into Falmouth, where she was detained for upwards of three weeks; and he embraced the opportunity of throwing himself once more into the society of his friends: but the short lived pleasure was more than counterbalanced, when the painful hour of separation came. He was sitting with the person dearest to him on earth, when the signal was made for sailing, and he hurried on board with the melancholy certainty of never beholding her again. Cornwall was in sight for the greater part of this and the succeeding day, and every object on the receding shore reminded him of scenes most precious to his recollection.

'Sunday, August 11th. I rose dejected, and extremely weak in
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body.

body. After simply crying to God for mercy and assistance, I preached on Hebrews xi. 16. "But now they seek a better country, that is an heavenly. Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he hath prepared for them a city." On repeating the text I could scarcely refrain from bursting into tears, for the Mount and St. Hilary's spire, and trees were just discernible by the naked eye, at the time I began my sermon by saying,—that now the shores of England were receding fast from our view, and all had taken a long, and many of us an eternal farewell! &c.—We had made little way during the night, and in the morning I was pleased to find we were in Mount's Bay, midway between the Land's End and the Lizard; and I was often with my glass recalling those beloved scenes till after tea, when, ascending the poop, I found they had disappeared, but this did not prevent my praying for all on shore. Amidst the extreme agony of my mind this day, I found great pleasure at seasons of prayer, in interceding earnestly for my beloved friends all over England.—England had disappeared, and with it all my peace. The pains of memory were all I felt. Would I go back? O no! I find by experience I am weak as water. O my dear friends in England, when we spoke with exultation of the mission to the heathen, whilst in the midst of health, and joy, and hope, what an imperfect idea did we form of the sufferings by which it must be accomplished!—p. 119.

After a tedious voyage of eight months, during which he frequently indulged in this strain of plaintive melancholy, and a short stay at Calcutta, Mr. Martyn reached Dinapore on the 26th November, 1806, and from this period we are to date the commencement of his labours as a missionary. His appointment at this place, properly speaking, was that of chaplain to the East India Company, in which capacity he was to officiate as occasion might require, both among the civil and military servants of the Company. But the situation of chaplain was no further an object of ambition to him, than as offering facilities of exertion among the idolaters who constituted the far greater proportion of the population at this distant station. His pastoral duties, as far as they were confined to Europeans, would by no means have been heavy, unless his own zeal had made them so: but he no sooner arrived at Dinapore, than he proposed to himself a routine of duties, to which his constitution was by no means equal. The English families, for want of a regular place of worship and an active minister, were but little alive to spiritual matters: the soldiers, who were Christians by profession only, seemed to be like sheep without a shepherd; and the few native Christians were sunk into a condition of the most lamentable ignorance. Here was abundant room, as the Journal remarks, 'for faith, zeal, courage, and love;' and he who was deficient in neither immediately set about recalling the wanderers to the fold, and
laying

laying the groundwork of an extensive publication of the Gospel to the inhabitants at large.

His principal objects, after providing for the celebration of divine service, were to establish native schools, to provide translations of the Scripture, and religious tracts for dispersion, and to attain such a readiness in Hindostanee as might enable him to preach in that language to the inhabitants of the country. The Governor-General, in consequence of his remonstrances, gave orders for building a church at Dinapore, but unhappily the ministry of the new chaplain did not conciliate the Europeans, or produce that spiritual improvement among them, which he so ardently laboured to effect. He *would* preach *extempore*, though he found it gave offence; he would press particular subjects out of season, as well as in season; in short he would do every thing which suited his own serious and devout turn of mind at the instant, rather than wait for the aid of circumstances and opportunities. His establishment of native schools was at first attended with disappointment: the people thought, from the earnestness with which he began his undertaking, that he meant to seize upon their children and make them Christians in some compulsory manner. Mr. Martyn, in this instance at least, discovered, that he had been too precipitate, and corrected his error. By mild expostulations, and temperate reasoning, he removed their apprehensions, and at last succeeded in filling his schools. He became in a short time such a proficient in the language of the country, as to speak and translate it fluently, and was thus enabled to be of more service than any missionary who had gone before him. In less than four months he translated the whole of the Liturgy into Hindostanee, and ventured to perform divine service and to preach in the same language: he afterwards produced a commentary upon the Parables, and before the year was out, had advanced very far in the translation of the New Testament.

No one could exert himself more faithfully, more unremittingly than Mr. Martyn, to promote the work in which he was engaged. His energy was such that neither the heat of the climate, nor the pains of an increasing affection of the chest, could induce him to remit his efforts. In short, whatever he did, he did it with all his might, and yet he failed: he made very few converts, and was obliged to acknowledge in his Journal and Correspondence, that he could discern but few visible effects of his ministry.

The fact is, that his management was too rigorous at the outset, and that he made no allowance for the gradual reception of the truths which he taught. He fancied that nothing was gained

to the household of faith, unless the proselyte were at once as good a Christian as himself. An extract or two from his Journal will explain this, and the loss of many opportunities of adding to the number of those who would be saved, through a too punctilious attention to single and insulated points of doctrine. Application for baptism having been made to him by one of the native women, and refused, he thus observes upon it:

‘Your account of a native woman, whom you baptized, came in season for me. I have been subjected to some similar perplexities, but I think no one would refuse baptism in the case you mention. The woman, who is making the same petition here, promises to marry, and comes frequently for instruction, but her heart is not touched with any tender sense of sin, and of her need of mercy. Yet if there be no scandal in her life, and she professes her belief in those points in which they are interrogated in the baptismal service, may I lawfully refuse? I cannot tell what to do: I seemed almost resolved not to administer the ordinance till convinced in my own mind of the true repentance of the person.’—p. 269.

The biographer thinks Mr. Martyn was right in not baptizing persons, who, though convinced of the *truth*, were ignorant of the *spirit* of Christianity, and that his decision was consistent with the doctrines of the church of England, and agreeable to the word of God, and to the practice of primitive times. But it appears to have escaped them, that the Hindoo had better offer an imperfect service to the Most High, than bow his knee in the temple of Juggernaut. Is nothing gained, if, by admitting those people to the rites of baptism, we save, as we undoubtedly shall, their women from the funeral pile, their children from the Ganges, and their young damsels from the impurities of the most revolting of religious rites? Is it nothing to instruct and purify by degrees, but must we insist on an absolute, a thorough regeneration at once, or refuse to admit them into our communion? An established church stands in need of human support. It requires subscriptions, unity of assent, and unity of observances; but a community of neophytes is best formed by omitting what is merely circumstantial, and by retaining that which is indispensable to a right understanding of the word of God. There is much good sense in the advice given by Archdeacon Pott to Mr. Sperchneider, previously to his departure for the same quarter: ‘The counsel I would offer you is this: let not the disputable tenets which divide the hearts of men in the Christian world, things which stand apart from the sure foundation of our common faith, be carried with you. It is surely no unreasonable wish, that they, who have wrangled so long for disputed things with no good success, would keep them from the ears of those, whose
interest

interest it is to learn only what is necessary to be known and practised.' Had Mr. Martyn followed this counsel, he would have made more proselytes among the idolatrous Hindoos in one year than will be made in a century by perpetually urging certain terms and doctrines, in regard to which the soundest theologians will never perhaps be able to come to a conclusion. But it was his constant mistake to think it necessary to demand assent to propositions, which could not but stagger the probationer. No wonder therefore that he should be driven at length to acknowledge and lament his want of success in the work of conversion. 'Corrie,' says he, in a confidential letter to Mr. Brown, 'will bring you but a poor account of my congregation: I am much neglected on all sides, and without the work of translation, I should fear my presence in India were useless.'

Despairing of making that impression in India which his ardent mind at one time led him to expect, and ever upon the watch to do some good, it occurred to him, that by taking a voyage to Bushire, and proceeding from thence to Shiraz, he might recruit his shattered health, and by collecting the opinions of learned natives, produce such a translation of the New Testament in the Persian language, as might be deemed fit for general circulation. With that elasticity of mind which distinguished him, he soon put his projects into execution, and departed for ever from those shores, which he so fondly hoped to have been instrumental in annexing to Christendom. A new theatre of action was open to him; and we have to contemplate his character in a yet more striking light, and to admire such a display of talent, perseverance and courage, as has seldom been surpassed. In some respects indeed we shall have to show that he was still pursuing a phantom, and as inflexibly as ever professing to consider those matters as indispensable, which only promote, and do not constitute the essentials of Christianity: but for the most part his conduct was judicious, spirited, and productive of considerable benefit to the cause of truth.

On the 9th of June, 1811, Mr. Martyn arrived at Shiraz, and was received into the house of Jaffier Ali Khan, a Persian of distinction, whose brother-in-law, Mirza Seid Ali Khan, kindly offered to render him every assistance in his translation, and contracted an affection for him, which was not only the means of rendering his visit to Shiraz extremely pleasant, but led to consequences of much moment to both. Seid Ali was a man of the kindest disposition, extremely well read in oriental literature, entirely free from bigotry of any kind, and ready at all times to express his opinion upon topics connected with the Mahomedan or Christian faith. An ingenuous intercourse of opinion frequently

took place between them, and Mr. Martyn soon discovered that the genius of the Persians inclines them to argue upon religious subjects, and to discuss the evidences of their national creed without reserve. Clear in explaining his propositions, logical in the arrangement of his arguments, well skilled in controversy, and in the full command of words and language, he took every opportunity of gratifying this love of debate, and of introducing those topics which were at all times uppermost in his mind. As an Englishman, he was an object of respect to the Persians; as the friend of Jaffier Ali, and Seid Ali, both of royal extraction, he was admitted into the first society; and as a man of science and learning, he was the centre of attraction from the moment his attainments were understood.

But Mr. Martyn's talents as a disputant were not exercised only in private: they excited at length so much general interest, that the Moojtuhid, or professor of Mahommedan law, thought it incumbent upon him to invite him to a public discussion of religious topics; and the debate was maintained in a manner that added much to the reputation of the Christian theologian. Considering the authority, the popularity, and the character for sanctity which this Mahommedan doctor enjoyed, it reflects high credit upon his own moderation and candour, and upon the tolerant spirit of the Persians, that an obscure stranger could venture to enter the lists with him, and to deny the divine mission of Mahommed in the face of the whole city. So universally was the spirit of inquiry raised in consequence of this public discussion, that the preceptor of the Moollahs, Mirza Ibraheem, took up the contest after the Moojtuhid resigned it, and published in Arabic a defence of Mahommedanism, which obtained the credit of surpassing all former treatises of the kind. It was written with great subtilty and skill, but in a strain of candour highly honourable to the author, who set a good example to Christian polemics, by endeavouring to settle the controversy by the pen, instead of the sword, and by declaring before all his disciples, 'that if Mr. Martyn really confuted his arguments he should be bound in conscience to become a Christian.'—Mr. Martyn's answer to this defence was divided into two parts, the first devoted to a bold and unqualified attack upon Mahommedanism, and the second intended to display the evidences and establish the authority of the Gospel dispensation. It ended with the following address to Mirza himself: 'I beg you to view these things with the eye of impartiality. If the evidence be indeed convincing, mind not the contempt of the ignorant, nor even death itself, for the vain world is passing away like the wind of the desert.'—p. 389.

The account which the Journal gives of the effect produced on

on Ibraheem's mind by this address, is not the least interesting part of the volume, and if our limits allowed, we should indulge in a few extracts from it; but we are hastening to a conclusion, and can only find room for the following passage :—

‘I called on the Vizier, afterwards on the secretary of the Kerman-shah Prince. In the court where he received me, Mirza Ibraheem was lecturing. Finding myself so near my old and respectable antagonist, I expressed a wish to see him, on which Jaffier Ali Khan went up to ascertain if my visit would be agreeable. The master consented, but some of his disciples demurred. At last, one of them observing that by the blessing of God on the master's conversation, I might possibly be converted, it was agreed that I should be invited to ascend. Then it became a question where I ought to sit. Below all, would not be respectful to a stranger, but above all the Moollahs could not be tolerated. I entered, and was surprized at the numbers. The room was lined with Moollahs on both sides, and at the top. I was about to sit down at the door, but I was beckoned to an empty place near the top, opposite to the master, who, after the usual compliments, without further ceremony, asked me, what we mean, by calling Christ God? War being thus unequivocally declared, I had nothing to do, but to stand upon the defensive. Mirza Ibraheem argued temperately enough, but of the rest some were very violent and clamorous. The former asked if Christ had ever called himself God? Was he the creator, or the creature? I replied, the creator! The Moollahs looked at one another. Such a confession had never before been heard among Mahommedan doctors.’—435.

It is not to be supposed, that Mr. Martyn's bold and open avowal of his opinions was always received with the same spirit of moderation: his patience and firmness were sometimes put to a very severe trial; but it does not appear that any violence was ever offered to his person, or that he was exposed to any thing like persecution. The most intemperate of his antagonists either kept within certain limits; or, if they appeared inclined (as was the case in one or two instances) to use menacing language, they were immediately checked by others who seemed to be ashamed of such misplaced zeal.

The question will naturally now be, how many proselytes did this courageous champion of the faith make in Persia? How many converts did he baptize? That he excited an extraordinary sensation in this quarter of the east, and that he imparted a certain degree of conviction to the minds of many Mahommedans is indisputable; but it does not appear that he baptized any: at least his Journal will not allow us to come to any other conclusion than that the same scruples which prevented his administering the holy sacrament in India, confined him to the same mistaken line of conduct in Persia. He exposed the imposture of the Prophet

Prophet in the very heart of the Musselman world, and, in his own words, 'prepared the way of the King of the East;' but he did not *ritually* make any Christians there. He even left his friend Seid Ali, who, as he says, 'was pricked to the very heart,' and repeatedly expressed his wish to be baptized, together with several others, who were ready to confess even more than Agrippa, without administering the sacred rite to them.

But though Mr. Martyn did not do so much, either in India or Persia, as might have been expected, we are far from withholding from him the applause which his labours so justly deserve. He performed far more than any of his predecessors or contemporaries in the same path, and we must remember that, while we are estimating his merits, the question should be, what was the measure of his zeal, of his sincerity, and of his exertions? Although he baptized but few in India, and none in Persia, it was by his means that the whole of the New Testament was translated into the Hindostanee and Persian languages, by which a traveller may be understood from the Chinese wall to the Pyramids, from the confines of Russia to the shores of the Indian Ocean. The consequences which may result from the extensive circulation which he thus gave to the Scriptures, can never be computed till the world shall have been Christianized. Mr. Martyn, in the fervour of youthful zeal, fancied that exhortation and preaching would be the means by which he should convert the heathens: but his usefulness discovered itself in a more silent and unostentatious track; one which will guide millions to the Church of God, long after his own name shall be forgotten on earth. Translation was his talent, and in this he succeeded above human calculation. When Mr. Martyn preached or expounded the gospel, he oftentimes enveloped it in the clouds of his own erroneous interpretation; but when he simply translated it, he delivered it in all its purity, and as such it seldom failed to find its way to the hearts of men. It was his own complaint, that after he had been endeavouring to illustrate the doctrines of redemption, he was perpetually mortified by discovering what he called a *want of spirituality* in his Persian friends; but when he *read* the sacred text to them, or when they themselves perused passages which he had rendered into their native tongue, their attention and sensibility excited his joy and admiration. 'They shed tears.'—'They were as still as a church.'—'Their attention to the word, and their love and respect seemed to increase.'—

To render his Persian translation of the New Testament an object of respect and curiosity among the *well-educated natives*, Mr. Martyn determined to present a copy of it to the Shah, under the hope that the royal acceptance of it would facilitate its
general

general circulation. For this purpose he left Shiraz on the 24th of May, 1812, and undertook a long and painful journey to Tebritz, which was attended with such extreme suffering, as to bring on a fever which confined him to his bed for nearly two months. Fortunately the first symptoms of this disorder discovered themselves, while he was at the house of the British ambassador (Sir Gore Ouseley) at Tebritz, and here he received every attention which the most generous hospitality and assiduous tenderness could afford. The attack, however, was too severe for his feeble frame to sustain: it was evident that he could bear no more such toils as he had hitherto encountered, and at length he complied with the representations of his friends, and resolved to return to England for the restoration of his health. This determination was no sooner made, than the full tide of affection and sensibility, which the poor missionary had made it the effort of his life to check, rushed back to his heart. The thought of revisiting his native soil, and once more meeting those whom he loved, made him too precipitate in putting his design into execution. His face was no sooner turned towards England, than he fondly imagined that no mode of travelling could be too expeditious for him. 'Do I dream!' said he, when writing to a friend upon the subject of his return home, 'that I venture to think and write of such a pleasing hope.' Alas! the hope and anticipation were all that he was destined to enjoy. After a journey of excessive suffering he reached Tocat, exhausted by fatigue, burnt up by fever, and half delirious with pain. The last insertions in his Journal were equally expressive of intense illness, and of ardent longing after immortality. 'Oh when shall time give place to eternity! there none of those corruptions, that add still more to the miseries of mortality, shall be seen or heard of.' He breathed his last at Tocat on the 16th of August, 1812, and we should not do justice to his biographer, if we were to offer our reflections upon the melancholy circumstances of his death in any words but his own. 'While some shall delight to gaze upon the splendid sepulchre of Xavier, and others chuse rather to ponder over the granite stone which covers all that is mortal of Swartz, there will not be wanting those who will think of the humble and unfrequented grave of Henry Martyn, and be led to imitate those works of mercy which have followed him into the world of light and love.'

We cannot dismiss this article without adverting to Mr. Martyn's expectation of Persia being the first oriental nation to embrace the faith of Christ. 'The Persians,' said he, 'will probably take the lead in the march to Sion.' If he meant to speak of the conversion of this immense empire as an event likely to

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... period, and as the result of
... by secular assistance, and in-
... causes, which have hap-
... of other nations, we are really
... upon which he rested his
... to believe that the curiosity con-
... by Mr. Martyn at Shiraz, will not
... imparted a conviction of the truth of
... medians there, which may be followed
... We believe too that if other per-
... could be found to follow his steps,
... producing impressions of a salutary
... the same quarter. But there is a vast
... and general conversion, and it does not
... natives of Persia have the good humour
... Christian polemic, that the whole nation is
... in favour of Christianity. Indeed we
... inquisitive Persian who seems to listen
... much complacency, does so more from
... creed, than from any deep concern
... Disposed to encourage any thing
... and freedom of opinion, he lends a wil-
... not because his conscience is awaken-
... something that will lead to a new train

... character of the Persians entirely out
... not flatter ourselves with the prospect

... of our expectation in the recent publication of
... much of the road passed by Mr. Martyn, and re-
... with a near relation of his friend Mirza Seid Ali.
... Mr. Martyn dwelt nearly a year: and on leaving its
... found no cause for "shaking off the dust of his feet"
... The inhabitants had received, cherished, and listened to
... the blessings and tears of many a Persian friend.
... had then found its way into Persia; and as it appears
... the gradual effect hereafter may be like the harvest

... is greatly, and we extract it with peculiar pleasure.
... so unwearied that I never could forget I was in the
... two noble Persians, Jaffier Ali Khan, and Mirza Seid
... personal friendship to our "Man of God"! for so
... When the weather became too intense for his en-
... heat of the city, Jaffier Ali Khan pitched a tent
... beyond the walls, where he pursued his trans-
... in the cool of the evening, he sat under the
... side of a clear stream, holding that style of conversa-
... which caused their pious guest to say, "That the
... and the notes of the nightingales which warbled
... discourse from Persian lips."

of

of seeing any people universally converted by the mere preaching of missionaries, however highly we may appreciate their labours. No example of a whole nation being evangelized occurred till the fourth century; and even then the happy event was brought about by a combination of circumstances, many of which, though they were doubtless of divine appointment, were entirely beyond the agency of men devoted to the service of God. We are taught therefore by facts not to trust solely to missionary exertions, nor always to be looking for the workings of Providence, but to co-operate with the divine power in the extension of our faith, 'after the manner of men,' that is, by employing such rational and ordinary means as are likely to promote the end in view; for although the effusion of the Holy Spirit directs subordinate causes, yet it may be said at the same time to wait for them, and to act not independently of human agency.

In our opinion, next to the dissemination of the Scriptures, the most probable way of inducing the Persians, or any other civilized people, to enter into such a comparison between their own, and the Christian creed, as may eventually lead them to adopt the latter, is to contrive opportunities of showing them the improvement in arts, science, and society, which Christianity never fails to carry with it. A spirit friendly to our civil and religious institutions would thus be imperceptibly excited; and, upon the old dramatic principle of what is seen making a more lasting impression than what is heard, unbelievers would be more convinced by witnessing the beneficial effects of Christianity, than by all that could be told them by the Missionary. Could our government, for example, be prevailed upon to employ its supposed influence with the Persian court, to obtain its consent for the British factory at Bushire to establish a school or college, ostensibly for the instruction of Persian children and adults in European arts and literature; (and the necessary funds for the support of such an institution might well be spared out of the annual income of some of the missionary societies;) as there is now a tendency in many of the natives of that country to discuss and embrace the truth, we cannot avoid thinking, that it would be considerably increased by thus giving them the means of receiving an European education upon their own soil, and by gradually preparing their minds for the reception of what would alarm them if hastily advanced.

It will not be out of place to observe here, that we do not remember a single instance of any civilized kingdom having been converted, until the missionaries were countenanced by men in power; and we could wish those good people, who take such an active part in associations for the extension of the gospel, would pay

pay more attention to a maxim, which is confirmed by the experience of eighteen hundred years. The Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and for the Promotion of Christianity, have indeed again taken the lead, as they did in the first establishment of missions, in improving upon the original scheme, by soliciting the influence and co-operation of the government, and by pursuing measures which will facilitate and accredit the labours of their missionaries. They discovered, and candidly confessed in their Reports, that their preachers and schoolmasters did not succeed to the measure of their expectations; that something was wanting to give the advantage of combination, respectability and union to their efforts, and that recourse must be had to those aids and supports, which are as indispensable in religious, as in all other matters. And we humbly conceive that if other societies also would, in like manner, temper their zeal with a little discretion, and direct their attention to the best means of affording facilities to their missionaries, they would be enabled to render a better account of the immense sums which are placed at their disposal; and instead of publishing reports which contain little more, from year to year, than a repetition of the same pious sentiments, and sanguine expectations, would have it in their power to give some intelligible account of the effects which they are producing. We have carefully read the last Report of the Church Missionary Society, and yet we are really unable to form any accurate calculation of the number of their converts; all that we learn is, that they 'expended upwards of £30,000 between April 1819, and April 1820! that they have two hundred labourers distributed among eight missions; that in these different missions between 9000 and 10,000 children are educated; that many thousand adults hear the glad tidings of salvation, and of these many hundreds make a creditable profession of Christianity.' The vagueness of this statement, added to the fact of there having been twenty converts only made at one of their stations in four years, and of these, all relapsing but *one*, is a sufficient proof both of limited success, and of a material and inherent defect in their regulations, and in the application of their resources. We would submit to them whether their sphere of usefulness would not be considerably enlarged if they would appropriate a greater proportion of their funds to purposes similar to that for which the noble grant of £5000 was lately voted for the use of the Mission College at Calcutta. This institution was originally suggested by the Bishop of Calcutta, under the persuasion that some preparation is necessary both for the missionary and the proselyte, before they can come to a mutual understanding: that the one must be instructed to proceed

proceed with caution, to adapt himself to the circumstances under which he is placed, and to study the predilections and manners of the people upon whom he is to act; while the other must gradually be taught to divest himself of his hereditary prejudices.

The wisdom of such an Institution is obvious. The probationers become familiar with the English language, manners and religion, before any avowed step is taken towards making them Christians, and in fact they are half convinced, before the missionary's duty begins: for though, as the bishop observes, they are not here professedly instructed in Christianity, yet 'it is impossible that they, who, in their childhood, shall have been accustomed to use their minds, can ever afterwards be capable of adopting the absurdities, and reverencing the abominations now proposed to them as truth, and as the acceptable worship of God: and it is hoped that they who have been emancipated from superstition may in time be brought to a knowledge of Christ.'

Should similar plans be generally adopted by missionary associations, there will always be a supply of men duly qualified for propagating the Gospel in India, and distinguished not by their zeal only, but by their learning and attainments. The latter are as necessary as the former; for (we repeat) if missionaries do not possess talents for languages, and the temper and prudence requisite for their undertaking, if they are not well enough acquainted with subjects of history and philosophy to satisfy the inquiries of the curious, all their enthusiasm, and their sense of duty will be insufficient to enable them to gain much advantage over the subtleties and prejudices of the people whom they are employed to convert. A serious impression may be made upon rude and uncultivated savages simply by exhortation and preaching; but many other measures must be resorted to, before we can hope to succeed with those oriental nations who have made considerable advances towards refinement; superstition being infinitely more impregnable than ignorance, and the fables of a popular mythology far more blinding than the darkness of the grossest idolatry.

ART. VIII.—*Notes on the Cape of Good Hope, made during an Excursion in that Colony in the year 1820.* pp. 207. London. 1821.

THE position of this Great Promontory, both with regard to latitude and the illimitable ocean which bathes its eastern and western shores, secures to it a temperature of climate which, if equalled, is certainly not excelled in any part of either hemisphere. Its situation, midway between England and India, is another

another recommendation in its favour: few ships, we believe; whether going or returning from our oriental dominions, ever pass the Cape without a wish to visit it; and fewer still of those that anchor there, and partake of its glowing skies, the fragrant breezes of its mild evenings, its delicious fruits, and refreshments, ever leave it but with feelings of sincere regret. 'As the major part of its visitors, however,' says the writer of the 'Notes,' remain only a few days for rest and refreshment, it is probable that its defects may be overlooked and its beauties exaggerated.' True: and it is more than probable, we would add, that if a casual visitor, like our modest and ingenuous author, after a few days' residence in Cape Town, and a hasty scamper along the coast, should think fit to publish his 'Notes' and his 'Excursion,' he may fall into the contrary mistake of overlooking its beauties, and exaggerating its defects. That this is very remarkably the case in the present instance, we can have no difficulty in showing.

In justice to the author (who does not give his name) we must observe that many passages of the work before us exhibit a tone of right feeling and good sense, which we cannot but approve; there are, others, however, we are sorry to say, wholly unworthy of a gentleman and a person of education, which the writer appears to be, notwithstanding the blunders in language and logic which he frequently commits, and the 'lame and impotent conclusions' which are always sure to follow his premises whenever he ventures on an argument.

His mistakes are numerous, as might be expected from one who neither understood the language, nor had time or opportunity to make himself acquainted with the manners and sentiments of the people whom he has undertaken to describe. The first of them that calls for censure, and the more loudly as it must have been made before he stirred from Cape Town, is 'that the Hottentots are an idle, worthless people,—whose extinction can hardly be considered as a loss.' Now we know that Sir James Craig, who embodied a regiment of these people, always spoke in the highest terms of their activity, discipline, good order, and cleanliness. Le Vaillant and Mr. Barrow, both of whom lived many months among them, agree in asserting that they had been most undeservedly stigmatized and vilified by the Dutch writers; and Mr. Latrobe, who recently visited all the Moravian establishments, assures us that they had there given the most striking proofs of ingenuity, industry, and neatness, and manifested the most anxious desire to be admitted within the pale of civilized society. It is too much to be told, after this, that 'the Hottentot may be seen regaling himself with the undressed entrails and blood of a sheep, while the partner of his life is picking a bone of carrion

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at his side!" and we will venture to affirm, on our own responsibility, that no such scene ever occurred within the scope of the author's 'Excursion.'

The condition of the slaves in the colony is the next point on which our young visitor has been most egregiously misinformed. They are 'inured,' he says, 'to hardship and spare-living; and the only relaxation which is permitted to them, is a Sunday holiday, when a week of unremitting toil, and the tyranny of an unfeeling master, are all forgot in the tumultuous delight of a dance.' Had the writer lived in a Dutch family instead of a Scotch tavern, he could not have published so erroneous a statement. In no part of the world are slaves treated so well and worked so easily as at Cape Town. The Malay is generally brought up to some handicraft trade, is suffered to hire himself out by the week or the day, and if he brings home to his master a certain moderate sum at the end of the week, all he can earn above it is his own; and he is frequently enabled to purchase his freedom by the money he thus saves. The domestic slaves are generally very numerous, have very little to do, and all know exactly what is required of them. The children have the run of the house and are treated pretty much the same as the children of the master; and the females, crowding round the feet of their mistress, are mostly employed in needle-work. So far indeed are the slaves from being subject to 'unremitting toil and tyranny,' that they may rather be described as indolent and pampered. Mr. Semple (many years a merchant at the Cape) describes them as well treated, well clothed and well fed. 'If,' says he, 'now and then an instance be found to the contrary, that affects not the general character: a man may use his slave ill, but the slaves at the Cape are well treated; or he may lodge him badly, but the slaves at the Cape are well lodged; or he may half clothe or half feed him, but the slaves of the Cape are well clothed and fully fed.' What the writer of the 'Notes' means by saying that 'a slave is not permitted to become a Christian at the Cape,' we are as much at a loss to conceive, as we are to comprehend the justice of his inference—'hence he can never marry.' Christianity forms no stepping-stone to marriage here; the Malays, the most valuable and numerous class of slaves, who are all Mahomedans, almost invariably marry; in fact, all who chuse it, marry; and there is no prohibition whatever to their becoming Christians: he is equally loose in denominating the slaves 'a population of blacks,' when more than two-thirds of them are either of a copper colour or little less white than Europeans.*

* For many years past not a slave of any description has been imported into the colony; and twenty years hence there will probably not remain a slave within it. The extravagant prices which they formerly bore are gradually diminishing in consequence

Our young traveller is not merely guilty of mistakes, but of gross calumny in speaking of the Dutch inhabitants of Cape Town. It is no excuse to say that he only states what he heard: the gossip of a tap-room is not the most creditable authority, and, at any rate, should not be lightly trusted to the public ear. 'Decency,' he says, 'is seldom openly outraged in the disgraceful manner we daily witness at home, though vice has an unlimited sway in private life.' It may be so, though *he* who lived in the public tavern was not in a condition to know it: but how are we to understand what follows? 'There is more temperance and moderation amongst the female part of the world, *because* a lack of chastity is more a thing of course.' Does this mean that a lack of chastity may be predicted by the external characteristics of temperance and moderation? Or, does the writer set down his words without affixing any determinate sense to them, and without any object but that of stigmatizing those from whom, by his own admission, he received the utmost civility?

'Conjugal fidelity,' he continues, 'is rarely to be met with here. The men have their slave girls, without any disagreeable feelings on the part of their wives; and these again have their *cicisbeos* with the good-will and permission of their husbands.' This is mere slander. If the Dutch ladies at the Cape excel in any one virtue it is that of 'conjugal fidelity;' and their habits are purely domestic. For the truth of this we appeal to the English families who have long been resident there. There were two, or three, we believe, who, shortly after the capture of the colony, made themselves ridiculous by the encouragement which they gave to certain naval and military officers of high rank, and their husbands equally so for suffering it; but we would ask, whether, if there should be found two or three vicious wives and mean-spirited husbands in an English town, the writer would consider himself warranted in asserting that conjugal fidelity was rarely to be met with in England!

Equally slanderous is 'the delicate sort of arrangement,' which, he tells us, 'is worthy of notice,' but which we consider to be too gross to admit into our pages. To prove that the word 'delicacy' may be said to have no place at all in the Dutch Cape nomenclature, he observes that the ceremony of marriage is performed in open church on Sundays, during the hours of public service. 'On such occasions,' he adds, 'men are apt to sneak into church, and sneak out again; but a young lady of the Cape is not satisfied unless she can display her unblushing charms and

of the influx of European labourers, whose superior skill and activity must supersede those of the Malays; and manumission will, we doubt not, take place to a very great extent.

her

her wedding dress to the gaze of an unlimited number of spectators.' This foolish observation only proves that the author did not attend his church at home as regularly as he should have done;—the young ladies at the Cape, like young ladies in all other countries, follow the practice which custom has sanctioned, and which he ought to have known is conformable to ancient usage, and to the rubric which directs the parties to appear in the body of the church, and be married 'in the face of the congregation.'

This is followed by a facetious story of a Dutchman engaged to marry an English lady, whose portion was to be paid down on the wedding-day. The bride, the bridegroom and the friends were all assembled and about to proceed to church, when the bridegroom, after pausing a few moments, 'in an attitude of calculation,' advanced towards the father, 'and striking his fist upon the table, broke out into this *delicate* exclamation before the whole party:—"I tell you vat, if I no get the rix-dollars, I no take the vife." The tale is not very probable: but if it actually happened, it is as absurd as unjust to stigmatize a whole colony with 'a want of delicacy' on account of it. Such stories, in fact, are told of all countries; and one or more of them may be found in every jest-book from Scoggins to Joe Miller.

One word more on the subject of *delicacy*, and we have done with that part of the work which relates to Cape Town.

'Slave girls, when possessed of any personal charms, are an invaluable property. They are sent forth elegantly equipped, and are immediately hired of the owner, either by the month or year, or perhaps purchased altogether by some enamoured admirer. If this property should belong to a lady, the traffic is not considered as indelicate, but an honest source of emolument, which it would be fastidiousness to decline. A married lady, of great respectability, was possessed of a slave girl, whom she had regularly hired to an East India officer by the month; but the girl had the presumption to engage in other amours, and he made a complaint of this impertinent conduct to the mistress in the public dancing assembly, with an intent of having her punished. The lady very composedly told him the fault was his own, that he ought to purchase the girl at once.'—p. 117.

Freed from the gossip of a tavern, our young traveller appears to grow somewhat more cautious in his opinions, and somewhat more correct in his observations. But his qualifications for the latter do not rank very high. As he appears not to have the least knowledge of, or taste for, natural history, without which we hold it impossible that any clear account can be given of an unoccupied or uncultivated country, we do not, of course, look to him for any information on this head; but we have a right to expect that he will make a somewhat accurate use of his

eyes: yet we have an early instance of his carelessness in this respect, in the exaggerated account which he gives of the dreary and barren appearance of the first hundred miles of country beyond the Hottentot Hollands mountains; the whole of which, he says, is 'without any verdure to relieve the view, excepting a species of heath, that shows like tattered rags upon the grey rocks.' Now there is not in the whole colony a tract of country so fertile in most of the finest genera of the shrubby and bulbous-rooted plants of Southern Africa, as that in question; and as to 'a species of heath,' (not to say that the *heath* on the grey rocks was no heath at all,) we can confidently assert that more than a hundred different species of heaths have been collected within the space he mentions. The country, indeed, is but thinly inhabited, for want of water, and we sincerely pity the poor couple whom our traveller met with, and thus describes.

'It was in the delectable country I have above described, that I halted, after a toilsome ride of many hours, at a house, which, to my surprise, I found occupied by an Englishman and his wife. They had been induced to purchase this secluded villa in consequence of an advertisement in the Cape Gazette, which represented it as a beautiful and romantic retirement; and the wife was delighted with the thoughts of a removal from the bustle and solicitude of the world. Poor woman, she imagined, as Johnson said of Savage on his departure for Swansea, "that she should be transported to scenes of flowery felicity, like those which one poet has reflected to another, and had projected a perpetual round of innocent pleasures, of which she suspected no interruption from ignorance and brutality." But a few weeks had convinced her that solitude was another word for wretchedness, and that the rumbling of a hackney coach was music far more congenial than the breathings of the gentle south.'—p. 18.

Having got over the first hundred miles, he admits that the aspect of the country changed for the better; good substantial farm-houses made their appearance, though still thinly scattered; a considerable portion of land was under cultivation; and something like forest trees rose in the ravines of the mountains. The account given of the Dutch boors is, we believe, pretty correct.

'These farmers live without concern; for they have every thing within themselves; their slaves and their sons are their masons, their blacksmiths, their carpenters, wheelwrights, &c.; the produce of the farm affords them a subsistence, which is never luxurious, but always sufficient. They drink their own sour wine; burnt barley is their coffee; and they sometimes make tea of a plant which grows on the hills. There is nothing of neatness to be seen; no attempt at ornament of any kind; no inclosures, unless perhaps round the vineyard or garden. This gives an air of extreme nakedness and wildness to the eye of an European. Their gardens are small, and in bad order, for they
set

set little value upon fruit or vegetables of any kind. Pumpkins and water-melons are scattered throughout them, and are almost spontaneous productions. A few potatoes, and perhaps some cabbage, complete their stock of vegetables. Apricots, peaches, and nectarines grow wild, without any care; but they are not plentiful, for they are not articles either of use or luxury.'—p. 19.

He is wrong, however, in stating, that these boors viewed 'with the utmost jealousy the several European adventurers, who have purchased tracts of land among them;' and that 'with still greater animosity and alarm do they contemplate the extensive plan of colonization now about to be acted upon by the British government.' To their credit be it spoken, and we state it on the best authority, these simple people, ignorant, if the writer pleases, as well as those far beyond the limits of his 'excursion,' behaved with the utmost kindness to the emigrants, and cheerfully afforded every assistance in their power to the numerous families travelling to their respective places of location. The Dutch boors in fact are not now what they were a quarter of a century ago, when Barrow travelled among them. He was the first Englishman they had seen; he visited them in an official character, and when they were in a state of rebellion against the government; and equally without religious instruction and legal restraint. Since that time, however, many English regiments have been among them; and they have fought together against the common enemy, the Kaffers. Churches have been erected, and ministers appointed to perform divine service. A committee of the members of the Court of Justice makes an annual circuit, and they are become good and loyal subjects. They may perhaps, as the author says, 'have viewed the landing of a thrashing machine with as much amazement as the inhabitants of Troy did the wooden horse;' but we must have some better authority than his before we believe that 'the English, as well as the Dutch, opposed its introduction,' and that 'some obstruction was secretly introduced into the machinery of one belonging to the former to prevent its working:'—because the use of it could interfere with no one's business or benefit, and because it at once furnished a remedy for the universal complaint of sand being mixed with the Cape wheat, in consequence of its being trodden out by cattle.

The spleen of the writer, whilst it seldom spares the men, appears more especially directed against the female part of society, which, it would seem, is no better a hundred miles up the country than in Cape Town. 'The morality,' he says, 'of the female part of the family is such as nature furnishes them with. They are removed from all opportunities of religious instruction; and as they cannot be supposed chaste by *instinct*, a pretty plain

inference may be safely drawn.' Our young traveller must learn caution. *Instinct is a great matter*; and before he limits its power, we would advise him to look after its meaning. He does them, however, the justice to admit, that 'there is nothing coarse or offensive in their address, or manners,' and that 'most of them read, though their studies are confined to the occasional lecture in the great family bible.' The bible, then, is not the book which our author would recommend for the study of 'morality,' or for gaining 'religious instruction!' To say the truth, he does not seem to have sought them there very diligently himself:—but he graciously informs these ill-judging females, that 'the lessons of intellectual refinement,' (p. 103.) are, according to his notions, to be derived rather from 'Tom Jones and Humphrey Clinker,' which, he seems to lament, 'have not yet found their way into the 'subscription reading-room,' or the 'circulating library' of the Cape.

But enough of the Dutch inhabitants of the colony. Our chief interest at present is directed towards the English settlers, who have recently emigrated; and whose first labours, we grieve to say, have nearly proved abortive. Nothing could be finer or more promising than the wheat crops appeared to be in the full ear, when a blight or mildew, such as was never known by the oldest inhabitant to attack wheat in that country, scathed the whole harvest over an extent of many hundred square miles. Still however the Indian corn, beans and potatoes were spared, on which they depended for relief; but these hopes were also blasted. A violent storm in the early part of last January destroyed every garden and plantation, so that the new settlers must necessarily have been in the most wretched state, had not the government provided stores of grain from the harvest of the preceding year, and other necessities, with which they have been supplied at the most reasonable rates. The numerous live stock of the calumniated boors has also contributed to their relief; and has been offered in the most liberal manner, and at a rate so reasonable, that we do not suppose beef and mutton will cost them more than a penny or three-half-pence the pound. The whole sea-coast of the colony was well known to abound with various kinds of excellent fish; but no means were adopted by the boors to take them; fortunately however a number of Deal fishermen had gone out with the emigrants and settled on the shore of Algoa Bay; where they found no difficulty in catching as much fish as they pleased: of this, many waggon loads were daily carried inland for the use of the new settlers. This body of useful men, we understand, have already commenced the building of a small town, to which they have given the name of Little Deal;

Deal; and the report of their success has induced other parties from the Cinque-ports to proceed and join their fortunate brethren in Africa.

We never for a moment doubted, from the knowledge which we possessed of the country and the climate, that all those emigrants, who set out with a small capital, common prudence, and industrious habits, and who had no further views for the present than those of deriving a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families by honest labour, would do well; find themselves perfectly satisfied with the prospects which their new country held out, and ultimately meet with an ample reward for their industry and skill. It is not the failure of one year, even though that year was unfortunately the first, that can make the least alteration of our opinion in this respect; and so little indeed do the settlers themselves feel discouraged by this unexpected calamity, that they are redoubling their exertions for the next year's crop, convinced, from the state of the grain when the evil befel them, that the ground requires only tillage bountifully to repay their labour.

The prospects of the industrious emigrant may, we think, be summed up in a few words. He will procure with a small capital all the necessaries and some of the luxuries of life from his own land; and he will enjoy a clear sky, a pure air, and an unexceptionable climate. He may, without expense, hunt and shoot over an unlimited extent of country; and improve the government grant, so as to render it capable of supporting his sons and his sons' sons:—but he must not expect to realize a fortune in money from his surplus produce. The time however will, in all probability, arrive, when an active coasting trade (already begun) and an unfettered commerce will open to his family the avenues of wealth; but he must not be impatient.

These advantages, however, we repeat, must be confined to those classes of emigrants who have either a capital sufficient to stock their grant of land, who can command in their own persons or in their families a fund of agricultural labour, or who have been brought up to some useful mechanical profession. But numbers, we lament to say, have taken advantage of the liberal offers of government, and gone out as settlers, who are every way disqualified from helping themselves, and, what is still more to be regretted, have seduced others (as unprofitable as themselves) by illusive hopes and promises to follow their example. The writer of the 'Notes' was present when a party of this description arrived; 'they were,' he says, 'half-pay officers of the army and navy, tradesmen, clerks in government situations, and not (what they should have been) practical farmers. The labouring men,' he adds, 'have too generally been picked up about large towns;

they had more the look of manufacturers than ploughmen; and I thought the proportion of tradesmen, or those exercising the mechanic arts, too great. Thus there were engravers, brass letter founders, musical instrument makers, &c.' These, to be sure, are not exactly the sort of people whose talents are likely to be useful in an infant settlement. One person, it appears, had brought with him a printing press, paper, compositors, and all the paraphernalia required for getting up a *Weekly Courant*; another had furnished himself with a sedan chair; and that no species of absurdity might be wanting, a family, from the metropolis, was accompanied by two teachers of the pianoforte, and a poet!

Our author seems to find fault with the assortment of ministers of the Gospel sent out to the new settlement. 'In addition,' he says, 'to the regular clergymen provided, there was a most copious sprinkling of preachers to grace the new settlement with their eloquence and disperse the light of God:—'such ignorant pretenders,' he continues, 'are not likely to diffuse the mild lessons of Christianity, or to benefit the cause of social order.' He has not proved their 'ignorance,' and from the general irreverence of his language, we are not disposed to rate his assertions very highly on subjects of this serious nature. We have ourselves, indeed, frequently expressed our doubts of the benefits conferred on uncivilized nations by Evangelical missionaries of this description; at the same time we think that some of them have been incidentally useful in making geographical discoveries; and we are not sure that we may not be hereafter indebted to them for a further knowledge of South Africa.

The English, the writer says, are, to a man, clamorous for the introduction of our own laws; and he thinks it a fair subject of complaint that, in an English colony, all law proceedings should be held in the Dutch language, and that an Englishman should be heard only through the medium of an interpreter. This is also our opinion. It is a subject, indeed, on which we cannot help thinking that we have been most criminally negligent, on every principle of political economy. The Romans were wiser; at least, they were more alive to the advantages of introducing their own language in all their colonies and conquests. It is, indeed, utterly impossible to amalgamate two different nations without first establishing a community of language; and we do not see how that submission to the laws and that obedience to the restraints which, as a governing nation, we may deem it expedient to exact from the colonists can be expected, when perhaps they are incapable of comprehending the full import of what they are called on to obey: or how the English settlers themselves can regulate their conduct according to laws different from their own, and in a language

guage which they cannot understand. Where the governors use one language and the governed another, there can be no cordial co-operation, no community of sentiment; they will for ever remain two distinct people. Our subjects of Canada (by allowing them to use the French language in all questions of law and government) are as much French at this day as when we conquered the country. The same may be said of the Dutch at the Cape, at Demerara and Essequibo; and Trinidad is peopled by Spaniards, governed by Spanish laws, and using the Spanish language. In granting them their own laws we perhaps act rightly; but it is neither right nor politic to suffer a foreign language to exclude our own from our own colonies.

Let it not be supposed that we would recommend any violent change, or that any violence, indeed, is necessary, to induce a colony to adopt the language of the nation under whose authority it has fallen. The bulk of mankind is ready enough under all circumstances to perceive and to follow its own interests. Make it the interest of the colonists to learn the language of their conquerors, and they will need no other spur. Give them their laws if you will, but let these laws be administered in the language of those who have to execute them. Let all the proceedings of the courts of justice, all deeds, bonds and other securities, all conveyance of property, all requests and memorials to the governors, be written in the language of the governing power, and make the knowledge of that language an indispensable condition for office or employment, and the difficulty will speedily vanish. As it is, most of the Dutch have a smattering of English; and if the law proceedings and the correspondence of the colonial secretary's office were once confined to this language, all ranks would very soon find it their interest to perfect themselves in it. To this end the establishment of a public library at the Cape may essentially contribute; and in this a beginning has been made. A collection of Greek and Latin classics, and of French, German and Dutch books, together with a considerable sum of money, has been left by a German merchant for this purpose. The government and the inhabitants, much to their credit, have enlarged the funds; and we have great pleasure in mentioning, from our own knowledge, that very considerable sums of money have been and are intended annually to be remitted to England, for the purchase of English books to add to this library.

We consider, then, the introduction of the English language into our colonies as far more important than that of the English laws, and, at any rate, entitled to precedence. At the same time it is natural that British-born subjects should feel an anxious desire to be amenable only to those laws under which they were born.

born. There is, however, a little inconsistency in the 'clamours' of the new settlers. They complain (the writer of the 'Notes' says) that 'impartial justice is not to be obtained, and that there is a leaning to the side of the Dutch;' especially when any of the suitors happen to be related to the members of the Court of Justice, (which must frequently happen in a place where family connections are so very extensive,) and are therefore desirous of establishing the trial by jury—forgetting apparently that the chance of justice is greater when the verdict depends on a *majority* of half-a-dozen judges, than on the *unanimity* of a dozen jurymen of the same country, (as they generally would be,) and having the same connections as the judges.

Any grievances alleged to arise out of the Dutch laws we consider as ideal. The criminal code, the writer says and says truly, is remarkable for its lenity: while in civil litigations no pains are spared by the Judges of the Court to prevail on the parties to compromise their disputes; and even when they proceed to a hearing the expenses are trifling in comparison with those of the English Courts. All the regulations of the colony, with regard to the transfer of property and the tenure of land, are highly favourable to the English settler. There are no bad titles to estates at the Cape; and no risk of being taken-in, as in America, by purchasing those which may be mortgaged; as all are registered in the Colonial Secretary's Office; and every sale or transfer is noted upon the chart of the estate, so that at a glance the incumbrances on the property may be ascertained. In short, there is no part of the world where the buyer of fixed property has so many advantages as at the Cape of Good Hope.

We mentioned in a former Article (No. XLIII.) on the subject of the Cape, that the three great staples of produce were wool, wheat and wine. The country indeed is most admirably suited for sheep; in climate it approaches nearest to Spain, and its heathy hills are probably not very different from the sierras of the European peninsula. The cross of the Merino has succeeded beyond expectation, and the wool sent home, in its unassorted state, has fetched an unusual high price in the London market.

The heaviest wheat that has yet been shown in Mark Lane was brought from the Cape, and was probably raised from land which had never been manured: labour and expense of this kind are rarely resorted to where the ground can be irrigated; and in such situations crops succeed crops regularly every year. A Dutch boor, in fact, never thinks of a farm-yard in which to keep his cattle and collect manure; his straw is trampled to dust in treading out the grain, and scattered by the winds; and in those distant parts, where it is deemed necessary to bring the sheep and cattle
home



from the wolves and hyenas, they
 surrounded by a wall of clay, or
 branches of the thorny mimosa.
 sometimes to the height of the
 winter becoming a deep mire; in
 heat of the sun and tainting the air;
 ation it is never thought of.
 acquired, as Dame Quickly says, *an ill*
 fear, deserved it; more especially since the
 it thought it expedient to create a wine-taster
 puty. Whether in consequence of the appoint-
 two gentlemen, or in spite of them, we will not
 selves to say, but such is the trash, which for some
 has been poured into this country from the Cape, that,
 duties are, many of the wines will not command a
 cover them. Nothing could be more impolitic than
 disgust the best, perhaps the only market the colonists
 ever hope to find. The choicest Cape wines have not many
 ocates. There is, as we formerly observed, a villainous fla-
 our in all of them, which we attributed, justly, as we think, to
 the clayey nature of the soil. In this respect, the new settlement
 will have greatly the advantage, as the eastern part of the colony
 possesses an unbounded range of fine lime-stone knolls, unknown
 in the old settlements, and particularly adapted to the cultivation
 and perfection of the vine.

We mean not however to confine the staple articles of produce
 to wheat, wine, and wool. Indian corn, tobacco, oil, flax, and
 hemp if thought necessary, all kinds of fruits and culinary vege-
 tables, may be raised to any amount in the various situations of
 this extensive country. The coast-fishery offers a never-failing
 source of emolument to those who know how to conduct it skil-
 fully; in a word, so numerous are the advantages that present
 themselves to our view, that we have no hesitation in saying that,
 in no great length of time, the Cape of Good Hope will be
 considered as a place in which it will not be deemed unfortunate
 to procure an establishment.

With the impression on our minds of the value of the Cape
 settlement as a territorial possession, and wholly independent of
 its political importance with reference to the safety of our
 oriental dominions, we cannot help thinking that it would be
 highly expedient to extend the limits of the colony to the north-
 ward; being well assured that so fine a country, so advantageously
 situated for carrying on a commerce with the rest of the world,
 will not remain long unoccupied. Foreign nations, it is well
 known, are looking out for suitable places for establishments on
 the

the coast of Africa; and it would neither be safe nor agreeable to find them planted in the immediate rear of this important settlement. We have now a line of coast extending five hundred miles, without a single harbour except the Knysna, the entrance of which is narrow and dangerous; the winds, however, are perfectly steady and blow off the land for six months of the year, and the anchorage is generally good.

Very little is known of any part of the eastern coast of Africa beyond the present limits of the Cape; and nothing at all of those portions of it which have had the misfortune of falling into the hands of the Portuguese. Slaves and gold dust are the only objects that possess any attraction for this 'Faithful nation;' and if they really have any information concerning the interior, not a syllable of it is suffered to transpire. Of the long line of country between our colony and the Portuguese settlements, our only knowledge is derived from a journey made by some Dutch boors many years ago, in search of the wreck of the Grosvenor East India ship. They found the whole country extremely beautiful, well wooded, and watered by a multitude of streams issuing from a chain of mountains parallel to the coast, many of which were not fordable. The extent of this intermediate slip of land cannot be less than ten thousand square miles, which would at once afford present subsistence and open a source of future wealth to myriads of industrious families.

If it be objected that this country is already in possession of the Kaffers, we shall only observe, that the party above mentioned scarcely saw a human being in the whole of their journey; while the plains were covered with antelopes, and the woods full of lions, elephants and rhinoceroses: so numerous indeed were these animals in every part of their route, that they might be truly said to be the possessors of the country; the Kaffers having taken up their abode on the plains behind the great ridge of mountains, of which we shall shortly have an account from the pen of Mr. Campbell, the greatest traveller that has yet appeared in Southern Africa. The argument of prior possession might be applied to all the colonies held by European powers; and if it had prevailed, some of the finest spots of the creation would be at this moment unwholesome and unprofitable wastes,

ART. IX.—1. *Report from the Select Committee to whom the several Petitions complaining of the Depressed State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom were referred. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, 18th June, 1821. pp. 56. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones.*

2. *Essay*

2. *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land, with Observations showing the Impolicy of any great Restriction of the Importation of Corn, and that the Bounty of 1680 did not lower the Price of it.* By a Fellow of University College, Oxford. pp. 69. London. 1815.

CONSIDERING the extent of the subjects referred to the Agricultural Committee, the eagerness with which they have been discussed—an eagerness not disproportioned to their importance—and the practical weight, which the talents and station of many of the members of the Committee must give to the Report, we have been anxious, at any sacrifice, not to let a Number elapse before we gave some account of its contents. For this purpose we have been forced to consider the Report without the Minutes of Evidence, which do not seem likely to be published before this Article is in the press, and to write somewhat more rapidly than we could have wished on so difficult a subject. The first we have found a less inconvenience than we expected. The Report consists so much of inferences from acknowledged principles and facts, and is so little founded on information derived from the witnesses, that it may well be treated, as we have treated it, as an independent work. The second we have felt severely; but we hope that in the wide circulation of this Journal our errors will not escape detection, and that we shall be able, when we recur to the subject, (for it is one that must often engage our attention,) to correct those which are important.

The branch of political economy which is the principal subject of this Report, the effect of the employment of capital in obtaining raw agricultural produce, is one on which writers and speakers are in general guilty of so many errors, and seem so little aware of their ignorance, that we may, perhaps, be forgiven if we endeavour to explain at some length the mistake, by which those errors appear to us to have been principally occasioned. That mistake consists in applying to the employment of capital in obtaining raw produce, the maxims which regulate the employment of capital in manufacturing raw produce, or, to use a more convenient though less accurate expression, in considering agriculture and manufactures as governed by the same rules. They are in fact the subjects of one fundamental distinction, which opposes them to one another in all their details, and renders almost every proposition, which is true as to one, false as to the other. The distinction may be thus stated: every additional capital employed in manufactures produces a greater proportionate net return, while every additional capital employed in agriculture produces a smaller proportionate net return; or thus—every additional quantity of manufactured produce

is

is obtained, so far as the manufacturing it alone is concerned, at a smaller respective expense, while every additional quantity of agricultural produce is obtained at a greater respective expense.

The first branch of the distinction is too obvious to require more than to be stated. It is the necessary consequence of the division of labour. The second, though less obvious, will perhaps appear equally clear when we consider that the soil of every country is of various degrees of fertility, and that the most fertile portions of it are the first occupied; that these portions are of small comparative extent, and that every additional quantity of agricultural produce must be obtained, either by the cultivation of lands less fertile than those formerly occupied, or by applying additional capital to the lands already in cultivation. In the first case the net return is obviously diminished;—and that the net return is diminished when additional capital is applied to land already in cultivation, notwithstanding the improvement in skill and in division of labour with which it is applied, appears from the mere fact that lands less fertile than the very best are cultivated; for if fresh capital could be applied to the more fertile land already in cultivation, with the same return as was afforded by the capital previously employed on them, no man would employ it (necessarily to less advantage) in the cultivation of less fertile land. The principle, however, is now so generally admitted that we will not detain our readers with a more detailed proof of it. That proof they will find, where the principle first was stated, in the ‘*Essay on the Application of Capital to Land*,’ with which we have headed our Article—a work of which Mr. West, a barrister, is now, we believe, known to be the author, and which contains more valuable and more original instruction on the subject than we have ever seen condensed into so small a space. We ought, however, when we refer our readers to Mr. West, to observe that we think him wrong in absolutely excluding the competition of capitalists from the causes which diminish the profits of capital, and in his supposition that tithes have a constant tendency to increase upon rents; and also in his view of the effect which a diminished agricultural capital would have upon rent. We say this, not intending at present to engage in an argument, however interesting, for which we have not room, but to avoid any inference which might have been drawn from our silence.

The effect of the two opposite rules, which we have pointed out, may be traced in the variation to which the price of every commodity that we buy is subject. So far as the price of any commodity consists of the value of the raw material, of which it is composed, it has a tendency to rise as the consumption increases; so far as it consists of the alteration in form, which that material has undergone, it has a tendency to fall. The ore of which a watch-spring

is formed makes so small a part of its value that we may expect to see watch-springs of the same quality cheaper and cheaper as the demand for them increases; but the raw material of beef, whether we consider it as consisting of the beast, or of the grass and hay that has been employed in feeding it, makes so large a part of its value, and the alteration in form produced by cutting up and cooking it, so small, that an increased price seems the necessary consequence of an increased demand. No improvement of skill, or of division of labour, in butchery or cooking, will ever make roast beef as cheap in England as in South America. The two rules are sometimes so balanced that at different stages of the manufacture, the one, and then the other, preponderates; and the coarser the manufacture the more it is subject to the first rule, the finer it is, to the second. The raw material of cloth is dearer in England now than it was 100 years ago, and dearer than it is now in Russia; and perhaps the coarsest cloths might have been more cheaply manufactured in England then, or might be in Russia now, than by our present manufacturers. But the finer the cloth, the cheaper it will become in proportion to that which is coarse, and we have no doubt that an English lady's habit now does not cost her half the price which it would have cost Queen Ann, or would cost the Empress of Russia. It is probable that a person acquainted with the history and details of the manufacture might be able to point out the stages at which, in the preparation of the same piece of cloth, improvement of skill gradually compensates, and at last overbalances, increased expense of material. Supposing the wool to be 20 per cent. dearer, the cloth, in the rough state in which it leaves the loom, may bear the same price as it did 100 years ago: in its finished state it may be 20 per cent. cheaper. We may apply the same reasoning to man, considered as a commodity. So far as the commodities he consumes consist of manufactures he becomes cheaper; so far as they consist of raw produce he becomes dearer. His clothing and furniture belong principally to the first class; his food to the second. The real wages of labour, therefore, so far as they consist of food, will have a tendency to rise, as respects the employer, though they remain stationary, or fall, as respects the labourer. Though he is not better, or is even worse, fed, his food will cost more; but so far as they consist of clothing and furniture they have a tendency to rise, as respects the labourer, though they remain stationary, or fall, as respects the employer. The clothing of a respectable day labourer, and of his wife and children, and the linen and bedding and household furniture of his cottage, including, perhaps, 'the wooden clock that clicks behind the door,' and a Bible and Prayer Book, the Pilgrim's Progress, and two or three other books on a shelf near it, though
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saved without any great sacrifice out of his wages, would have been worth a little fortune in the reign of Henry VIII. But as food is the principal commodity consumed by the ordinary labourer, his employer is on the whole a loser, and the ordinary labourer is a commodity constantly increasing in price. The proprietor of 500 acres cannot maintain double the retinue which followed his ancestor 300 years ago, though he has ten times the amount of all other comforts and luxuries. But the gentleman labourer is a consumer of manufactures; he does not consume more raw produce than the ordinary labourer—perhaps not so much. What he wants are books and clothes, and those decencies of life which enable him to mix with the opulent class of society, and acquire their tone and feelings. He is a commodity; therefore, constantly diminishing in price. The fees of physicians have not been raised since the reign of Charles II. when money was treble or quadruple its present value. You may get a clerk in a public office, with an education and feelings equal, perhaps, to those of the head of his department, at a less expense than that of your butler. You may not only get him, but the instant the vacancy is known there will be a hundred applicants, and the privilege of filling it will be a valuable piece of patronage.

But, to return from this long digression: though we think we may consider the principle of this distinction as acknowledged, there are many deductions from it, which do not appear to us to be generally perceived. Among the most important are the following.

In all manufactured articles of the same kind, the natural price, so far as the manufacturer is concerned, that is, the price which replaces the capital, which he has expended in their manufacture, including the wages he has paid to his workmen, with the average profit of capital at that time and place, is the same. And their natural price is their market price; with this exception, that if the natural price should, as to some of them, sink, the market price will sink too, and draw with it the market price of those other articles of the same kind of which the natural price has not sunk. But on the contrary, the natural price of each individual article of raw agricultural produce of the same kind, is different, and the market price and the natural price are never the same; except as to the individual article, which has been produced at the greatest expense, with the natural price of which the market price of the whole roughly coincides.

To express the distinction more concisely, the price of manufactures, as manufactures, is governed generally by the cost of production, and only as an exception, by supply and demand.

The price of raw produce is governed by supply and demand, and only

only as an exception, by the cost of production. An increased demand will eventually sink the former and raise the latter.

We will endeavour to illustrate both propositions somewhat in detail. Suppose the raw material, of which a particular sort of knife is formed, to cost the cutler *5d.*—the expense of manufacturing it, supposing him to manufacture 1000, to be *5d.* more—and the average profit of capital to be 10 per cent. Every such knife will be at the same natural price, *11d.* But suppose the expense of manufacturing 5000, to be *4½d.* a piece; and that, by reducing the price of his knives one farthing, he can extend his sale from 1000 to 5000, it will clearly be his interest to do so. The natural price of the knives made by him subsequently to this extension of sale, will be, within a minute fraction, *10½d.*, that of those made by him previously, and still made by others, being *11d.* Until the example of our supposed manufacturer has been followed by others, he will be able to get a monopoly price of *10¾d.* for his subsequently made knives, to which the price of his previously made knives, and that of those made by others, must be accommodated. His capital therefore will return him *12½* per cent. while that of the other persons engaged in the same trade will only return them *7½* per cent. But it is impossible that this state of things should continue. Before our cutler could quintuple his knife-making, he must have withdrawn part of his capital from other branches of the cutlery business. Among his brother cutlers, some will follow his example, and by diminishing the price of their knives, endeavour still further to increase their sale, while others will withdraw their capital from knife-making, now become (at the old prices) an unprofitable business, and employ it in an increased manufacture of those articles which the makers of knives have relinquished. The same consequences will re-appear. The increased capital in these branches will yield an increased proportionate return, the advantage of which will at first go to the cutlers, and the capital in their business will yield a profit above the general average; until the competition, occasioned by the general influx into that trade of the disengaged capital of the country, reduces their profits to the common level, and the whole advantage is felt, in diminution of price, by the public.

We hope our readers will forgive us the roughness of these details, into which we have been led by an attempt to show practically something like the method, by which the market price of manufacturing industry is adjusted, and its tendency to follow the natural price in the fall occasioned by the increasing division of labour. Every fall in price, the demand continuing the same, is occasioned by some manufacturer's underselling his neighbours; and his motive to do so is always to employ a larger capital in that specific manu-

facture, with an increased division of labour, and consequently an increased net profit.

We will now endeavour practically to illustrate our proposition as to raw produce. Suppose a man to inherit £ 20,000 in money, invested in manufactures, and returning, as the average profits of capital at that time and place, 10 per cent. and 1000 acres, the first 100 highly fertile, and each successive 100 diminishing in fertility one tenth, but the worst capable of producing corn, with a great deal of dressing, and consequently of some use, as natural pasture, without any. Were he to employ £ 500 in cultivating, in the least expensive manner, his most fertile 100 acres, the natural price of his corn, that is the price which would replace his £ 500, with 10 per cent. profit, would probably be not one fourth of the market price. But he would have no temptation to sell it at that price: for the motive to sell at a less price than the market price, that of employing a larger capital at an increased net profit, would not exist. He would sell at the market price, and instead of a profit of 10, get perhaps a profit of 100 per cent. The next year we will suppose him to employ an additional £ 500 on the 100 acres of the next rank in fertility. The produce being smaller in proportion, the natural price would be nearer to the market price, he would obtain on his £ 500, only 90 per cent. The next year we will suppose him to employ another £ 500, not perhaps in the cultivation of a third 100 acres, but in additional cultivation of his first. This additional £ 500 would yield him a still less net return than the last, perhaps 85 per cent.—the next year he perhaps would take in his third 100 acres at 80 per cent.—the next year employ another £ 500 on his second 100 acres at 75 per cent.—and we can conceive him in this manner going on, both his gross and his net return increasing in amount, but the net constantly bearing a less proportion to the gross, till he reached a point at which his land, remaining uncultivated, was so barren, and his land already in cultivation had received so much capital, that the additional corn produced, by bringing into cultivation the former, or by applying additional capital to the latter, would at the market price only replace the £ 500 employed in raising it, with 10 per cent. profit. At this point, the natural price and the market price coincide. The proprietor might employ two additional sums of £ 500 each on his land with a profit of 10 per cent. The one in additional cultivation of his land, already in cultivation, the other in breaking up the barren land still uncultivated. The first he will probably do, by transferring to it the least productive or most transferable £ 500 of his manufacturing capital. The other he will not do, for he would only obtain the same profit as his £ 500 previously gave him as manufacturing capital, and would lose the advantage which the land gave

gave him as natural pasture. The rest of his capital he will retain in manufactures, until a diminution in the profits of manufacturing industry, or an increased price of corn, occasioned by the demands of an increased population, gives him a motive for investing new capital in the cultivation of his land already in cultivation, and of breaking up a portion of his uncultivated land, with a return, equal in the first instance to the average profit of capital, and in the second, to that profit, and to the advantages which he derived from the land in its uncultivated state.

The point which we have supposed our proprietor to have reached, when he ceased to increase his agricultural investment, is that at which his whole land and his whole manufacturing capital would be most profitably employed. To this point cultivation is always intended to go, for if it were to go less far, a portion of capital would be employed in manufactures, which might be more profitably employed on the land—and at this point it is always intended to stop—for were it to go farther, a portion of capital would be employed on the land, which might be more profitably employed in manufactures.

And if we suppose the proportion of land to manufacturing capital prodigiously increased, the periods much longer, and the profits of manufacturing capital at first much higher, and gradually diminishing with its increased abundance, and with the increased expense of obtaining raw produce, and that diminution, together with the growing demands of a population increasing in numbers and wealth, occasioning each successive investment in the land, this is the picture, not of an individual, but of a nation.

But let us suppose the same course as before run by two individuals instead of one, and that the proprietor of the land is one person, and the proprietor of the capital another. It is clear that the landed proprietor will not permit the capitalist to obtain from his land more than the average profit of capital. When the first £500 returns a net profit of £500, he will allow the capitalist to retain £50, being as much as he could have made by any other investment, and demand the remaining £450, being the surplus profit produced by the investment, for having afforded the land, out of which the whole £500 was gained; and he will obtain his demand, because if the supposed capitalist would not give it, somebody else would. Out of the £450 profit produced by the second £500, he will demand and obtain £400. And out of the £400 produced by the third £500, though employed on land already in cultivation, he will obtain £350, and so on for each successive investment of capital, always leaving the capitalist the £50 profit, which he would have made in any other investment of capital, and taking all the surplus profit himself. But the last £500 invested by the capitalist

would produce only £50; and there being no surplus, the landed proprietor would receive nothing for having permitted its investment. The sums thus received by the landed proprietor are, of course, what is called rent. They are the surplus profit obtained from the investment of capital in land over that obtained from its investment in any other business; and they are occasioned by each portion of raw agricultural produce being raised at a different expense, and each portion, except that raised at the greatest expense, selling at a monopoly price, the difference between which price, and the natural price, is taken by the proprietor of the land, in return for the privilege of using it.

We shall perhaps best show the importance of keeping steadily in view the true nature of rent, by a reference to some of the errors which have arisen from a neglect of it. One of the principal of these consists in attributing the whole difficulty, which the British finds in competing with the foreign grower, to the exorbitant rents of our landlords. The first contest must lie between the growers of that British corn and that foreign corn which are respectively grown at the greatest expense, including, as to the foreign corn, the expense of carriage. But the corn grown at the greatest expense is that grown by an application of capital, for the privilege of which application the grower pays no rent. Rent therefore cannot enter into its price—and were the landlord to remit the whole of his rent, that price would not be altered, nor could the grower compete better with his foreign rival than before.—While the importation lasts, the only remedy is that which the grower himself must apply, the removal of that portion of capital which has ceased to return the average profit of capital: and this he will do, notwithstanding any reduction of the rent, which he has paid in respect of his other capital. It is true that the landlord might make the retaining of the whole of the existing capital on the land, the condition on which he remitted the rent, on that part of it which paid rent: and it might be worth the tenant's while to comply with the condition; but it never could be worth the landlord's to impose it.

To the same cause may be traced the use of a term which has occasioned so much petitioning and legislation—a remunerating price. In its proper sense the remunerating price of any thing is its natural price—the price which replaces the capital employed in its production with the average profit of capital at the same time and place. In this sense the remunerating price of every quarter of wheat may differ from that of every other, according to the infinite varieties of soil, situation, mode of cultivation, and weather. But the agriculturists add that it must likewise repay the rent, which has been paid for the land on which it has been raised. If
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our reasonings be correct, it is clear that no corn can ever pay rent, which has not previously paid a remunerating price to the grower—for rent is the excess of price above that remunerating price. But that is not what the agriculturist means by rent. He means the actual sum of money which each individual tenant has agreed to pay to each individual landlord. We are forced to answer that it is impossible to form any calculation in which so vague a term is to be admitted—a term depending on the providence or improvidence—the harshness, or negligence, or partiality of all the tenants and landlords in the kingdom. The *real* or *mean* rent, the surplus profit obtained by the investment of capital in land over other investments of capital, is the only standard by which the conventional rent, except in individual cases, can be estimated. It is to this standard that it is always meant to be adjusted; never of course with complete success—for the real rent must fluctuate from year to year, and even from month to month—it must vary with all the accidents of weather, and the success or failure of every bargain: but as the landlord is anxious not to receive less, and the tenant not to pay more, the real and the conventional rent, though never for an instant the same, will at the long run pretty nearly coincide. If then by rent we mean the real rent, that, wherever it exists, presupposes a remunerating price. And what is a remunerating price will be a question as much depending on the accidental circumstance of every different quarter of corn, and as incapable of a general answer, as before. If, on the other hand, we mean conventional rent, and conventional rent as differing from real rent, then a remunerating price will be an expression still more vague. To the variations of soil and climate we shall have to add those of human conduct, and of human conduct, by the supposition itself, governed by mistake, for it is only through a mistake, in the landlord or the tenant, that the conventional rent can differ from the real rent. Were a farmer with £10,000 to lay it out in cultivating the shingles of Eastbourn, or the rocks of Dartmoor, or were he to turn Bond Street or Grosvenor Square into corn-fields, or even to employ the whole of his capital in the experiment how far the produce of ten fertile acres could be carried; one hundred, or five hundred guineas, a quarter might not be a remunerating price. But were a lease of 10,000 fertile acres to be granted him at 5s. per acre, it is probable that he would be well remunerated by 10s. or 15s. a quarter. Nothing but experience could convince us that legislation, intended to be permanent, has been attempted on data such as these.

We have observed that there is a portion of corn, that raised at the greatest expense, of which the price roughly coincides with the cost of production. And it has been said, that as it is the price of

this portion which governs that of all the remainder, the price of that remainder is likewise governed by the cost of production. But first, when we say that the price of any thing is governed by the cost of production, we mean the cost of its own production,—not of the production of any thing else. And, secondly, to say that it is the price of this last portion of corn, which governs that of the remainder, is to mistake the effect for the cause. The price of other corn does not rise because the last portion has been produced at a greater expense, but the last portion is produced, because the proportion of demand to supply has previously occasioned such a rise in the price of the corn already produced, that additional capital laid out in producing additional corn, at a greater proportionate expense, will return the average profit of capital. Corn does not become dear because a portion is raised at a great expense, but a portion is raised at a great expense because corn has already become dear.

The last step in agriculture will always be the application of fresh capital to land already in cultivation. The corn produced by it is intended to sell at its natural price: and this price must previously have been, and must continue to be, that of all other corn, or the last application of capital would not have been made,—would have been greater,—or would not be continued. And it is in this sense only, (and it must be acknowledged to be very obscurely pointed out,) that the corn raised at the greatest expense can be said to fix, or govern, or regulate the price of all other corn: not as an efficient cause, for it must always be subsequent in time; but as an index. All corn of the same quality will sell for the same price: and, therefore, if you find the natural price of the corn which is produced, and continued to be produced, at the greatest expense, you will find the market price both of that corn and of all other corn. But this index will be correct only in a stationary country, a market neither rising nor falling. If the market price be rising from an increased demand, it will outrun the natural price even of the corn produced at the greatest expense. A constantly increasing price, followed by a constantly increasing production, may continue for a long period of years, during no part of which will the natural and market price of any portion of corn coincide. This is the state of an advancing country. But if the wealth or number of the consumers diminishes, the diminution of price may outrun the diminution of production. Both may diminish: but from the difficulty, often the impossibility, of removing some portions of capital from the land, the supply may not diminish so rapidly as the demand. Every year there will be less produced, and the expensiveness of the most expensive corn will be every year less, but the fall of price may be still greater. This is the state of a declining country.

country. And as every country is, in fact, either advancing or declining, (for the few which are said to be stationary can be so only by the compensation of successive periods of advance and decline,) there is no country in which the cost of the production of any portion of corn can be said correctly, even to indicate, much less to govern, or regulate, or fix, that of the rest.

Our readers will perceive that we are opposed on this point, as well as on some others, to Mr. Ricardo. We trust that distinguished economist will believe that we differ from him with great reluctance, and, as far as there is doubt as to matters of science, with great hesitation: but he would be the last person to wish, that our expression of opinion should be restrained by deference to his authority, or even by gratitude for the instruction we owe to him.

We are now come to the Report itself, and we hope that our previous discussion will be found to have saved time on the whole, by clearing the way for its consideration.

The duties of the Committee were so indefinite—their subject-matter so difficult in its nature, and so perplexed by conflicting interests and obstinate prejudices, and the body itself so large and heterogeneous, that they could scarcely have been expected to produce a very clear and consistent report. It might have been expected to consist, either of a statement of the opinions and wishes on the subject of one of the two great parties who speak and think on it as partisans, or of truisms on matters not in dispute, and vague generalities, and propositions so qualified as to be nugatory, on the debateable points; or of a discordant mixture of true and false,—good theory to be followed at some indefinite future period,—and mischievous practice for the present,—and full acknowledgments of contradictory propositions scattered throughout. But none of these characters applies to the present Report as a whole—great judgment has been shown in selecting the topics on which the opinion of the Committee was most desirable, and great manliness in fairly discussing them. The reader of the Report must, we think, be convinced that it is the work of very able and well-informed men. He will, unless his knowledge on the subject far exceeds ours, receive much valuable instruction, and he will be struck by the absence of system, and the desire of truth and practical utility, by which it is distinguished. He will, if he thinks with us, disagree with much of it; but was there ever a collection of dicta and reasonings on disputed points, with much of which every different reader did not disagree?—and if he find inconsistency in many parts, and a want of arrangement and unity in the whole, he will only wonder that under the circumstances of its composition, these faults are not still more observable. We will endeavour, although it has the last

fault in a degree peculiarly inconvenient for our purpose, to give, as far as we are able, a connected view of its contents.

They may be divided into, 1st. a statement of the substance of the corn laws. 2d. Of the opinion of the Committee as to the existence of agricultural distress. 3d. Of their opinion as to the nature of its causes, and the manner in which they are likely to operate in future. 4th. A proposal for a prospective and for an immediate alteration of the corn laws. And 5th. An answer to the reasonings of some of the agricultural petitions. And as this arrangement is, with some deviations, that of the Report, we will adopt it in our remarks.

We will give the first two heads in the words of the Committee.

‘ Your Committee do not think it necessary to preface the observations which they have to make, upon the important matters referred to them by the House, by a recapitulation of the numerous laws which have been passed, at different periods, for regulating the trade in Corn. The most material of those laws have been brought under the consideration of the House by the reports of former Committees on this subject. It is, therefore, sufficient to remark, that by the salutary law of 1806, a free interchange in grain of every description, was established between Great Britain and Ireland; and that the trade in foreign corn is altogether governed by the provisions of the Acts of 54 and 55 Geo. III. by which were, for the first time, enacted;—first, a constantly free exportation from the United Kingdom, without reference to price, or without such exportation being either encouraged by any bounty, or restrained by any duty whatsoever;—secondly, an absolute prohibition against the introduction of every description of foreign grain, meal, or flour, into the consumption of the United Kingdom, when the average prices, ascertained according to the mode established by former Acts, are below certain specified rates;—thirdly, an unlimited freedom of importation, from all parts of the world, without any duty whatever, when the prices are above those specified rates.

‘ Such being the state of the law which affects, so far as legislative interference can affect, the important interests brought under the consideration of the House by the numerous petitions presented in this session, your Committee proceeded, in the first instance, to inquire into the allegations of those petitions. It is with deep regret that they have to commence their Report by stating, that, in their judgment, the complaints of the petitioners are founded in fact, in so far as they represent that, at the present price of corn, the returns to the occupier of an arable farm, after allowing for the interest of his investment, are by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings: of which a considerable proportion can be paid only out of the capitals, and not from the profits of the tenantry.

‘ This pressure upon the farmer is stated by some of the witnesses to have materially affected the retail business of shopkeepers in country towns connected with the Agricultural districts. But notwithstanding this

this diminution of demand in particular parts of the country, it appears, by official returns, that the total consumption of the principal articles subject to duties of excise and customs has increased in the last year, compared with the average of the three preceding years; and also, that the quantity of cotton wool used for home consumption, and of cloth manufactured in Yorkshire, was greater last year than in the year preceding, although the export of woollens in 1820 appears to have diminished. Your Committee have not the same authentic means of ascertaining the consumption of iron, but there appears every reason to believe that it has also increased.

‘The opinion of your Committee, in respect to the present pressure upon the tenantry, is formed upon the best documentary evidence which the nature of the case admits of, confirmed by the testimony of many respectable witnesses, as well occupiers of land as surveyors and land agents: and it is further strengthened by a comparison of the difference between the existing price and the average price of the last ten years, the period within which most of the present engagements, affecting the tenant of the soil, may be supposed to have been contracted. If the present price could, under all the present circumstances, be remunerative, the average price of that period must have afforded an excessive profit; which does not appear probable, nor warranted by any facts. The only fair inference, perhaps, to be drawn from such a comparison, and from the state of our agriculture during the last war, is, that for a considerable part of that period, the returns of farming capital somewhat exceeded the ordinary rate of profit, and that at this time they are considerably below it.’—*Report*, p. 3—5.

Want of the Minutes prevents our inquiry into the evidence, on which the Committee ground their belief of the existence of great agricultural distress. We fear, however, that there is no reason to doubt its truth; we only regret that they have used expressions which might appear to admit the existence of a general remunerating price. We believe that, putting rent out of the question, there is, and always must be when the price of corn is falling, a portion of the capital employed in growing it as to which the price for the time being is not remunerative, a portion as to which it is precisely remunerative, and that as to all the rest, it is more than remunerative. And we put rent out of the question, because real rent, the excess of agricultural profit over the average profit of capital, *must* exist as to this last portion, and *cannot* as to the two others; and conventional rent will at the long run correspond with real rent, and therefore is too temporary, and in the mean time depends upon all the accidents of human conduct, and therefore is too indefinite a term to enter into the definition.

This indeed the Committee seem to have felt, and therefore disguise rent under the expressions ‘charges and outgoings,’ ‘present engagements’ and ‘present circumstances.’ It is only when they proceed to apologize for its present amount that they call it rent.

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But though we think that the expression ‘a remunerative price,’ in the unexplained manner in which it is used by the Committee, is likely to lead, and indeed has led, to the most dangerous errors, it may, perhaps, be used with convenience if solely intended to signify the price which, at a given time and place, replaces to the grower of the corn grown at the greatest expense, the capital employed in growing it, with the average profit of capital. As to this corn, it will exclude rent; as to all other corn grown at the same time and place, it will imply real rent; and as real rent is the only standard by which we can estimate conventional rent, we may, generally speaking, consider it as implying conventional rent. Through their apology for rent the Committee slide into the third branch of their subject, the nature of the causes of the present distress, and the manner in which they are likely to operate in future. A want of distinctness in the Report makes it difficult to ascertain the opinion of the Committee on the former point; but we think they mean to refer the agricultural distress to four principal heads:—1st. To the alteration in the value of our currency. 2d. To an excess of supply as compared with demand. 3d. To ‘the general derangement which the convulsions of the last thirty years have produced in all the relations of commerce, in the application of capital, and in the demand for labour;’ and, 4th. To the operation of the present corn laws.

We fully agree with the Committee that the alteration which has taken place in the value of our currency must have occasioned, and must continue for a time to occasion, great injury to the occupiers of land. Its effect is, to injure all those who have definite sums to pay out of indefinite receipts—the latter diminishing while the former remain fixed, and this is the situation of those occupiers of land (by far the greatest portion) who are lessees or mortgagers. And we join in the conviction expressed in the Report that the evil is temporary in the one case, and in the hope that it will be so in the other.

On recurring to the Report we are not quite sure that it bears us out as to the second and third causes which we have represented the Committee as assigning; but there is so much excellent sense in the whole passage which refers to them, that we will prevent all chance of misrepresentation by extracting it.

‘Your Committee feel it an important part of their duty to recall to the recollection of the House, and the Country, that, in the years 1804 and 1814, a depression of prices,—principally caused by abundant harvests, and a great extension of tillage, excited by the extraordinary high prices of antecedent years,—appears to have produced a temporary pressure and uneasiness among the owners and occupiers of land, and a corresponding difficulty in the payment of rents and the letting of
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of farms, in some degree similar to the apprehensions and embarrassments which now prevail; and also, that in many earlier periods, similar complaints may be traced in the history of our agriculture.

‘ Among numerous instances of these complaints, which may be found in other publications between the middle of the 17th century and the beginning of the late reign, two have been pointed out by one of the witnesses, in which the House will not fail to remark the great similarity between the arguments and alarms which were then current, with those which prevail in many quarters at this period.

‘ That in these earlier and more remote stages of our agriculture these alarms were only temporary, and that the fears of those who reasoned upon their continuance and increase, were ere long dissipated by the natural course of seasons and events, is now matter of history. And it is impossible to look back to the discussions of the years 1804 and 1814, and more especially to the evidence taken before the Committee appointed by the House on the latter occasion, without being forcibly struck with the conformity of the statements and opinions, then produced, respecting the ruinous operation and expected continuance of low prices, with those which will be found in the evidence now collected. Indeed these statements, in some instances, come from the mouths of the same witnesses.

‘ Your Committee trust that this reference to past experience will not be altogether useless and unavailing to allay the alarm, and to dispel some of the desponding predictions which, by unnecessarily increasing anxiety for the future, tend to aggravate the severe pressure of our present difficulties;—that the reflections which such a retrospect is calculated to excite, may lead the occupiers of the soil, as it has led your Committee, to infer that in agriculture, as in all other pursuits in which capital and industry can be embarked, there have been, and will be, periods of reaction; that such reaction is the more to be expected in proportion to the long continued prosperity of the pursuit, and to the degree of previous excitement and exertion which that prosperity had called forth. They must add, as a further inference from the experience of former periods, to which the present crisis bears no distant resemblance, that there is a natural tendency in the distribution of capital and labour to remedy the disorders which may casually arise in society from such temporary derangement, and (without at all meaning to deny that it is the duty of the legislature to do every thing in its power to shorten the duration, and to palliate the evils of the crisis) that it often happens that these disorders are prolonged, if not aggravated, by too much interference and regulation.

‘ It is by no means with the expectation that the suffering of our own community can be alleviated by the contemplation of a corresponding pressure upon other nations that your Committee find themselves called upon to state that many commodities of general and extensive demand, the staple productions of other countries, such as corn, cotton, rice and tobacco in the United States of America; sugar and rum in the West Indies; tallow, flax, hemp, timber, iron, wool and corn, on the continent of Europe, appear to have fallen in price, in some instances more,
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and scarcely in any less, in proportion to the prices of those articles prior to 1816, than the fall in the price of grain in this country; with regard to several of which articles, and the countries producing them, some of the causes which have principally affected the value of grain in this country cannot be considered as operating.

‘The proofs of this great revulsion of prices, in other parts of the world, may be found, as to most of those articles, in the evidence collected by your Committee, and the remainder in other authentic information now before the House. The facts indeed are, from their nature, matter of such notoriety to the commercial classes of the community, that they cannot admit of a doubt. So far as this state of things tends to involve other countries in embarrassment, it must be matter not of satisfaction, but of regret; and this natural feeling of every liberal mind will only be confirmed by reflecting upon the intimate connection which must exist between the advancement of other nations towards wealth and improvement, and the growing prosperity of our own. Entertaining this feeling, your Committee trust, that their motive for noticing the present state of the markets in other parts of the world will not be misconceived. The fact is one which naturally came within the scope of their inquiry, as tending to affect the markets of this country, and it appeared not unessential to advert to it for the further object of showing that the causes which have produced this great change are not confined to any one country. It would seem that the influence of that general derangement which the convulsions of the last thirty years have produced in all the relations of commerce, in the application of capital, and in the demand for labour, is not yet spent and exhausted, and that neither the habits and dealings of individuals, members of the same community, nor the transactions and intercourse of different communities with one another, have hitherto altogether adjusted themselves to that more natural state of things which we may now hope is likely to become again the more habitual and permanent condition of society.’—pp. 10—14.

There appears some doubt whether the Committee attribute the present redundancy of supply to the unusual abundance of the late harvest, or generally to too great an extension of tillage; but as they contemplate a gradual remedy, which the former would not require, we think they must mean the latter. It appears doubtful, too, whether they refer to the state of foreign markets as an illustration, or as an efficient cause, of that of our own.

We believe ourselves that the deterioration of our foreign market, occasioned partly by the causes alluded to by the Committee, and partly by the loss of the monopoly which we possessed in it, has produced great distress among our manufacturers, (including under that name those who live by circulating as well as by working up commodities,) and that the distress of our agriculturists is, in a great measure, caused by that of their customers, the manufacturers; that an inability in the manufacturers to buy has produced

duced an inability in the agriculturists to sell, at its natural price, that part of their produce which has been produced at the greatest expense; and that that part of their produce is, therefore, to use the expression of the Committee, redundant—that is, meets with no demand *at its natural price*. We are anxious to insert this qualification of price, when we speak of the want of demand, because we are far from believing that, at a price below the natural price, there is any want of demand. We are far from believing that more corn is produced in this country than the inhabitants wish to consume, or, in fact, than they do consume; and we believe they could, with great pleasure, consume much more. All that they want is the money to pay for it, or, in more accurate language, a sufficiency of equivalents to replace to the producer of corn the whole capital which he has employed in its production, with the average profit of capital. We believe, in short, the redundancy to be not positive, but relative, and that positive redundancy, if it can ever exist in any article which is limited in quantity, is peculiarly improbable in the case of corn, from the tendency of corn, as affording the great necessary of life, to produce its own demand. The Committee, however, appear to consider corn as peculiarly liable, if not to positive redundancy, yet to an approach to it.

‘In the article of corn, however, there is one consideration to be constantly borne in mind, most material to enable the House and the Country to arrive at sound and safe conclusions on this important subject, namely, that the price of corn fluctuates more than that of any other commodity of extensive consumption, in proportion to any excess or deficiency in the supply. The truth of this proposition had not escaped several writers on this subject, and has been confirmed by many of the witnesses who have been examined; although it may be doubted whether, generally, they were aware of its extent and practical operation in the present state of this country and of our corn laws.

‘The cause which produces this greater susceptibility in the corn market cannot be better explained by your Committee than in the following extract from the answers of Mr. Tooke, one of the witnesses who was particularly examined to this point:—“Why should a different principle apply to corn than to any other general production? —Because a fall in the price of any other commodity not of general necessity, brings the article within the reach of the consumption of a greater number of individuals, whereas in the case of corn, the average quantity is sufficient for the supply of every individual; all beyond that is an absolute depression of the market for a great length of time, and a succession of even two or three abundant seasons must evidently produce an enormously inconvenient accumulation.”—“Is there not a greater consumption of corn when it is cheap than when it is dear, as to quantity?—There may be, and possibly must be, a greater consumption; but it is very evident that if the population was before adequately fed, the increased consumption from abundance

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“can amount to little more than waste; and this would be in a very small proportion to the whole excess of a good harvest or two.”—
 “The whole population of this country and others do not subsist upon wheat; therefore, when wheat becomes cheaper, those who were formerly fed upon other corn may take to feeding upon wheat?—My remark was general as applying to corn. There is no doubt that if there is one description of corn applicable to human food which is abundant, and another that is deficient, then the principle does not apply; my principle applies to corn generally applicable to human food. It may be observed that abundant seasons generally extend to the leading articles of consumption, and that it seldom happens, that in what are called commonly good years, there is a complete failure in any one great article.”

‘In the substance of this reasoning your Committee entirely concur; and it appears to them that it cannot be called in question, without either denying that corn is an article of general necessity and universal consumption among the population of this country, or [affirming] that the demand is materially varied by the amount of the supply. This latter proposition, except within very narrow limits, altogether disproportioned to the fluctuations in production, is not warranted by experience. The general truth of the observation remains, therefore, unaltered by any small degree of waste on the one side, or of economy on the other; neither of which are sufficient to counteract the effect which opinion and speculation must have upon price, when it is felt how little demand is increased by redundancy, or checked by scantiness of supply.’—pp. 14—16.

We are sorry that we cannot feel all the concurrence which the Committee express in the substance of Mr. Tooke’s reasoning—we are sorry, because it proceeds on a premise in which it must be delightful to believe:—that the average quantity of corn is sufficient for the supply of every individual;—that it so adequately feeds our whole population that the increased consumption from abundance is little more than waste. But we fear that, so far from its being true that every person in this country has as much bread as he wants, it will be found that, even in the most favourable seasons, not six, not four, out of our twelve millions, are in this situation. Mr. Tooke can scarcely have seen the cottages of our poor, where the loaf is the *food* only of the man, and the *LUXURY* of his wife and children. He can scarcely have recollected the immense consumption of flour in puddings and pastry of every description, and that that consumption is kept within the limits of the existing supply, in the bulk of our population, only by the most painful economy; and above all he must have forgotten the elasticity with which population, supposing the resources of the country to be uninjured, expands whenever the force that limits it is relaxed by an increased supply of the great necessary of life. So far from the demand of corn being little increased by redundancy and checked by scantiness

ness of supply, and the former only producing a small degree of waste, and the latter of economy, we believe that it is more susceptible of variation from these causes than the demand for the non-necessaries of life. If the supply of hats be doubled there will not be more heads, and the existing heads will not wear more hats at a time, though they may wear them out a little sooner; but if the supply of corn be doubled there will be more mouths, and the existing mouths will consume more than before. Every such increase will produce immediately an improvement of habits, and, if permanent, an increase of numbers in the labouring part of the population; and every diminution in the supply of corn will produce immediately a deterioration of their habits, and, if permanent, a diminution of their numbers. A positive redundancy of corn could exist, even for a time, only in a society without a wish to increase its consumption; it could permanently exist only in a society without a tendency to increase its numbers. The former state of society is improbable—the latter impossible.

We are now come to the fourth head of the causes of the present agricultural distress—the Corn Laws. It is prefaced by some remarks of the Committee, with the substance of which we agree, and to which we may have occasion to recur, on the danger to which a price habitually and considerably exceeding the prices of the remainder of the world, would expose the grower, notwithstanding his monopoly of the home market, and on the probable course which legislation on what is called a remunerative price, may be expected to take. The sentence with which they begin would not prepare us for the admirable good sense of what follows it.

‘Taking as the basis of all wise regulations on the subject of the corn laws, the undeniable positions,—that the landlord, the tenant, and the consumer, have one great and common interest in maintaining a permanent and adequate supply of corn at prices as steady as possible,—and that steadiness of price must depend on guarding, as much as legislative interference can guard, against the effects of fluctuation of seasons,—your Committee have examined the practical operation of the present system of our foreign trade in corn with a reference to these two points.’—pp. 21, 22.

A more deniable position than that it is the tenant’s interest to maintain steadiness of price by preventing, through legislative interference, the natural effect on price of fluctuating seasons, that is, to keep the price of his produce the same, while its quantity is necessarily varying, never was propounded. As the tenant’s principal payments are *fixed*, it must be to his interest to have *fixed* returns; and as the *quantity* of his produce varies with the variations of season this can only be effected by an inverse variation of price.

price. It is true that if the variations of price were to exceed those of the season, they would be injurious even to the tenant; and it is true that if a steady price were maintained, notwithstanding the variations of season, as might be done in a small territory by a free corn trade, the tenant's gains and losses would at the long run be even, and he might save from the former to meet the latter. But if he began with a succession of bad crops he might be ruined before the time of compensation should arrive; if his lease ended with a series of good ones the rent of his new one might be assessed on an extravagant basis; and putting these contingencies out of the question, it will always be better for a man to have prudence provided for him by causes out of his controul, than to have to furnish it himself. The landlord's interest, as landlord, in all questions between the tenant and the consumer, is with the tenant—on whose success his rent depends; so that the 'undeniable position' of the Committee fails as to two of the three classes whose identity of interest they have asserted.

But we will no longer detain our readers from the excellent view which the Committee have given of the practical operation of the corn laws.

'To prohibit the foreign supply altogether, so long as, from the casualty of seasons, we are subject to years of deficient or damaged produce, has at all times been felt to be impossible. But, since the year 1815, we have had recourse to an absolute prohibition up to a certain price, and an unlimited competition beyond that price.

'This system is certainly liable to sudden alterations, of which the effect may be at one time to reduce prices already low, lower than they would probably have been under a state of free trade, and at another, unnecessarily to enhance prices already high;—to aggravate the evils of scarcity, and to render more severe the depression of prices from abundance. On the one hand, it deceives the grower with the false hope of a monopoly, and, by its occasional interruption, may lead to consequences which deprive him of the benefits of that monopoly when most wanted:—on the other hand, it holds out to the country the prospect of an occasional free trade, but so regulated and desultory as to baffle the calculations, and unsettle the transactions, both of the grower and the dealer at home;—to deprive the consumer of most of the benefits of such a trade, and to involve the merchant in more than the ordinary risks of mercantile speculation. It exposes the markets of the country, either to be occasionally overwhelmed with an inundation of foreign corn altogether disproportionate to its wants; or, in the event of any considerable deficiency in our own harvest, it creates a sudden competition on the continent, by the effect of which the prices there are rapidly and unnecessarily raised against ourselves. But the inconvenient operation of the present Corn Law, which appears to be less the consequence of the quantity of foreign grain brought into this country, upon an average of years, than of the manner in which that grain

grain is introduced, is not confined to great fluctuations in price, and consequent embarrassment, both to the grower and the consumer; for the occasional prohibition of import has also a direct tendency to contract the extent of our commercial dealings with other states, and to excite in the rulers of those states a spirit of permanent exclusion against the productions or manufactures of this country and its colonies. In this conflict of retaliatory exclusion, injurious to both, the two parties, however, are not upon an equal footing;—on our part, prohibition must yield to the wants of the people; on the other side, there is no such over-ruling necessity. And inasmuch as reciprocity of demand is the foundation of all means of payment, a large and sudden influx of corn might, under these circumstances, create a temporary derangement of the course of exchange, the effects of which (after the resumption of cash payments) might lead to a drain of specie from the Bank, the consequent contraction of its circulation, a panic among the country banks,—all aggravating the distress of a public dearth, as has been experienced at former periods of scarcity.

‘That the present system of our Corn Law has a tendency, according to circumstances, at one time to reduce prices lower than they would probably have been under a state of free trade; and at another time, to enhance those prices, when already perhaps too high, will not appear paradoxical to the House, if it be considered that the practical operation of this system, in its sudden and desultory transitions, may be not only slightly at variance with, but in direct opposition to, the principle on which it is founded;—that principle being, to shut out foreign corn from home consumption in seasons of sufficient or abundant crops, and to give every facility to its introduction in years of scarcity. For example: let it be supposed that on the 15th of August next, the average price of wheat, ascertained in the usual mode, should be 79s. 11d. per quarter, whatever may be the possible scantiness of the forth-coming harvest, (a fact not then capable of being ascertained,) the ports will remain shut till the 15th of November: but if that average should be 80s. 1d., whatever may be the abundance of the forth-coming harvest, the ports and the warehouses of foreign corn will be opened at least for six weeks; and, in reference to the principal exporting countries, for three months. Pursuing the supposition a little further,—if the first case should occur when there was no accumulation of foreign corn in the warehouses of this country, and very little at the shipping ports of the continent, (a state of things by no means rare,) the prices at home, after a failing harvest, would rise very rapidly, and become very high, before any material supply could be drawn from the north of Europe, as both the passage down the rivers, and the navigation of the Baltic, would be interrupted during the winter. In the meantime the prices on the continent would be regulated by those of this country, rising as our prices rose. In the spring there would be a great demand for shipping to bring over the supplies purchased during the winter, by which the charge of bringing the corn to our market would be still further increased; and thus, in various ways, prices would unnecessarily be enhanced in this country; first, during the most distressing period of the

year, from the want of a timely and regular supply from abroad; secondly, from the eager and general competition to procure that supply upon the sudden opening of our ports, a competition which will immediately raise the price on the continent against ourselves, until, together with the charges of conveyance, and the probable loss upon the fall of exchange, it becomes upon a level with the scarcity price of this country; and, thirdly, by the direct tax which may be laid upon the export from countries to which we resort for our supplies. This tax, in the Prussian dominions, was about 10*s.* a quarter during the extreme scarcity which prevailed in this country in the years 1800 and 1801; and it was expressly declared that the continuance or removal of this tax would depend altogether upon the continuance or cessation of the wants of this kingdom.

‘But if the second supposed case (that of our ports being opened at a fraction above 80*s.*) should arise, when there was a great stock of foreign corn in the warehouses of this country, and at the shipping ports of the continent (which is the present state of things), in proportion to the low and ruinous price to which that corn, from long accumulation and want of vent, would be reduced, would be the temptation, and consequent eager competition, and simultaneous effort, to pour it upon this country; where, in the case supposed of an abundant harvest, no part of it would be wanted, and its rapid influx would not fail to lower the prices to a pitch which they never would have reached had the trade not been liable to such sudden alternations.’—pp. 22—25.

The Committee, after illustrating the case last supposed, by a reference to the effects of the importation of oats in August, 1820, add—

‘If such be the consequences of the present system, they sufficiently point out the nature of those inconveniences to which it may expose the grower, the dealer at home, and the foreign importer in his speculations abroad. When your Committee find, for instance, in the seventeen months which passed between January, 1816, and June, 1817, the price of wheat varying from 53*s.* 1*d.* to 112*s.* 7*d.*; and again, in the three months which ensued from June to September, 1817, from 112*s.* 7*d.* to 74*s.*, they cannot but ask whether fluctuations so rapid and extensive have existed in any other commodity of universal supply and demand, or in any other country? and whether these fluctuations may not have been aggravated by some of the effects of the present law?’

‘With respect to the effects which may be produced in this country, all the internal and commercial transactions of which so mainly depend on circulating credit, by a sudden revulsion in the foreign exchanges, the experience of the last thirty years is a sufficient warning. Your Committee, therefore, feel a confident assurance, that when the attention of the House is called to the subject, it will examine with a jealous care for the public interest, how far the present system of the corn trade has a tendency to bring upon the country the renewal of this calamity.’—pp. 27, 28.

With the substance of these reasonings we fully concur; and it would

would not be easy to add to the force and the clearness with which they are expressed. The Committee then show that the system they have been reprobating has not the sanction of long usage in its favour; that from 1773 to 1814 the ports have been constantly open and the trade free, with the exception of a few short intervals, when the high duty of 24s. 3d. a quarter was demandable, and operated as a prohibition.

‘The necessary consequence of the trade in corn having been virtually open with the continent, and the importation allowed at duties merely nominal, during this period of forty years, has been, that the general price, at the shipping ports on the continent, has not, upon an average, been materially lower than the price in England, except to the amount of the charges to be incurred in bringing the foreign corn to the markets of this country. The price, at a distance from those shipping ports, and in the districts which have not the benefit of good roads or internal navigation, it is true, has been much lower, but this difference was absorbed in the expense and risk of transporting it from those districts. The quantity that can be supplied, without incurring that expense, is limited; and in proportion as the prices in England have been high, has the interior circle on the continent from which the supplies have been drawn, been extended.

‘The severe scarcities which we have experienced have furnished us, therefore, with something like a measure of the degree in which they could be relieved from the surplus produce of the continent within the prices which those scarcities respectively occasioned; whilst the mode in which every rise in the price at home adds to the power and inducement of increasing the foreign importation, shows that any increase of the rates, at which the import commences under the present system, would only tend, whenever the ports should open, to aggravate the fluctuation, and the other inconveniences which appear to your Committee to appertain to the principle of alternate monopoly and free importation.’—pp. 30, 31.

As the country would expect of them, the Committee have followed their remarks on the impolicy of the law, by proposing an alteration. They propose, indeed, two—one temporary, until the present continental glut shall have been dispersed; and the other permanent. The temporary one, which consists in a relaxation of the present import price, and the imposition of a fixed duty on importation, so much resembles in principle the other, that we need not discuss it independently. We proceed to their permanent plan.

‘Your Committee are the more anxious to impress upon the attention of the House the real state of our trade in foreign corn, between the years 1773 and 1814, as it appears to them, taken in connection with the progress of general prosperity in the country, and more especially with the great improvements in agriculture, and its highly flourishing condition during that period, to suggest to Parliament, as a

matter highly deserving of their future consideration, whether a trade in corn, constantly open to all nations of the world, and subject only to such a fixed duty as might compensate to the grower the loss of that encouragement which he received during the late war from the obstacles thrown in the way of free importation, and thereby protect the capitals now vested in agriculture from an unequal competition in the home market,—is not, as a permanent system, preferable to that state of law by which the corn trade is now regulated. It would be indispensable, for the just execution of this principle, that such duty should be calculated fairly to countervail the difference of expense, including the ordinary rate of profit, at which corn, in the present state of this country, can be grown and brought to market within the United Kingdom, compared with the expense, including also the ordinary rate of profit, of producing it in any of those countries from whence our principal supplies of foreign corn have usually been drawn, joined to the ordinary charges of conveying it from thence to our markets.’—p. 31.

‘It is not the province of Your Committee to specify any precise permanent duty for the protection of the British grower; nor should they, perhaps, be adequately prepared so to do without further inquiry; nor until the obstacle to that inquiry, created by the present accumulation and glut, shall be removed. At the same time, they incline to the opinion, that leaving to every part of the United Kingdom the inestimable public benefit of the most full and free competition in the home market, without regard to the difference of fertility in the soil, or of expense in its cultivation, either from a difference in the price of labour, or in the amount of local and public burthens directly affecting the land; it may, perhaps, be difficult, if not impossible, putting rent out of the question, for the occupiers of some of the poorest and most expensive soils now under tillage in Great Britain, to bring their produce to market in competition with the more fertile lands of this country, and especially of Ireland. Your Committee would be anxious to suggest, for the consideration of Parliament, as the principle and basis of the trade in foreign corn, such a protecting duty upon the produce of other countries, as would not aggravate to the occupiers of such soils the present difficulty of that competition. The general question, How far the forced cultivation of some of those inferior lands may have been expedient or advantageous for the public interest, is one upon which it is unnecessary to offer a positive opinion. They can, however, have no difficulty in stating that, within the limits of the existing competition at home, the exertions of industry and the investment of capital in Agriculture, ought to be protected against any revulsion, but that the protection ought not to go farther;—and that, if protected to that extent, the growth of our population, the accumulation of our internal wealth, affording increased employment to that population, and consequently increased means of purchasing all those articles of consumption and enjoyment, which must be derived from the soil of this country, will continue to give, as they have given during the last sixty years, the most effectual stimulus and encouragement to the progressive improvement of our Agriculture, and to the consequent value

value of the landed property of the kingdom ;—that, under such a system, there can be no apprehension that either will permanently retrograde, (except in so far as rents may be nominally affected by the resumption of cash payments,) or even be for any time stationary,—so long as our institutions continue to afford, to capital and industry, that superior degree of security and protection which they have hitherto found in this country,—so long as public credit and good faith keep pace with that security and protection, and as we avoid any course which, in a time of peace, and possibly of improving confidence in the stability of the institutions of other countries, might drive capital to seek a more profitable employment in foreign states. It is under the impression that the present Corn Law, together with the amount of our taxation, by diminishing the profits of capital, have such a tendency, that Your Committee suggest the modifications which have been pointed out, as fit for further inquiry and investigation ; and that they feel it their duty, also, to accompany that suggestion with a most earnest recommendation, that every opportunity should be watched, and every practical measure adopted, for reducing the amount of the Public Expenditure ; as the only means of approximating to a state of Finance, which, without impairing the credit of the country, may lead to a diminution of the existing burthens of the People.’—pp. 34, 35.

We agree fully with the Committee that our present corn laws ought to be abolished. We agree with them as to the propriety both of constantly permitting importation, and of subjecting it at present to a duty. With the principle on which they propose to assess that duty, we utterly disagree ; but with less pain, as it appears to us the necessary consequence of our agreement with other parts of the Report. That principle, under different disguises, is throughout the same—prohibition—a monopoly of the home market until the indefinite period shall come, when that market shall be so much improved, as to afford to the capitals now invested in the cultivation of the poorest and most expensive soils now under tillage, the average profit of capital ; that is, until prices rise, or nearly rise, to those of the last years of the war, as expressed in our altered currency.

The duty is to be such, first, as will protect the capitals now vested in agriculture from an unequal competition in the home market. All that distinguishes such a protection from the strictest monopoly, is the word ‘unequal.’ And we can allow it to produce such a distinction, only, by supposing it to express a competition which reduces the profit of the capital against which it operates, below the average profit of capital in other employments. But until the period we have alluded to shall have arrived, any competition whatever with our agricultural capitalists would reduce their profits further than they now are below the average profit of capital in other employments. If the present supply finds

no demand at a price which remunerates the grower of the most expensive part of it, much less would an increased supply find such a demand. The proposed duty, therefore, must be, until that period shall have arrived, prohibitive.

The next rule by which the Committee propose to assess the duty is,

‘That it should be calculated fairly to countervail the difference of expense, including also the ordinary rate of profit, at which corn, in the present state of this country, can be grown and brought to market within the United Kingdom, compared with the expense, including the ordinary rate of profit, of producing it in any of those countries from whence our principal supplies of foreign corn have usually been drawn, joined to the ordinary charges of conveying it from thence to our markets.’

That is, that it should be equal to the difference of price, deducting the expense of carriage, and calculating the British price not at its existing amount, but at that which would replace the capital now employed in the cultivation of the most expensive British corn, with the average profit of capital in other employments—that price being the measure, in a stationary market, of the expense of growing and bringing to market with the average profit, the corn which does not pay rent, and of that expense and profit, together with the real rent, of that corn which does pay rent. Such a duty, like the last, would be prohibitive until the arrival of the time, if ever it is to arrive, when the British price reaches the supposed amount. It would then remain prohibitive if the price of foreign corn were to rise; that price necessarily *would* rise, as the exportation would both diminish the supply and increase the demand, in the foreign market. And though that rise would be created only in the shipping ports, whence our supplies were derived, yet, as the Committee have well observed, in the passage already extracted, p. 30., the difference between the prices of those ports, and of the districts less advantageously situated for exportation, would be absorbed in the expense and risk of transportation from those districts,

The last principle upon which the Committee calculate their duty, is nearly a repetition of the first. It is to be such a duty as would not aggravate, to the occupiers of the poorest and most expensive soils now under tillage in Great Britain, the present difficulty of competing with the more fertile lands;—that is, which should prohibit importation, for all importation necessarily *would* aggravate that difficulty. The difficulty exists, because the supply is so great that there is no demand at a price, by which the occupiers of the soils in question are remunerated. Increase the supply by importation, and of course the difficulty is increased. It appears,

appears, from the remarks of the Committee, p. 22. 33. 47., that they propose, in seasons of scarcity, to relax or suspend the duty.

Our readers may be amused, we do not wish to use a graver expression, by recurring to the reprobation with which the Committee have treated the present system of our corn laws, and then examining the practical effect of their own. The effect of the present system is, prohibition under 80s. a quarter; and then, unlimited importation. The effect of the committee's system will be, prohibition under a price, which, to answer their proposed end, must, we fear, be little less than 80s. a quarter, if not more; then importation of that small quantity, which foreign growers can give us without an increase of their own price, until corn shall reach some further very high price, when the relaxation or suspension of the duty renders the importation nearly, or entirely free. The only difference in theory, is, the additional restraint between the period, when the duty ceases to be prohibitive, and that at which it is to be relaxed or suspended. The only differences in practice will be, a diminution of the evils which arise from fluctuation, and an aggravation of those which arise—

‘From the hazardous and embarrassing situation of the grower of corn in a country where the lowest price, which is considered to afford him a remuneration, shall habitually and considerably exceed the prices of the remainder of the world, although, up to that price, he should be secured in the complete monopoly of that country;’ p. 17. ‘from the manner in which the produce of the poorer soils in England is liable to be affected by ungenial seasons;’ p. 21. ‘from the consequences of a retaliatory exclusion of our own manufactures in foreign countries;’ p. 23. ‘from a great difference between the cost of subsistence here, and in other countries, not only in regard to the people themselves, but also from the risk which must be in proportion to that difference, of deriving much of the capital by which their industry and labour are supported, to seek employment in other countries. For there cannot be a doubt that this difference operates in the same manner as taxation, to diminish the profits of capital in this country, and there can be as little doubt that, though capital may migrate, the unoccupied population will remain, and remain to be maintained by the landed interest, upon whose resources, diminished in proportion to diminished demand, this additional burthen would principally fall.’—p. 41.

If our readers wish still further to examine the antidote, which the committee have furnished, against their own suggestions, let them read the enlightened passage, in which the effects, on agriculture, of freedom and protection are contrasted.

‘In comparing the two periods, each of nearly equal duration, between the peace of Utrecht and the commencement of the Seven Years war,—and between the years 1773 and 1814,—and recollecting that the first period was one of almost uninterrupted peace; and that nearly thirty

years of the latter have passed away in the exertions of two most expensive wars;—that, during the former period, the market interest of money was generally much below, and during the latter, frequently as much above the rate fixed by law;—that during the former, the aim of the Legislature was, by artificial means, to divert the application of capital from other employments to that of agriculture, as well by positive bounties which forced an export of grain to other countries, as by duties which generally altogether precluded its import either from the continent or from Ireland;—that during the latter, agriculture has, in point of fact, been without either of those stimulants;—your Committee cannot look at these contrasted circumstances, coincident, during the first period, with a comparative stagnation of our agriculture; and during the second, with its most rapid growth and improvement, without acknowledging that there was nothing in the system pursued up to 1773, which necessarily promoted this most essential branch of public industry and national wealth; and also, that there is nothing incompatible with the success of both these objects in the system which has practically prevailed since that date. If the quantity of wheat, the growth of Great Britain, was truly estimated, as it was estimated in 1773, at four millions of quarters, and if it cannot now be stated so low as at double that amount, it is evident that the change of system has been attended with no defalcation of produce. If, since that year, the number of cattle and sheep has been vastly augmented, their breeds improved, and, by those improvements, their size and aptness to fatten, and in sheep their fleeces greatly increased; if, by this augmentation of live stock, a greater quantity of manure has been produced; if all the most important but expensive meliorations of modern husbandry have been introduced; if scientific drainages have been undertaken, and extensive wastes inclosed, to augment the produce of the land,—it cannot be said that there has been a want of encouragement to invest large and adequate capitals in this branch of national industry.

‘If, from agriculture, your Committee look to the permanent improvements which have been made in the country itself within the same period, the bridges which have been built, the roads which have been formed, the rivers which have been rendered navigable, the canals which have been completed, the harbours which have been made and improved, the docks which have been created,—not by the public revenue, but by the capitals and enterprise of individuals; if they look, at the same time, to the unexampled growth of manufactures and commerce—in the contemplation of this augmentation of internal wealth, which defies all illustration from comparison with any former portion of our history, or of the history of any other state;—your Committee may entertain a doubt, (a doubt, however, which they wish to state with that diffidence which a subject so extensive naturally imposes upon their judgment,) whether the only solid foundation of the flourishing state of agriculture is not laid in abstaining, as much as possible, from interference, either by protection or prohibition, with the application of capital, in any branch of industry?—whether all fears for the decline of agriculture, either from temporary vicissitudes to which all speculations

speculations are liable, or from the extension of other pursuits of general industry, are not, in a great degree, imaginary?—whether commerce can expand, manufactures thrive, and great public works be undertaken, without furnishing to the skill and labour which the capitals thus employed put in motion, increased means of paying for the productions of the land—whether the principal part of those productions which contribute to the gratification of the wants and desires of the different classes of the community must not necessarily be drawn from our own soil, the demand increasing with the population, as the population must increase with the riches of the country?—whether, in our own country in former times, and in other naturally fertile countries up to the present time, agriculture has not languished from the want of such a stimulus?—and whether, in those countries, the proprietors of the land are not themselves poor, and the people wretched, in proportion as, from want of capital, their labour is more exclusively confined to raising from their own soil the means of their own scanty subsistence?

‘If these questions should be answered in the affirmative, it follows, that the present solidity and future improvement of our national wealth depend on the continuance of that union by which our agricultural prosperity is so closely connected with the preservation of our manufacturing and commercial greatness.’—pp. 38—41.

We wish that, besides these questions, the Committee could have been asked how they reconciled their practical advice, with their opinions, p. 14. that the present distress has partly been occasioned by redundant production, and so far ‘admits of no adequate remedy, except that which must arise from the progressive adjustment of the supply to the demand, either by the diminution of the one, or the increase of the other, or, more probably, by the combined operation of both?’ Whether the supply will be diminished by protecting the capitals now vested in the cultivation of the poorest and most expensive soils?—whether the demand will be increased by a system which ‘has a direct tendency to contract the extent of our commercial dealings,’ and ‘to diminish the profits of capital?’ And whether the only means of enabling the agricultural part of the community to obtain a higher price, are not, previously, to enable the non-agricultural part to give it? The last question has indeed been put to the agriculturists, and their answer to it, though unnoticed by the Committee, ought not we think to be passed over by us. Like most bad reasoners they assume some true premises, that the prosperity of our manufacturers depends on the goodness of their markets; that the home market is far the most valuable, and that it is much injured by the agricultural distress. To restore, therefore, prosperity to the manufacturer, they propose to improve his home market, and to do this, by raising the price of corn, till it shall reach a point which shall put an end to the agricultural distress, which, by deteriorating the home market, has occasioned

occasioned that of the manufacturers. Now granting the possibility of thus raising the price of corn by legislative interference (which we believe in, much as we do in the Turkish plan of sinking it, by hanging a baker) the plan is, to give prosperity to the manufacturer, by obliging him to pay a larger price for his corn, in consideration that, that excess of price being in return laid out with him, he will retain a *portion* of it as profit. Give me 80s. a quarter for my corn instead of 50s., says the agriculturist to the cotton-spinner, and your market shall be prodigiously improved; I will lay out 80s. instead of 50s. in buying your stockings, and instead of a profit of 5s. you will get one of 8s.:—though to be sure, you will have given 30s. for the privilege of getting this additional profit of 3s. We may put the transaction into a still simpler form, by leaving out, (what only perplexes it,) the intervention of money, and supposing it to be carried on, as practically it is, by barter. Suppose the cotton-spinner, instead of paying 80s. for his corn, and having that 80s. returned to him in exchange for his stockings, were directly to exchange his stockings for his corn. The proposal then is, to improve his situation by obliging him to give eight pair of stockings for a given quantity of corn instead of five. But even this is far too favourable a statement of the agricultural argument. It supposes all that is lost by the manufacturer to be gained by the agriculturist, and all that is gained by the agriculturist to be laid out with the manufacturer. A great portion of the increased price which the monopoly enabled the agriculturist to receive, would be laid out on horses and servants, in residence abroad, and in all the other modes of expense which are useless to the productive labourers of the community. And a great portion of the remainder would be absorbed by the diminished fertility of the soil of which it forced the cultivation. It is in this manner that all attempts to favour one part of the community at the expense of the other, not by a direct transfer of revenue, but by interfering with the natural application of capital, where they succeed, add waste to injustice. To put 5s. into the pocket of the agriculturist, they would force the manufacturer to pay him 80s. for a quarter of corn, which he has raised at the expense of 75s. but which might have been raised elsewhere for 50s. It was on this principle that the Turks refused to introduce printing, because it would interfere with the profits of copyists,—and that the watermen of the Thames requested that Westminster bridge might not be built, because it would interfere with their fares. It would have been much cheaper to give the copyists and the watermen salaries to the amount of their loss, and leave them to employ themselves in some other occupations.

We have ourselves, however, admitted the propriety of a duty; but it is as a temporary, not a permanent measure, that we approve of

of one. We are anxious, to use the words of the Committee, 'to spare vested interests, and to deal tenderly with those obstacles to improvement which the long existence of a vicious system too often creates:'—and which in the present instance have been created even by the *short* existence of such a system, operating on the interests, and still more on the prejudices, of a powerful body. But we do not wish to make the use, which is so often made of this argument, and to treat the obstacles to improvement with a tenderness which will make them eternal. We wish to protect the agriculturists from the effects of the sudden alteration of prices which might follow an unrestrained corn trade. Where such a trade will render a part of our agricultural capital unproductive, we wish to give time for the removal of the portion which can be removed, and to soften the loss on what cannot be removed, by making it gradual. For this purpose we would willingly consent to the imposition of any duty the agriculturists should require, if provision were made for its gradual termination. Suppose the duty, which the Committee describe as having been always prohibitive, of 24s. 3d. to be imposed, with a proviso that it should be reduced by 2s. every year. In twelve years a return to true principles would be effected, and the evils attendant on the execution of the measure much mitigated.

It may be feared that the distinguishing quality of such a duty, its gradual operation, will not facilitate its adoption. Legislators are in general far too anxious for immediate results, to make laws of which the full effect is reserved for posterity. The common impatience of human nature is heightened in them by a consciousness that the credit is seldom bestowed till the object is fully attained, and by a well grounded fear, that any measure which is to be completed by a successor, will be mismanaged or neglected, when he who planned it is removed. It has been said, that no architect should ever design a building too vast to be finished in his life-time,—since he may rely on its being spoilt by those who follow him. And the consciousness that his power is more precarious than even his life, and that habits of systematic opposition are likely to prejudice against his views any rival who may displace him, must strengthen in the minister of a popular government, the eagerness to make complete at once, beyond the danger of alteration or repeal, the measures which he has triumphantly carried. But every change, however permanently beneficial, must be attended with immediate injury. If we resolve that it shall at once produce its full effects of good, we must resolve to suffer it at once, to produce, not merely its full effects of evil, but probably much more evil than if we had been content to receive its benefits gradually. And evils of execution, thus concentrated and aggravated, may often make a
wise

wise legislator refuse, or a weak one delay, measures, which, if gradually insinuated, might, in time, have produced all their good, and little of their injury. The only mode by which it was ever proposed to reform the calendar was, by leaving out at once the excessive days.—Fear of the confusion and inconvenience which this would occasion, made us suffer under the evils of a vicious calendar for a century longer, till after all we reformed it at once, at the expense of those of a sudden alteration, increased by the additional excess of a day, which had been created by the delay. All the advantages might have been obtained with scarce any of the evils, if we had merely left out the leap years for forty years. But this would have been a *gradual* measure, and the motives which we have suggested, probably prevented its adoption.*

We hope, however, that they do not apply with their usual force to the case before us. Among the characteristics of the body of statesmen who now govern this country, are, permanence in power, and consistency of plans.—And they mutually re-act on one another. Nothing but a general conviction that a certain system of measures and tone of government is dependant on their continuing at the head of affairs, would have enabled them to keep their station, through so shifting a series of events: to weather the hazards of so much war, and, what is still more dangerous to an administration, of so much peace. And the habit of consistency will of course be strengthened, if it appear to be the tenure of power. We think therefore that the present ministry might originate a plan of gradual operation, with much less than the ordinary chance of its being ultimately abandoned. The measure too, which we propose, is perhaps less likely to be affected by a change of the hands in which power is deposited, than most others. It is not a political measure, intended to rectify or alter the balance of the constitution, by taking from the power of one class, or adding to that of another. Our object is to extricate the agricultural and the non-agricultural classes of the community from a situation, which cramps the resources, and injures the happiness, of both; and to replace them in that natural state, in which the prosperity of the one will constantly produce and re-produce that of the other. And we wish to do it gradually, in order to mitigate the evils with which the most beneficial alteration of an existing system must necessarily be attended.

And evils of execution are all that we anticipate. The Committee, it is true, see danger from ‘the dependence of this country for subsistence upon other, possibly hostile, countries.’ And ‘from

* Hence the remark of Bacon, ‘Quis novator tempus imitatur, quod novationes ita insinuat ut sensus fallant?’

a diminution

a diminution of the weight, station, and ascendancy, which the landed interest has 'enjoyed so long, and used so beneficially.' p. 36. As to the first, when we recollect from how many sources our supplies of corn may be drawn, and that among them are Canada, the United States, the Baltic, France, the Mediterranean, and the Cape, countries so opposed to one another, in climate, position, and political interests; and when we consider the nature of commerce, so fertile in resources, and irrepressible by obstacles, we must conclude that a combination of circumstances, natural and political, which should prevent our deriving sufficient supplies from all these sources, or of supplying the deficiency by other means, is one of those remote contingencies, theoretically possible, and therefore fit materials for insincere argument, on which no man of practical wisdom would act, still less make important sacrifices.

As to the other danger, we too are anxious to support the landed interest;—we only differ from those who think themselves its warmer friends, as to the mode in which that support may best be afforded. We believe that the value of land depends on the quantity of its raw produce, and on the quantity and quality of the accumulated and unaccumulated labour, for which a given portion of that raw produce will exchange; that as the accumulated and unaccumulated labour, that is, the productive population and capital in a country, can be augmented in an increasing ratio, and the raw produce of its land only in a diminishing ratio, the best mode of increasing the value of land is to endeavour to increase, not the quantity of its raw produce, but the quantity and quality of the equivalents for which that raw produce is exchanged; and that from the bulky and perishable nature of raw agricultural produce, the increased difficulty with which every additional quantity of it is obtained, and its tendency, as affording the great necessary of life, to create its own demand, no monopoly can be permanently useful, no free importation permanently injurious, to the landholder. The tendency of a monopoly must be, by cramping the trade, and diminishing the quantity of the great necessary of life, in the country where it exists, to diminish, keep stationary, or retard in increase its productive population and capital, and consequently to diminish, keep stationary, or retard in increase the equivalents which can be exchanged for its raw produce. The deterioration of the market will more than compensate for its exclusive possession. The tendency of free importation must be, by enlarging the trade, and increasing the quantity of the great necessary of life, in the country where it exists, to increase its productive population and capital. There will be more consumers of raw produce, and those consumers will have more to exchange for it. As soon as these effects are felt, as soon (and it will be very soon)

soon) as the non-agricultural part of the community has had time to increase its numbers and wealth, the improvement in their market will more than compensate to the agriculturists, for the competition to which they will be exposed, limited as that must be, by the nature of the commodity. All experience shows that great agricultural prosperity must always be the effect of great commercial and manufacturing prosperity; all reasoning proves that it can never be the effect of measures, which tend to diminish the wealth, or limit the number, of consumers.

The remainder of the Report is occupied in remarks on the allegations of some of the agricultural petitions. The first mentioned are those in which 'the depression and distress of all those concerned in agriculture are mainly ascribed to the extent of our public burthens, coupled with their diminished means of bearing them.' And which insist that the price of corn must rise, in order to remunerate the grower, in the same ratio as the amount of the public revenue. To this the Committee answer, that

'Without denying that the price of corn may be in some degree affected by adding to our general taxation, and that any charges particularly paid by the farmer, such as tithes and poor rates, must tend more directly to raise that price; it is obvious, from what has been already stated, that the cost of growing corn in any country is regulated by the amount of capital necessary to produce it upon lands paying no rent, and that it is the price of the portion of corn which is so raised that determines the price of all other corn; and that an increase of general taxes, affecting alike the profits of capital in all the different branches of industry, would not necessarily raise the price of the particular produce of any one.'—p. 43, 44.

We agree with the Committee, that general taxation falls equally upon general capital, and that the increased amount of public revenue affords no reason for an increased price of corn. We are disposed indeed to go much farther; and to believe that an increase of taxation, instead of raising (which the Committee appear, from the context, to mean by 'affecting,') must have a tendency to sink, the price of corn, by diminishing the equivalents, which the remaining part of the society have to exchange for it; and that, as no legislative interference can increase those equivalents, no such interference can prevent corn from falling, in a period of war and consequent taxation. Other causes, indeed, may, and such a cause was the commercial monopoly enjoyed by us during the war: but the general truth of our proposition is strikingly illustrated by the fall in the price of corn, which the Committee remark to have been occasioned by the waste of capital and revenue in the American war. As to specific taxation on the farmer, such as tithes and poor rates, we have already stated our reasons

reasons for thinking that the price of corn is determined by supply and demand, and not, as the Committee suppose, 'by the price of the portion which is raised on lands paying no rent;' or, to use a more correct expression, which is raised by an application of capital, for the privilege of which application, no rent is paid:—and we believe that tithes and poor rates, so far as they are specific taxes on agricultural produce, have a tendency to diminish both the supply and the demand, without altering their relative proportions, and therefore without increasing the price. We think therefore that they must fall, and must remain, a burthen on the agriculturist, and will be felt first by the tenant, and ultimately by the landlord. But this no legislative interference can prevent, while the tax continues. Whether there are any means of commuting the first which we have mentioned, and removing the second, without incurring still greater inconveniences, we cannot now inquire. But as to general taxation, every reader will agree with the Committee, that

'However sanguine may be the hope that peace will afford increased facility and encouragement to further accumulation, it is not less the duty of Government directly to aid that accumulation, by diminishing our expenditure, and thus both to improve the comforts and to stimulate the skill and enterprize of those classes, by whose industry and savings the capital of the whole kingdom is augmented. This duty, important at all times, appears to Your Committee to be still more so, under the present circumstances of the country; for, whilst they are desirous of correcting the mistaken opinion, that the depression under which our Agriculture now labours, is either exclusively or principally to be attributed to taxation, they cannot disguise from themselves, that the weight of the public burthens of the country, their nominal amount remaining the same, must be more severely felt, in proportion as the money-incomes derived from trading, farming, and manufacturing capital and industry, are diminished. No exertion, therefore, should be omitted to endeavour to reduce those burthens, as nearly as circumstances will permit, in the degree in which such incomes may have been reduced: for, in considering this subject, it is important to bear in mind, that the general amount and real pressure of taxation have been positively increased in the proportion of the improved value of our currency.'—p. 45, 46.

The Committee next consider the prayer, to be found in most of the petitions, for protection for all the productions of agriculture, equal to the protection given to the manufacturers of this country.

To this the Committee reply; first, that the duty by which the petitioners wish that protection to be extended, would be prohibitory; and therefore that the principle, if acted upon, would go far to annihilate commercial intercourse altogether. Secondly,
that

that what the petitioners suppose to be a protecting duty, is often, as in the case of glass, a financial regulation to give effect to the heavy duty of excise imposed on it in this kingdom. Thirdly, that these protecting duties, as to our considerable manufactures, with the exception of silk, are in fact obsolete; our own superiority having made foreign competition in the home market impossible; and lastly, by an argument which we feel so difficult of comprehension, that we shall extract it.

‘There exists this most essential difference between the effect of protection given to the manufacturer, (even if he did not enjoy, from natural causes, a preference in the home market,) and the attempt at a similar protection and monopoly to the produce of the soil; that in all employment of capital, either in trade or manufactures, profits are limited by competition. If, for any length of time, or from any circumstances, profits are increased, in any particular branch, above the accustomed average, additional capital seeks employment in that branch, and profits are again speedily reduced to their former level. This would equally be the case if the demand for that particular article *were doubled*; and it may further frequently happen, as we have witnessed of late years, (in all goods, for instance, wrought of iron and cotton,) that, owing to discoveries in mechanical and chemical science, and improvements in the manufacture, an immense increase of consumption may be concomitant with, and probably, in a great degree, the result of, a great fall in price.

‘The same principle, it is true, applies to the capital and business of the farmer; but with this important distinction, that the price of corn, taken for any series of years, is necessarily regulated by the expense of production upon the lands which, at that price, make no return beyond the charge of raising it, together with the ordinary profit of the capital employed upon those lands. The cultivator of such lands, for the time, is upon a footing with the merchant and the manufacturer; but if the demand *for corn were doubled* it would force into cultivation poorer lands, requiring a larger capital to raise the same quantity of produce; the price of that produce would determine the price of the whole, or those poorer lands could not be maintained in cultivation; for there cannot permanently be two rates of profit in the same occupation. It is sufficient for your Committee to point out this ground of difference, and to leave it to the judgment of the House, in connection with the observations which they have already submitted in a former part of this Report.’—p. 48, 49.

We think that the argument which the Committee mean to employ is this;—that if the effect of the monopoly were, by confining the operation of the whole demand for any manufactured article within the home market, to make it more intense in that market, yet that the influx of capital into that manufacture, which the competition of capitalists would occasion, would create a proportionate increase of supply, and prevent the price from rising;
but

but that an increased demand for corn in the home market must be met by an increase of supply, raised from poorer lands at a greater expense, and, on their principle, that the corn raised at the greatest expense regulates the price of the whole, occasioning, as to the whole quantity raised, an increase of price.

Without attempting to separate the truth and falsehood, which are so blended in the last argument, we will mention an answer to the prayer of the petitioners, which appears to us more satisfactory than any, except the first, of those used by the Committee: it is, that, supposing the protection intended to be afforded to one branch of our manufacturing industry to be effectual, it can be so only by being injurious to another. As foreigners will not give us their goods for nothing, the prohibition of the importation of foreign silk is a prohibition of the exportation of those articles of home production which must have been exported to obtain the silk, either in direct exchange, or in exchange for the bullion, or other commodities, for which the silk *was* directly exchanged. And as all interference renders the application of capital less profitable, the general result of our protecting duties upon our manufacturers must be injurious—and must tend to diminish their power, and certainly not to increase their obligation, to pay more for their subsistence.

The Committee lastly consider, p. 50. the objections of the petitioners against the warehousing system;—1st. as employing in the foreign, capitals which would be employed in the British, corn-trade; and 2dly, as depressing the market, by the notoriety that large quantities of foreign corn are already in the country ready to be poured in, when the price rises to 80s. The Committee answer, very sensibly, to the first objection, that they see no reason for supposing either that the capital engaged in the foreign corn-trade is large, or that any part of that capital is withdrawn from the British trade. And to the second, that whatever depression is produced by the accumulation in English warehouses, would be produced by an accumulation in Dutch, with this difference only, that the British grower would not have equally accurate information to guide his proceedings. And they add that the correspondence of this system with our general practice, the security it affords against the aggravation of our wants by foreign states, and the commercial advantages which it may afford, are sufficient reasons for not abandoning it, without further proof of its prejudicial effects on agriculture. They add that the supposition, that it has afforded a means for the fraudulent introduction of foreign corn into home consumption, appears (except to an inconsiderable, if any, extent) to be without foundation.

This is the last topic considered by the Committee. They end their Report with the following observations, with which, as they

express in better language our own feelings and sentiments, we, too, shall conclude :—

‘ Instead of expressing doubts with respect to the remedies which have been suggested by others, it would have been far more satisfactory to your Committee, to have been enabled to conclude their labours by pointing out some immediate measure of alleviation, which would have been efficacious at once to mitigate the distress, and to allay the alarm which prevail among the agricultural classes of the community.

‘ If such an expedient could have been found, even in a temporary departure from any sound and recognized principle of general policy on this subject, or in any modification of the existing law which could now be attempted, they might have been disposed to submit it to the favourable consideration of the House; but when, after a long and anxious inquiry, they have not been able to discover any means, which, in their estimation, are calculated immediately to remove the present pressure, they know too well their own duty to the House, and feel too much respect for the manly character of that class of the community whose difficulties have been the object of their investigation, either to attempt to disguise the view which they have taken of the origin and nature of those difficulties, or to recommend that specific plan of relief pointed out by the suffering parties, which, however sanctioned by the arguments and prayer of their Petitions, appears to be founded in delusion, and likely therefore to lead only to disappointment.

‘ So far as the present depression in the markets of Agricultural produce is the effect of abundance from our own growth, the inconvenience arises from a cause which no legislative provision can alleviate; so far as it is the result of the increased value of our money, it is one not peculiar to the farmer, but which has been and still is experienced by many other classes of society.’—p. 53.

‘ The difficulties, great as they are, in which it has involved the farming, the manufacturing and trading interests of the country, must diminish in proportion as contracts, prices, and labour, adjust themselves to the present value of money. That this change is now in progress, and has already taken place to a considerable degree, is in evidence before your Committee. They are satisfied that it will continue until that balance is restored, which will afford to labour its due remuneration, and to capital its fair return. And, although they deeply lament the derangement which the fluctuations of the last ten years in the value of the currency have occasioned in all the transactions of life, together with the individual loss and suffering unavoidably produced by the return to a fixed standard, they are satisfied that this was the only course which it was in the power of Parliament to adopt,—as well to prevent the continuance of a derangement, leading, as it must have led, to the aggravation of those losses and sufferings, as to manifest to the world the inflexible determination of this country, rigidly to adhere to that good faith of which the moral character of the people is the sure guardian, and which, with that character, has placed our greatness and our power upon the foundation, hitherto unshaken amidst all our vicissitudes, of public credit and national honour.’—p. 56.

ART.

ART. X.—ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ. ÆSCHYLI AGAMEMNON. *Ad fidem MSS. emendavit, Notas et Glossarium adjecit* C. J. Blomfield, S. T. B. Coll. SS. Trin. apud Cant. olim Socius. *Cantabrigiæ.*

THE author of the drama which we are about to review, was expressly fitted for the country and the age in which he lived; the splendour and the great events of which seem to harmonize with the grandeur and magnificence of his genius. He had the glory of fighting for his country in the battles of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea—and of exhibiting to his countrymen the Prometheus, the Agamemnon, and the Eumenides. He may be considered, with his master Phrynichus, as the father of the tragic drama of modern Europe; for though Thespis invented the dialogue, yet, as Bentley says, ‘all his plays were farcical interludes with Bacchus and the Satyrs, and Phrynichus and Æschylus were the introducers of real tragedy.’

Of Phrynichus a very few lines only are extant; two preserved by Athenæus, one in the argument of Æschylus’s Persæ, one by Tzetzes on Lycophron, and an epigram in Plut. Symp. Q. viii. yet the heavy fine imposed upon him for exciting too much commiseration by his play of the Μιλήτου Ἀλώσις, (a fact recorded by Strabo, Herodotus, and others,) seems to speak highly in favour of his tragic powers. Of Æschylus, seven tragedies have been preserved; a small remnant out of seventy-five, according to the anonymous author of his life, ninety according to Suidas, or still more, according to the modern catalogues of Fabricius and Meursius; but yet enough to convince us, that he was, perhaps, of all the tragic poets that ever lived, the greatest master of the *sublime* and the *terrible*, and that there was a sort of colossal grandeur in his conceptions which communicated itself to his diction. The wildest and most difficult of subjects, which poets of other ages and countries would have shrunk from dramatizing, seem to have been most congenial to his taste, and to have afforded the fairest field for his ardent imagination. He delighted in fabulous monsters, supernatural beings, and in deepening the terrors of the gloomiest parts of the pagan superstition. In common with the other tragedians he drew largely on the ante-homeric times for fables, which, though containing historical truth, yet from their antiquity admitted the embellishment of poetical fiction. Such, among others, were those of Phineus and the Harpies, the Gorgons, the Heliades, and the Cabiri; that of Prometheus, in the three plays of Πυρφόρος, Δεσμώτης, and Λυόμενος; the two on the subject of Sisyphus, in one of which he was described undergoing his punishment in the infernal regions; and the Ψυχοστασία, a singular piece, in which Jove was introduced weighing the

the souls of Achilles and Memnon, while Thetis and Aurora were pleading for their respective sons before his throne. We may also add to the subjects of this extraordinary class, the Orithyia, which, though not included in the catalogue of his plays, is inserted in the list by Ruhnken, from a MS. Joannes Siceliota on Hermogenes.

The *Agamemnon*, it appears, was acted in the 80th Olympiad in the Archonship of Philocles,* and is generally considered as the finest of Æschylus's plays. Salmasius, in *præfat. ad librum de Lingua Hellenistica*, has cited it as a specimen of classical obscurity; yet it certainly is less obscure and corrupt than the *Χαηφόροι*, or the *Isérides*, the latter of which labours, besides, under additional difficulties from the usage of many Doric and Sicilian phrases. One of the causes of the general preference of this play may be found in the character of Cassandra, which unites, in a wonderful degree, the powers of the pathetic and sublime; another may be discovered in the nature of the plot, which has more variety and perhaps interest than others from the same hand. But the Greek poets were so fruitful in invention, so powerful in execution, the Greek audiences so refined in their taste, so wrapt up in the beauties of the poetry, the dignity of sentiment, the delineation of character, and the striking and affecting portraiture of the most powerful passions of the human heart, that they never sought (like the modern stage) to excite either interest or curiosity by intricacy of plot, or variety of incident.

This play (an imperfect portion of which, not amounting to

* The archonship of Philocles was in the 2d year of the 80th Olymp., and the death of Æschylus is fixed by the Arundel marbles and the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Achar.* 10., a year previous; we conceive therefore that this was a reproduction of the play by *ὁ ἀμφὶ Ἀσχυλόν*: for there is every reason to believe that the *Eumenides*, one of the four plays composing the Tetralogia called the *Orestia*, (and consequently the remaining three,) was acted many years before, when the author was resident at Athens; and indeed was the main cause of his retirement to Sicily, in consequence of the disgrace and danger which he incurred by the accident that happened at its representation, from the terror occasioned by the chorus of Furies.

On the reproduction of the Greek tragedies much interesting matter may be seen in Boeck's treatise on the subject, to which we beg leave to refer the curious reader; he will there find many plausible reasons for supposing that the *Iphigenia in Aulis* is a *rifacciamento* by the nephew, of the old play of Euripides, the uncle.

One word more. Our readers need not be informed that it was the practice at Athens, in the three great Bacchic festivals, for each contending poet to produce on the stage, not one single piece but generally three or four, called Trilogia or Tetralogia, each play being a continuation or sequel of the preceding one. Thus the *Orestia* contained the four plays of *Agamemnon*, *Choephoræ*, *Eumenides*, and *Proteus*: that is, the murder of *Agamemnon*, the murder of *Clytæmnestra* by her son in revenge, and his persecutiou by the Furies. Pretty much in the manner of some of Shakspeare's Historical plays: with this advantage however on the side of the Greek poets, that they preserved the unities, and yet gratified the curiosity of the spectators by the continuation of the story, and enforced the moral lesson more strongly by the exhibition of the final result. An objection may be started against this practice on account of the length of the exhibition; but the Athenians were insatiable spectators, and their patience never seems to have been exhausted except by dulness and mediocrity.

one-fifth, was edited by Aldus, Robortelli and Turnebus) was first given entire in the edition of Stephens, from Victorius's Medicean MS. now in the Florentine library. It appears from Dr. Blomfield's Preface, that there are two MSS. in that library, which contain the *Agamemnon* entire; the one in question, and another, —a collation of which he has prefixed, and which, as he justly observes, contains some remarkable readings. The Venetian MS. is imperfect; and we think the learned editor offers a very good reason for concluding that Robortelli never used it.

The *Agamemnon* has exercised the learning and ingenuity of several eminent persons from the days of Victorius and Stephanus down to the present time. Of those it will be sufficient to mention the learned and indefatigable Canter, Casaubon, who meditated an edition of it, Auratus, Abreschius, Stanley, (to whom we are indebted for a complete and valuable edition, and who has introduced some excellent readings,) Heath, Hermann, Schutz, who, though he might be guilty of oversights and interpolations in his text, and careless and scanty in his notation of the *Varietas Lectionis*, was yet the introducer of some very judicious readings; and, lastly, Porson, who, though he did not profess to give an edition of *Æschylus*, yet emended the text in several places, and in others placed his *obelus* before what he considered doubtful or corrupt.

The present editor has brought a vast fund of learning to his task; he has very happily illustrated the text in several places, and added a very erudite and valuable glossary. We could indeed have wished he had been a little more sparing in his alterations of the text, and in his new arrangement of the choral measures. We shall, in the proper place, take the liberty of expressing our opinion in detail, with the same spirit of candour and urbanity that so highly distinguishes this eminent scholar. But before we enter on this subject, we must not omit to notice an imputation contained in the preface against Stanley, of plagiarism committed by him on the MS. notes of Casaubon. We are perfectly satisfied of the honourable motives, and of the sincere love of truth which actuated the learned editor on the present occasion, and we admire the liberality with which he submits his opinion to the judgment of the literary world. His statement is as follows:

“Casauboni conjecturas, quæ passim memorantur, ex margine libri cujusdam in bibliotheca regis Gallorum adservati desumptas, Needhamio transmisit Joannes de Burigny. Sic describitur a Vauvillerio: “*Æschyli Agamemnon*, cum Isaaci Casauboni interpretatione interlineari. Accedunt ejusdem notæ et observationes eruditissimæ. Is codex ipsius Casauboni manu anno 1610. exaratus, jam diu furto ablatas e bibliotheca regia, tandem anno 1729. ære regio redemptus est.” Vauvillerius autem jure miratur prodigiosum multis in locis consensum inter Casaubonum et Stanleium, de quo ipse lector ex annotat. one nostra judicare poterit.

poterit. Et is quidem talis est, ut vel Stanleium hunc librum compilasse, vel hujus libri scriptorem, quisquis demum fuerit, emendationes Stanleianas in suos usus convertisse, etiam atque etiam adfirmare audeam. Jam vero, quum Boissonadus, vir judicii in hujusmodi rebus probe exercitati, tradat scripturam hujus codicis esse duplicem, utramque autem videri antiquiorem anno 1663. quo publica facta est Stanleiana editio; ceteros nescio, ego certe in ea opinione persto, quam annis abhinc aliquot caute proposui, non, ita me Deus amet, calumniandi studio aut invidia, sed puro ac simplice veritatis amore impulsus. Alia argumenta haud sane levia, quibus hanc opinionem stabilire possem, in medium proferre supersedeo, quum nihil magis absit, quam ut Stanleio meritos honores, hærentemque capiti multa cum laude coronam detrahere velim.—p. vi—viii.

The summary of the statement is, that the MS. of Casaubon was stolen from the Royal library of Paris, was missing for a number of years, and was not returned till long after the publication of *Æschylus* by Stanley. So far goes the external evidence; nor has any thing been adduced to bring the book into the possession of Stanley. The matter, therefore, beyond this, rests on the internal evidence, and on the singular coincidence of Stanley's conjectures with those of Casaubon. See lines 208. 277. 647. 790. 921. 1070. 1091. 1232. 1585. Such a coincidence would, in *general*, be of itself quite sufficient to convict one of the parties of plagiarism; but we should consider the peculiarities of this branch of authorship, and remember that the two persons had exactly the same *data* to go on, the same corruptions to deal with, the same vestiges of words and letters to insist upon.

Some conjectural emendations are so apt, discover so much vigour of intellect and happiness of invention, that a casual coincidence would be next to impossible. If, indeed, these conjectures had resembled those of Bentley on Julius Pollux in his letter to Hemsterhusius; if they had been like the emendation on the epigram of Dioscorides in vain attempted by Stanley—*νοήσιμα ετα χαράξας* (*νεοσμίλευτα*); or on that passage of Plutarch in the epistle to Mill, *Αρμονίαν καλεῖσθαι μεροπιν* (*καλεῖ θεμερῶπιν*); or, to come to our author, if they had been like that of Porson on a line in this very play *διοσδότω γάνει* (1362), or that of the same critic on Hippolytus 79. *Ὅσοις διδακτὸν μῆκεν* (*ῥσις*), in support of which he produces a vast stock of philological demonstration; or that beautiful one in *Electra* 181, *δάκρυσι χεύω* (*χορεύω*); or that on *Ion* apud Plut. de Consol. ad Apollon. *Ἐξῆλθεν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ἡμῶν τρόφος* (*ἐξῆλθεν ἡ μόνη τε καὶ τλήμων τρόφος*);—if, we repeat, they had been of this nature, the question would have been decided at once. — But in the passages above enumerated, where the two critics coincide, their conjectures upon examination appear to us to be at once so obvious, so within the reach of almost any one, that we are far from

from thinking the coincidence might not have been accidental: * they may (and we cannot admit more) afford subject of suspicion, but are by no means conclusive without further and stronger evidence.

We shall now proceed with our observations on the text.

Line 10. ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον.] We agree altogether with Dr. Blomfield in his interpretation of ἀνδρόβουλος, and cannot but wonder that Stanley should have rendered it '*viro insidiantem*,' which would have been ἀνδρεπίβουλος, if such a word were admissible. Γυναικοβούλους τε μητίδας φρενῶν in the Choephoræ gives the exact counterpart of this word: Ἀνδρόφρων, γυναικόφρων have the same meaning. See Dr. Blomfield's Glossary for the former; and Eur. apud Stob. III. for the latter: Γυναικόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ.

When Dr. Blomfield recalled the reading of Robortelli and the MS. Venet. ἐλπίζον, which we conceive to be corrupt, he should, we think, have given us some authority for this usage of the *participle* ἐλπίζον put absolutely as if it had been the *adjective* εὐελπισ. The active participle governs something, requires something after it, either infinitive, accusative, or sentence expressing the subject of the hope. Thus Soph. Trach. III. Δύστανον ἐλπίζουσαν αἶσαν. Æsch. Cho. 537. Ἄκος τομαῖον ἐλπίσασα πημάτων. Besides in a periphrasis, such as Γυναικὸς κέαρ, the accumulation of two epithets (ἀνδρόβουλον and ἐλπίζον) strikes us as neither elegant, nor idiomatical Greek: Homer would say ἱερὴ ἴς Ἀλκίνοοιο, but not ἱερὴ ἴς Ἀλκίνοοιο δεδωγμένη, and the reading ἐλπίζον is directly in the teeth of the learned and judicious note of Porson on Hec. 293. to which we refer, as well as to the passage in the text of Euripides, φίλον γένειον, a periphrasis of Ulysses, which is followed by ἐλθών, not ἐλθόν. We hardly need explain our conception of the passage as it stood before Dr. Blomfield's alteration, viz. that ἐλπίζω is used in the sense of νομίζω, as it is very commonly. Eur. Ion. 348. Θῆράς σφε τὸν δύστηνον ἐλπίζει κίανειν: Eur. Hipp. 97. Ἡ κὰν θεοῖσι ταῦτον ἐλπίζεις τόδε.

V. 13. ἐμὴν] This is one of those passages which we are sorry

* We may here opportunely cite the words of Bentley, on Phalaris 333.

Though the misfortune is that for Λίσκος we must read it there Λίσιδος, as it is plain from Herodotus, Strabo and others. I had corrected this when I knew not any other had done it. But it was well for me that before I printed it I lit on Meursius's *Fortuna Attica*, where I found the same correction. For if Mr. Boyle had met with the same passage, when next he appears in print, I had been branded as a plagiarist. And yet, I do not believe that Meursius was a plagiarist, though I find that long before his time this very same emendation, and by the same proofs, was made by Brodæus, in his notes upon Anthol. Epigram. For a man would have very hard measure, if, because another whom he knew not of, had lit upon the same thought, he must be traduced as a plagiarist, though it appear from the rest of his performances (which are certainly new and his own) that he was very able to do that too without stealing from others.

to see disturbed. The substitution of *τότε* for *γάρ* destroys the Atticism of the construction, and reduces it more to the level of common language. The force and propriety of the particle *γάρ* are pointed out by the preceding *ὁνέροις ἐκ ἐπισκοπούμενην*. Far from objecting to the unfinished state of the sentence, we look upon it as a peculiarity appropriate to the nature of dramatic soliloquy in general, and consonant to the usages of Attic writers in particular. No one knows better than Dr. Blomfield (see his note on v. 629.) that the Attics indulged frequently in unfinished sentences, and that even their *solecisms* have been made the subject of remark by the ancient grammarians. Eust. II. 179. Bentley on Phal. 318. Lesbonax ed. Valck. Homer, Plato, Thucydides, and the dramatic writers, (see Eur. Hipp. 23.) abound in them—a *fortiori*, why should we be here offended with an unfinished sentence in the passage before us?

V. 43. Τιμῆς ὀχυρὸν.—Dr. Blomfield says, ‘*Ἀτρειδᾶν* Rob. recentiores. Dorismos ex anapæstis rejeci.’ We regret that he did eject the Dorisms of *Ἀτρειδᾶν χιλιοναύταν*, and *ἀραγάν*: as to *ἀρωγῆς κατακαρφομένης, διακναιομένης*, he has on his side the authority of all the books. We look upon Porson’s method to be the most safe. Hec. 100. ‘In Anapæstis neque semper neque nunquam Dorica dialecto utuntur Tragici. Ubi igitur in communi forma MSS. consentiunt, communem formam retinuis; ubi codex unus et alter Dorismum habet, Dorismum restitui.’ The argument arising from the fluctuation of MSS. appears to us rather against Mr. Blomfield;—the probability is that the copyists frequently substituted the common form, to the prejudice of the uncommon or Doric. Several words, such as *Τλάμων, μάτηρ, δυστανος, ἐμὰ, γενόμεαν*, plural genitives of the first declension, such as *Ἀτρειδᾶν, Ἐρεχθειδᾶν*, the feminine participles, as *ἀπελαινομένην, φοινισσομένην*, occur most commonly in the Doric form. Dr. Blomfield surely would not, in Polyxena’s lamentations in the Hecuba, read *Σὲ μὲν ὃ μῆτερ δύστηνε βίου* for *Σὲ μὲν ὃ μᾶτερ δύστανε βίου*, or *δυστηνοτάτης μήτερος* for *δυστανοτάτας μάτερος*.

V. 48. Τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν.—Dr. Blomfield has done well in not admitting *ἐκπάγλοις*, his own conjecture, into the text, a reading which, according to our ideas, would deprive the passage of its beauty, and substitute a common-place epithet for one highly appropriate and descriptive of the scenery. We understand *ἐκπαλλοῖς* not, with the Scholiast, ‘as a figure of speech called enallage’ (*δεῖν δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐκπαλλῶν παίδων*): but literally, viz. ‘the solitary remote mourning of the birds, their mourning in unfrequented places far from the path of man, where their nests were built.’ In line 53 we decidedly object to Musgrave’s proposed reading of *Γόνον* for *Πόνον*, as we did to *ἐκπάγλοις*, because, in our opinion, it would take

take from the figurativeness of the poetry and the splendour of the passage. Πόνον δλεσάντες is absurdly understood by Potter and others, as equivalent to the English expression 'losing their pains,' which is sufficiently refuted by the epithet δειμνιοτήρη. It evidently means, by a bold figure, what would be expressed in common Greek thus, δλέσαντες τοὺς δριαλίχους ἐφ' οἷς πεπονηκότες εἶεν. Euripides Herc. F. 1039. has an exactly parallel passage: 'Ο δ' αὖ τις ὄρνις ἀπλερον καταστένων Ὠδίνα τέκνων, that is, τέκνα ἀπλερα δι' ἃ ἀδίδνας τ. ε. Spenser, whether from imitation, or more probably from the coincidence of poetical sentiment, elegantly uses the same figure, is speaking of a hind deprived of her young.

'Right sorrowfully mourning her bereaved cares.'

V. 69. ἀπύρων ἱερῶν. On this passage numerous conjectures have been indulged by Turnebus, Casaubon, and Schutz. Dr. Blomfield says 'locus difficillimus.' But in the infinite variety of temples and rites in Greece, how can we say what temples or forms of worship the poet had in view on the present occasion? The sense of the context naturally leads us to the temples of some stern and unrelenting divinities. We must give the author credit for understanding what he wrote, and for the propriety of his epithets; his general meaning is clear: at any rate, it would appear more safe to acquiesce in a state of doubtful information, than, upon the negative evidence of Dr. Blomfield's Glossary, to re-write such a passage as this, where the doctrine of fatalism, so familiar on the Greek theatre, is rendered still more awful and impressive by the grandeur and magnificence of the poetry.

We see no reason for Schutz's alteration of ὑπολείβων into ἐπιλείβων; ὑπολείβων is the more ancient and poetic compound: ὑποπίνων occurs in the fragments of the *old* and *genuine* Anacreon. Dr. Blomfield's attempt at emendation in the Addenda does not strike us as very happy, because the nominative which at present runs through the sentence, contained in and carried on through the several participles regularly and uniformly by the common link οὔτε between each, is, in the proposed alteration, dropt abruptly, the harmony of the construction lost, and the sentence left in a state of dislocation.

V. 105. πειθῶ μολπᾶν. Dr. Blomfield has very happily explained this passage without any alteration, except of stops and accents.

The choral measures of Æschylus, which were much confused in the early editions of Aldus, Robortellus and Turnebus, were reduced into order by Canter, who has been generally followed by Stanley and the Glasgow edition, which last we conceive to be the standard authority, from which we are by no means lightly disposed to deviate: though we admit that Dr. Blomfield has very happily
done

done so here by reducing the latter strophes and antistrophes of this chorus into order, beginning at v. 211. But we must proceed regularly.—The advantage of Dr. Blomfield's, or rather of Dr. Burney's disposition of the first strophe and antistrophe of this chorus, (which indeed is but slightly altered from the Glasgow edition,) is the producing a greater number of dactyls, and consequently a greater uniformity of metre: still, however, since all the verses, as they stand in the Glasgow edition, are of a known and acknowledged metre, it may be questioned whether this supposed advantage be not dearly purchased by dividing the words Ἀχαιῶν and ἰ-πταρ, which produces a bad effect to our ear.

V. 117. βοσκόμενοι λαγίαν. We were surprized at seeing the old reading of Aldus, Rob. et Turn. ἐρικύματα restored, together with φέρματα from one of the Medicean MSS. Our objection is not to ἐρικύματα, though a rare form, as ἀκύματος occurs in Eur. apud Poll. but to the whole sense of the passage which in the present edition reduces itself to an absurdity. Neither Dr. Blomfield nor Dr. Butler, who would here read λαγίδα, seems to have caught the meaning of λαγίαν γέναν, which is the hare itself, so called by a figure too common to require illustration. If this was not sufficiently plain in itself, it is put beyond all question, by βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων, 'overtaken in her last course.' According to Dr. Blomfield's reading and interpretation, however, this would be predicated of the unborn fœtus. How could what was not born be said to run its *last* course, (implying that it had often run before,) or how, indeed, to run at all? The poet is speaking of the hare—pursued, overtaken and devoured: the pregnancy of the animal is introduced only as an additional circumstance, a descriptive peculiarity, aggravating compassion and typifying the events to come. The error lies in the introduction of φέρματα, which is entirely his own; besides, ἐρικύματα means *pregnant and fruitful to a great degree*, not, as the glossary has it, '*ad magnum numerum in utero concepta*;' coupled, therefore, with φέρματα, it can have no intelligible force or propriety. Βλαβέντα, according to the rule of periphrasis noticed above, is in the proper gender, referring to λαγίαν.

124. ἀγρεῖ. Mr. Elmsley and Dr. Blomfield, against the authority of all editions and MSS. substitute αἰρεῖ for ἀγρεῖ, though they allow the latter to be an ancient and unexceptionable word, occurring in Archilochus, apud Athen. xi. 483. And why?—because Herodotus, a prose writer, uses the common word αἰρεῖ, and Sophocles also in a plain passage in the dialogue: But we cannot see why, because these writers choose to express themselves in ordinary language as their subject required, Æschylus may not be allowed

allowed to put a bold, metaphorical and somewhat antiquated phrase in the mouth of a prophet.

129. *Μή τις ἄγα.* Dr. Blomfield ingeniously and, we think, happily reads ἄγα for ἄτα: (Dr. Burney had proposed ἄσα.) His ἄργας for ἀργίας is yet more fortunate. We see, however, no reason for preferring στρατωθῆν to στρατευθῆν. Eur. Phœn. 614. ἐπεστρατευμένου. Pind. Pyth. I. 98. Ἑστρατεύθη. Apollonius Rhodius indeed uses στρατόωτο.

137. 143. *Δέξια μὲν*—We do not quite comprehend Dr. Blomfield's punctuation and interpretation of this passage, nor conceive how Calchas's speech can recommence at *Δέξια μὲν*, or, in that case, how he would understand αἰτεῖ, which he leaves in the text. The difficulty appears to us to lie in the small space of two letters (εῖ), and for αἰτεῖ we would read αἰτῇ, from Hesychius, who explains it by the word ἀπλήρωτον: consequently αἰτῇ ξύμβολα would mean *the unfulfilled signs or symbols*. If we reject στρουθῶν, we should read τῶνδε from the τῶν in the Med. MS. Dr. Blomfield has obelized the word ἀέπλοις which Stephens introduced from conjecture, which has been adopted in subsequent editions, and which now appears to be the reading of the Med. MS. Whether we adopt the Scholiast's interpretation of it, ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος τῇ μητρὶ ἔπεσθαι, or the '*nondum volatilibus*' of Stanley, (which would be a figure resembling the πηνὸς κύων above, in this drama and in the Prometheus,) Dr. Blomfield must allow us to observe that the charge of absurdity which he has brought against the old Scholiast, Schutz and Dr. Butler, for adopting the former signification, is wholly founded upon a misconception of the meaning of Δρόσοι. His words are, '*Vix opus est ut pluribus ostendam quàm absurde diceretur fatus in utero latens ἔπεσθαι τοῖς γονεῦσι μὴ δυνάμενος.*' But Δρόσοι are the young lions born. Etym. Mag. Ἑρσαι αἱ ἐν ἔαρι γεννηθεῖσαι αἱ ἀπαλαὶ καὶ τελείως νέαι. Καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τοὺς σκυμνόνες τῶν λεόντων δρόσους κέκληκε. So also the Scholiast. Δρόσοισι, τοῖς νεογνοῖς:—As the matter stands, we fluctuate between ἀέπλοις the reading of the Med. MS. and the editions from Stephens downwards, and ἀέλπλοις the reading of Aldus, Robortellus, Turnebus and the Med. Φ, which is also confirmed by Hesychius, (see the word,) who explains it δεινοῖς ἰσχυροῖς, and cites the Πρωτεύς of Æschylus, and ἀάπλοις which would be an obvious conjecture.

144. Ἰήϊον. ἰήϊος is, as Dr. Blomfield properly observes, of Ægyptian origin; indeed ἰῆ, the solemn invocation in sacrifice, is evidently the *Y* or *Jah* of the Hebrews.

211. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκης. The confusion in the strophes and antistrophes from this to the end of the chorus, (which has been so happily rectified by Mr. Elmsley, whom Dr. Blomfield has followed,) probably arose from the correspondence of the two lines,

φράσεν

φράσεν δ' ἀόλεις, &c. and διὸν χιμαίρας, &c. with the first two of the strophe; so that they were made the two first of the antistrophe instead of Αἰτὰς δὲ καὶ, &c. as now arranged. Though we readily admit the merit of the discovery, and the right placing of the strophe and antistrophe, we must yet express our dissent from the manner in which certain of the lines have been distributed, beginning with 217—

Πρωτοπήμεν' ἔτλα δ' οὖν θυτὴρ γενέσθαι.

The greatest caution is required from those who meddle with the arrangement of the chorus: no line should be introduced, unless, as Porson has observed, it be of a well known and acknowledged metre, and for satisfactory reasons. The line in question is at once anomalous, harsh and dissonant;—two cretic feet and an ithyphallic! where will its fellow be found in *Æschylus*?

The next line,

Θυγατρὸς, γυναικοπóιναι πολέμῳ ἀρωγάν,

is, as a choriambic, inadmissible, and as an antispastic, we believe, without example. In a word, we protest against both as downright prose. The same objection lies against 226 and 227 of the antistrophe. We may be mistaken, but till we see instances of such lines from the dramatic writers, or from Pindar, we must be permitted to consider them as altogether inadmissible and barbarous. There is also a great violence in separating *γενέσθαι* from *θυγατρὸς*, where the pause of the sense naturally falls; and the Greeks appear to have been very careful in arranging the pauses of their verses in lyrical compositions according to the sense. We are glad on this occasion to quote the words of the learned Hermannus.

'Veræ sunt et genuinæ versuum distribuendorum causæ. In quibus primo loco commemoranda interpunctio est, orationisque terminatio. Quæ etsi non magnam habent vim in finibus atque initiis versuum inveniendis, haud tamen spernenda est eorum admonitio. Sæpissime enim, ut par est, ubi versus et numeri terminantur, ibi etiam orationis aliqua incisio et pausa fit. Neque enim sine quadam molestia, ubi numeri ulterius progrediuntur, finiri oratio potest, nec contrà quum desinunt numeri, rectè continuabitur orationis circuitus.'—*Comment. de Metris Pind.*

We would propose to arrange them thus:

Πρωτοπήμεν' ἔτλα δ' ἔν
 Θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρὸς,
 Γυναικοπóιναι πολέμῳ ἀρωγάν.

The first line is well known, resembling Σμῆνος ὡς ἐκλέλοιπε, *Æsch. Persæ*; or Φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν in this play. The second is equally so, being a dimeter choriambic, as *Æsch. Choeph. Δνόφοι καλύπτουσιν δόμους*. The third is a choriambic trimeter catalectic

lectic (only with an iambic syzygy for a pure choriambus) and resembles this line of Anacreon in Hephæstion: *Δακρύοισαν τ' ἐφίλησεν αἰχμάν*. Of course we read in the antistrophe,

Πατὴρ θυμῷ προσηπῆ
Δαδῶν αἰρῶν, στόματες
Τε καλλιπέρου φυλακὰι κατασχέῃν.

Τε frequently commences the line, Pind. Pyth. v. 154. Θ' Ἀρμα-
πλάτας σοφός. Pyth. ix. 22. Τε γάμον μιχθέντι κόυρα.

We should readily adopt Dr. Blomfield's interpretation of τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω, had we ever known μετέγνω used in the sense of *destruit*, but we have always found it with a different meaning. Eur. Med. 63. Μετέγνων καὶ τὰ πρόσθ' εἰρημένα. Soph. Phil. 1270. Οὐκ οὐν ἔνεστι καὶ μεταγνῶναι πάλιν. Thucydides I. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίοις μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι ξυμμαχίαν. There is a sort of awkwardness, too, we think, in the position of γὰρ; it usually follows earlier in a sentence. We understand the passage as it stands, thus, (ὁ νῆς sub.) βροτοῖς μετέγνω φρονεῖν τὸ παντότολμον, '*mortal men repent of their audaciousness*.'

227. Φυλακὰν κατασχέῃν. This expression bears a strong resemblance to one in the Psalms; '*Set a watch on my lips*.' Lucian applies a similar metaphor to the ears. Ἀκριβοῦς θυρωρὸν τὸν λογισμὸν τοῖς λεγομένοις.

235. Πατὴρ κατ' Ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπίζους
Ἐμέλψιν, ἀγὰ δ' αἰταύρωτος αὐδᾶ πατρός
Φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὐποτόν τ'.

We object to the disposition of these three lines, of which, we believe, it would be difficult to find another example: to us they appear rather constructed by the finger than by the ear. The pause, or end of the verse, which is beautiful at ἔμελψεν, is entirely destroyed by putting that word at the beginning of the immeasurable long line of a *dochmiac* and two antispastuses. We would read them thus:

Πατὴρ κατ' ἀνδρῶνας
εὐτραπίζους ἔμελψεν:
Ἀγὰ δ' αἰταύρωτος αὐδᾶ
Πατὴρ φίλου τριτόσπονδον
εὐποτόν τ' αἰῶνα φίλος ἐτίμα.

ANTISTROPHE.

Τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει σύν-
αεθρον αὐταῖς πῖλοιτο
Δ' οὐν ταπὶ τουτοισιν εὐπραξ-
ις, ὡς θίλει τόδ' ἄγχιστον
Ἀπίας γαίης μονόφρουρον ἔρκος.

Δε frequently commences a verse with the lyric poets. Pind. Pyth. I. 61. 65.

Those

Those who compare our disposition of the above lines with that in the Glasgow edition, will see that that the change is much less violent; at any rate the line *εὐτραπέζους ἔμελλεν* with its beautiful pause, speaks for itself, and is perfectly Æschylean as *Σμήνος ὡς ἐκλέλοιπε*, cited above. *Ἀγνᾶ δ' ἀτάυρατος αὐδᾶ* is an iambic and trochaic syzygy, a very common verse, like this in Sept. contra Theb. *Δόμων μάλ' ἀχὼ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς. Πατρὸς φίλον τρίτοσπονδον, αὐτισπαστικὸν ἀκατ.* see Hermannus de Metris, and the line cited in Hephæstion—*Ὀδοντι σκυλακοκτόνῳ.*

The last line is a Sapphic or Pindaric, like *Χρυσοδαϊδάλτους στομίοισι πάλους.*—Eur. Iph. Aul. 219. Pindar has the like amongst the variety of his *asynarteta*, though he more frequently continues the dactyls to the end of the verse, and does not recur, as is done in this line, to the trochees. See Pyth. ix.

Πάρεθνοι κινδάν χερὶ χερὸς ἰλῶν,
'Αγνὶ ἱππιυτᾷ Νομάδων δι' ὅμιλον.

With respect to the meaning of these three lines (235. 6. and 7) Dr. Blomfield is perfectly correct, and Pauw and Hermann egregiously mistaken. The tense *ἐτίμα* evidently implies the continuity of an action incomplete, and refers to what she was *in the habit of doing* in her father's house, viz. singing and (literally in the Greek idiom) doing honour to the days or life of her father, (*Anglice*, she was the delight of his life,) and not, as Hermann says, to one *particular act* of self-devotion at the altar, which would require another tense. *Αἰὼν* is the life or state of living of Agamemnon as it occurs in Pind. Ol. i. *Αἰὼν τ' ἔφεπε μόρσιμος* and *Αἰὼν δ' ἀσφαλής.*—*Οὐκ ἔγεντ' οὐτ' Αἰακίδα παρὰ Πηλεΐ.* The poet is beautifully contrasting the present situation of Iphigenia on the point of being sacrificed, with her former happiness in her father's palace, on which he dwells, after he had wound up expectation and feeling to the utmost in representing her as *προσεννέπειν θέλουσα*, and thus drops the curtain purposely before the dreadful sacrifice is performed.

255. *ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία.* We should have been pleased to find some illustration of this passage. It would appear that the poet played upon or parodied some proverb. Perhaps *υἱὸς*, the reading which Dr. Blomfield mentions, was the word of the proverb changed by the poet into *ἕως* to suit his meaning, as *εὐφρόνης* might have been substituted for *εὐφρονος*.

277. 8. *νωτίσαι—πρὸς ἡδονήν.* The words *νωτίζω* and *ἐπινωτίζω* are used in the same sense as *νωτίσαι* is here, in Eur. Phœn. 663, (see Porson,) and Herc. F. 362. *Κατανωτίζω* occurs in the same sense in Longus, p. 18, l. 7. ed. Schaef. See also Wakefield in Trag. Del. tom. i. p. 39. *Ἀπονωτίζω* has a different meaning (*in*

fugam

fugam verto) Eur. Bacch. 762; and *νωτίζω* is a neuter verb (signifying *terga do*) in Eur. And. 1142.

There is we think a manifest corruption in this passage which neither Dr. Blomfield nor any of the other editors have noticed: Schutz alone has hinted at it, but without pointing it out. If we remember rightly, he suspects that the name of a station is wanting.* In our opinion the corruption is pointed out by the defectiveness of the sentence, which has no verb; and we venture further to affirm, that the fault lies in the phrase *πρὸς ἡδονήν*—all the usages of which adduced in Dr. Blomfield's Glossary are foreign from this passage. *Πρὸς ἡδονήν* is an expression used in the interchange of conversation, and is joined with *εἶναι*, *γενέσθαι*, *λέγειν*, or *λόγος*, meaning pretty much the same as the French *à faire plaisir*. *Παραγγέλλειν πρὸς ἡδονήν* may very probably be Greek, though we recollect no instance of it, but the words before us are too far separated to be conjoined by the usages of construction; we therefore propose to read *προσῆνυτεν*, i. e. *advanced*, or *increased*, (though this is but an imperfect translation of it,) for *πρὸς ἡδονήν*. It will be readily allowed that *ἀνύτω* in this sense is very familiar to the tragic writers; as Eur. Hipp. 745, ἐπὶ μηλόσπορον ἀκτὰν Ἀνύσαιμι. The compound *προσανύτω* is more rare; but how many rare words are there in this very play of Æschylus! *προσχανεῖν*, *παροσκαπῶ*, &c. Besides, this word or its cognate form occurs in Hesychius (a tragic lexicon) exactly in the sense that suits this passage: *Προσανῶν, προσαύξαν· ἀνεῖν γὰρ τὸ αὐξεῖν, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν αὐξῆσιν*. For *αὐτὴν*, which is manifestly corrupt, Sopingius reads *ἄνυσιν*; I. Vossius, *ἀνυτὴν*. See Alberti's Hesychius: *ἄνην τὴν αὐξῆσιν ἀνεσθαι, αὐξάνεσθαι· ἄνυσις, αὐξῆσις*. It might be proposed in this passage of Hesychius for *προσανῶν* to read *προσανύων*, or *προσανύταν*; but it is immaterial for our purpose, as it is well known that *ἄνω*, *ἀνύω* and *ἀνύτω* are cognate forms. See Eustathius 802. K. *Πρωτότυπον τοῦ ἀνύω τὸ ἄνω κείμενον καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα· ἀνομένων* occurs in Æsch. Cho. 793. in a very difficult passage, *ἀνομένων βημάτων ὄρεγμα*, the reading of Aldus, which we greatly prefer to that of the other edd. *πημάτων*, or the *κτημάτων* of Robortelli. *Ἀνομένων βημάτων* is the *advancing steps*. Whatever the scholar may think of our conjecture, he must at least allow that there is a manifest corruption; that *πρὸς ἡδονήν* is indefensible, unless coupled with *παραγγέλλασα*, from which it is too far separated, and that a verb is wanting. *Πανόν*, which is replaced in the text by Casaubon from Athenæus, is ingeniously read by Jacobs in Eur. Ion. 195. for *πλανόν*: *Πανόν πυρίφλεκτον αἶρει*. As to *Μακίστου*, the line following, *Ὅδ' οὔτι μέλλων*, &c. proves it to be a proper name against the authority of the

* Dr. Butler also proposed some alteration.

Scholiast and Wakefield, though Æsch. Orith. ap. Longinum has μάκιστον σείλας.

286. γράϊας. Dr. Blomfield properly observes that we may either take Γραίας as a proper name, (as Porson in the *Adversaria* has done,) or as an epithet of ἑρείκη, which he translates ‘*heath*,’ as it is here and in the passages he has cited. Yet the ἑρείκη of Plutarch in the *Isis* and *Osiris* must have been more luxuriant, or a different plant from our heath.

336. θεοῖς δ’ ἀναπλάκητος. In this line we rather differ from Dr. Blomfield in his reading and interpretation. We do not see why ἀπλάκητος is to be considered as *vox nihili*, or, against the authority of MSS. to be ejected from Trachiniæ 123, where it appears from Hesychius to have been an old reading, and ἀναπλάκητος substituted for it, contrary to the metre and sense. We may have our suspicions of ἀπλάκητος in that passage, but we certainly should not cut the Gordian knot in so summary a manner by reading ἀναπλάκητος. Besides we do not at all conceive that ἀναπλάκητος means *nullis erroribus actus*: ἀναπλάκητος means ὁ ἀναμάρτητος according to the Scholiast, and we contend that ἀπλάκητος means ὁ ἀμάρτων; In the same sense ἀπλάκται, ἀπλάκημα, ἀπλακῶν are used in Pindar, Hesychus, Ibycus, Æschylus and Sophocles; nor, according to our theory, are these words, ἀπλακῶν or ἥπλακες, used in the sense of *missing*, or *losing*, except when construed in regimen, as οἷας δάμαγος ἥπλακες, and other instances of the same kind. But let us endeavour to elucidate the matter by inquiring into the meaning of the text. Clytæmnestra says, ‘If the army come back in a state of heavenly reprobation for their crimes, the gods will visit on their heads all the blood which they have shed.’ She has been expressing in her whole speech her fears that they would be guilty of impiety and sacrilege. But Dr. Blomfield’s reading would amount to this: ‘If the army return safe, the gods will,’ &c. But their punishment was not surely to be the consequence of their safe return, but of their crimes; *si* therefore cannot be *conditional* in this place; and if it were used as *although*, the meaning would still be awkward, and such usage of *si* might be questioned without καὶ: as it occurs Eur. Or. 289. Phœn. 1464. Med. 393. with the indicative mood; also καὶ *si* with an optative, and καὶ *án* with a subjunctive. Hoogeveen de Particulis: hic usus (*si*) pro *quomvis* non simplici *si* est attribuendus, nisi post negativum. Arist. Vesp. 297. Οὐκ ἂν μὰ τὸν Δι’ *si* κρέμοισθέ γ’ ὑμεῖς. We may add that when *si* is used with an optative in one member of a sentence, and another optative with *án* succeeds, the former part of the sentence is the *condition* of which the latter is the *consequence*; and it is much more natural to describe the gods punishing the Greeks for their *sins* than for their *safe return*.

357. ὅπως

ἀν σκήψειεν. The passage, *Æd. Col.* 425, (the fine *Œdipus's* passion) would be rendered an absolute reading ὦν or ὦδ' for ὡς, as Dr. Blomfield proposes. It would thus be expressed by the optative mood with ἀν. It therefore must stand as a defence of this in the text, where it is construed with an optative. The learned editor also adds from Herodotus ὅπως ἀν μὴ λυπεῖσθαι, but doubts whether it be brought as authority for the line under consideration. Without having recourse to so distant a country as Ionia, one might have found nearer to Attica, viz. in Bœotia, Pind. *Olymp.* vii. 75, ὡς ἀν θεῶν πρῶτοι κλίσσαιεν βωμὸν ἐναργέα; or, still more to the point, in Athens itself, and in the theatre, *Soph. Aj.* 1221, τὰς ἱερὰς ὅπως Προσείποιμ' ἀν Ἀθήνας, as Brunck has properly substituted for the common reading; the chorus, as usual throughout, speaking of themselves in the singular number. Also *Eur. Iph. Au.* 171, Ἀχαιῶν στρατιὰν ὡς κατ'ἴδοιμ' ἀν. We might add many passages from Apollonius Rhodius; also Neopt. apud Stob. cxix. Ω θάνατ', εἴθ' εἴης αὐτάγγετος, ὅφρ' ἀν ἐλοίμην: but we think the text sufficiently defended.

Dr. Blomfield very justly remarks that ὅπως ἀν here may also be rendered *quo maxime modo*; so ὅπη is used *Eur. Hel.* 146, ὅπη ἀν στείλαιμι:—*Eur. Cyclops*, 468, ὅπως ἀν καὶ γὰρ λαβοίμην τοῦ τυφλοῦντος ὁμίματα: *Arist. Equit.* 81, ὅπως ἀν ἀποθάνοιμεν ἀνδρικώτατα, which is the reading of the first Juntine for the vicious reading of Aldus and other editions ἀποθάνωμεν. So ἵνα ἀν, *Soph. Œd. Col.* 405, μὴδ' ἵν' ἀν σαυτοῦ κρατοῖς; as Brunck has edited it for the faulty reading of all the editions κρατῆς.

365. 371. πέφραται δ' ἐκγόνους. We think that Dr. Blomfield has acted most judiciously in editing the text as it now stands; there is a nervous brevity and obscurity in the passage, but we are far from considering it as manifestly corrupt. The poet is refuting the doctrines of the atheist in general, or, as Dr. Blomfield ingeniously observes, of Diagoras the Melian, in particular. He refutes it by the example of the punishment of Troy. 'The atheist,' he says, 'denies the existence or providence of the gods, yet they have manifested themselves to the children of the audacious ones, who breathed forth slaughter, and whose palaces abounded above measure, beyond (so as to disregard) τὸ βέλτισον, or above the proper measure.' This we understand of the family of Priam; but by the proposed alteration the sense would run thus: 'The atheist denies the existence or providence of the gods; the atheist is the child of those who breathe, &c. But why should the parents of the atheist be sanguinary warriors, or reside in splendid palaces? Besides, by this means we make the Chorus lose sight of their immediate subject, viz. the punishment and destruction of a great and powerful

powerful city, and fly off to give what we consider an unhappy and inappropriate description of an atheist. However, one objection to our mode of construction, which Dr. Blomfield has very properly noticed, arises from *πέφανται* being always of the singular number. See Eustathius, B. 189, who cites *λιμὴν πέφανται, ἔπος πέφανται*, as well as *χεῖρ ἐξήρανται*, and *κατέξανται δέμας*. It should be stated, however, on the other side, that the usage of *πέφανται* as a plural is strongly defended by the passage in Hippol. 1255. *κέκρανται συμφοραὶ*, a reading which has the sanction of the very learned Professor Monk, who has retained it in his excellent edition, though the Cod. Flor. reads *κρέμανται*. We agree with Dr. Butler as to the word *ἔστω*: it is not unusual for poets to express a wish as a command; *Æsch. Suppl.* 678, *ἦβας δ' ἄνθος ἄδρεπλον ἔστω* is one of the many vows and prayers of the chorus.

585. Dr. Blomfield very properly defends the ellipsis of the particle *ἢ* against Bigot, Stanley and Schaëfer. Might he not, as well as the passage in *Alcestis*, have cited *Æsch. Prom.* 629, *Μή μου προκηδὺν μάσσον, ὥς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ?* We only wish he had left the comma after *ἦδιον*, and coupled *δρακεῖν* with *ἄνδρα*. An Attic would say *τί φέγγος ἦδιον*, or *τί φέγγος ἦδιον δρακεῖν* indiscriminately, as he would say *δύσβατος* or *δύσδατος περὶν*. Though we approve of *τε*, proposed by Pauw and edited by Porson, yet, in the incoherence of *Clytæmnestra's* agitated speech, we can easily spare it.

595. *χαλκοῦ βαφάς*. We adopt the reading *χαλκός* (which was also the conjecture of Abreschius) from the author of the tragedy of *Χριστὸς Πάσχων*, understanding *βαφάς* to be *dyeing*, a process never applied to metal. Hence the expression seems used almost proverbially to express the improbability, or impossibility of an event. 'I have nothing more to do with it than a dyer has to do with copper.'

598. 9. *αὕτη μὲν οὕτως*. The right, or at least a very good reading, is here happily replaced from the Scholiast.

657. *Μενέλεων δ' ἄρ' οὖν*. So Dr. Blomfield has edited it, from a conjecture of Stanley's. The reading of the Glasgow edition is *γὰρ*. We recollect no passage where these particles *δ' ἄρ' οὖν* come together, and we prefer therefore the usual combination of *γὰρ* or *μὲν ἔν*. In *Æsch. Cho.* 223, Schutz after Canter has well edited *Αὐτὸν μὲν ἔν ὁρῶσα δυσμαθεῖς ἐμὲ* for the faulty *αὐτὸν μὲν νῦν* of Aldus and the Glasgow edition.

660. *καὶ ζῶντα καὶ*. Toup, Emend. iii. p. 557, proposes to read *χλωρόν τε καὶ βλέποντα*, but we agree with Dr. Blomfield in considering this change as unnecessary, and almost absurd. Schaëfer on Long. Past. p. 28. l. 5. has also declared war on this word in *Soph. Trachin.* 234. *Καὶ ζῶντα καὶ θάλλοντα κοῦ νόσφ βαρὺν*, where he reads *καὶ σῶν τε*, invita Minerva. Nothing in fact can
be

be worse than this insertion of the particle $\tau\epsilon$; and why should we quarrel with the former lection, when $\xi\omega\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha$ and $\sigma\omega\acute{\nu}$ are tantamount in meaning?

664. $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o}\tau'\ \omega\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\nu$. The metre in the first strophe of this chorus is a mixture of trochaics, antispastics, anacreontics and dactylics, (according to the Glasgow edition); nor do we think that the disposition of them has been here changed for the better. We particularly object to the line 669,

$\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta\ \theta'$,

as an awkward choriambic dim. with an hypercatalectic syllable at the end; besides (our old ditty) the *pause* of the verse should be at the word $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu$. It would be better to have made one line

$\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\omicron\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta\ \theta'\ \epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu$;

but we are satisfied with the Glasgow edition. The arrangement of the remainder of the strophe is altered for the worse; the lines are more numerous as *short* than as long verses, and more adapted to the sense, which expresses quickness of motion and rapidity in change of scene.

686. $\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$. 'Edd. veteres; unde sensus idoneus elici non potest,' says our editor; and he therefore adopts the conjecture of Schutz, $\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$. But surely the sense is better in the old reading, viz. 'Exacting vengeance from the celebrators of the marriage of Helen and Paris.' We cannot conceive the difficulty: $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ has the double accusative after it, as it very commonly has: see Hec. Pors. 800. Fischer on Weller's Grammar properly cites l. 785 of this play, $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \theta'\ \omega\acute{\nu}\ \epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu$, as an instance of a double accusative, amongst many others. Pind. Olymp. x. 34. $\omega\varsigma\ \text{A}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\nu\ \mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\ \upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\beta\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$.

716. $\pi\alpha\rho'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta'\ \epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$. So Dr. Blomfield and the Med. MS. The Edd. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\ \delta'\ \epsilon\acute{\nu}$. We do not see why $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ is to be omitted *here*, and still less in the line 448, $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\alpha\iota\ \delta'\ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\ \epsilon\rho\iota\nu\acute{\nu}\epsilon\varsigma$. The particle $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$ coupled in this way with $\delta\epsilon$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, or $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ is very common, and has peculiar force and elegance. The words indeed might construe without it; but how (for example) could it be spared in the line

$\text{Z}\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta'\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\ \text{T}\rho\omega\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \eta\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon$;

or in this,

$\text{K}\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\nu}\ \epsilon\nu\nu\chi\acute{\iota}\epsilon$

$\Delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\acute{\nu}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \pi\rho\omicron\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}$.—Soph. Aj. 1210.

though dropped in the Harleian MS. collated by Porson?

742. $\nu\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$. This corrupt and mutilated line is not improved by the various conjectures of the learned. The words make sense, but $\delta\epsilon$ or some connective particle is wanted, and the numbers are also deficient. We take $\text{K}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$, (or whatever may be lost in it,) and

Θράσας, and Ἄτας to be all personifications, all children of Ἵθρις, and are therefore decidedly against the ejection of *τε*, and the changing τὸν into τάν. Δαίμων is generally of the masculine gender.

837. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἤκειν. We do not agree with Dr. Blomfield in his interpretation of this passage. He would understand the word (Ἀγαμέμνονα) before ἤκειν and ἐπισφάλλειν; by which the two unfortunate messengers, τὸν μὲν and τὸν δέ, would be violently separated from the verbs to which they belong, ἤκειν and ἐπισφάλλειν. What can be more plain? one arrives, another follows him bringing a worse tale: λάσκαρτας applies to both. We need not add, that the poet describes Agamemnon returning so soon after the fall of Troy, (till which event he never obtained possession of Cassandra,) that no report about her could possibly have reached Clytæmnestra; yet this is the meaning sought by this forced construction.

845. χθονὸς τρίμοιρον. The punctuation and interpretation of this passage are very ingenious, though we are not altogether inclined to adopt them implicitly. Λαβεῖν χλαῖναν χθονὸς (absolutely) might have meant sepulture; but we hardly think Λαβεῖν χλαῖναν τρίμοιρον χθονὸς could. We understand these words to mean the three-fated body, or cloak of flesh.

903. Εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρᾶσσοιμ'. 'Ubi particulam *ἀν* (for *πρᾶσσοιμ' ἀν* is the reading of the Edd.) *cum ei sic positam contra linguæ rationem peccare, nemo observavit.*' So Dr. Blomfield. Yet *εἰ* with *κε* and an optative occurs in Homer and Pindar. Hom. i. Εἰ κεὶν θάνατόν γε φύγοιμεν. Pind. Pyth. iv. 470. Εἰ γὰρ τις ὄζους δευτόμα πελέκει Ἐξερείψαι κεὶν μεγάλας δρυὸς. We might cite many similar instances from Apollonius Rhodius. In Eur. Alc. 703, Εἰ τὴν παρῶσαν καταναεῖν πείσεαις *ἀν*, Dr. Blomfield, we suppose, will embrace the reading of the Flor. MS. πείσεις *ἀεὶ*, and indeed we think it more elegant than the common lection. Again, Alc. 49. οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' *ἀν* εἰ πείσαιμί σε, if it stand, will be another instance; but we have on other accounts some doubts as to the sanity of the line, though the editors have in general past it over *sicco pede*. So *ὅτι* is generally used with the optative without *ἀν*, but sometimes with it. Xen. Cyr. vi. c. 20. ὅτι ἐγὼ σοι ἐν καιρῷ *ἀν* γενόμενῃ χρήσιμος. So *ὅτε* also occurs with an optative, and *ἀν* in Æsch. Pers. 450. ὅταν νεῶν Φθαρένες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκωζόλατο (which the editor in vain attempts to change). Indeed this construction is mentioned by an old grammarian in Bekker's Anecdota, 144. We conceive *ἀν* used with *εἰ* and the optative mood to give a *future* sense, which *εἰ* with the optative singly would not have.

Thus far in defence of the old text: we come now to Dr. Blomfield's reading. Εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρᾶσσοιμ' *ἀνευ* θάρσους ἐγώ, which he interprets, 'Utinam sic omnia faciam modeste et sine audacia.' Without stopping to notice the rhythm of the line, *εἰ* is seldom, if ever,

ever, used for 'utinam' by the tragic writers, unless with γὰρ or καί following; though Vigerus on Hoogeveen cites *Æsch. S. C. Theb.* 260, to the contrary: *πράσσειν καλῶς, εὖ, κακῶς, ᾧδ', ὥς* are used to signify *being in good or bad fortune, or in such fortune*; not for acting well or ill, or in such a manner as the expression is here used by our author. Besides, the sense in the old text is preferable, at least in our judgment, to that in the line before us. Agamemnon's whole speech is expressive of piety, humility, and that sense of the mutability of human affairs which prevents his feeling too much elated with his present glory. He says, (in the sentiment of Solon,) we must wait to the end of life before we can be assured of the happiness of our fate; and ends with the line in question, which may be rendered thus as to sense:

Let me speed thus hereafter in all things
As well as now I've done, my soul will be
Full of a happy confidence serene.

What Potter meant by his version,

'These sober joys be mine, I ask no more,'

we cannot even guess. Dr. Blomfield's reading would run thus: 'May I hereafter be always as humble and modest as I now am!' This praise of his own modesty is in itself a piece of conceit, and seems to argue that he then felt the emotions of a pride, which he was apprehensive he should not afterwards be able to control. To us, indeed, it appears foreign to the sense of the context and the character of the speaker.

955. 6. 7. *χρόνος δ' ἐπεὶ*. We are surprized at the difficulties and unhappy conjectures made on this passage. Πάρβησε Pauw; Παρήφην, Heath, Schutz, Butler. Dr. Blomfield suggests *χρόνος δ' ἐπεὶ—πρυμνήσιων ξυνεμβολαὶ—ψαμμύαις ἀκλαῖς παρή—θησαν*, totally changing the sense of the passage, as Heath, Schutz and Butler seem to have understood it, viz. 'It is a long time since the army anchored here on their way to Troy,' εἰθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον ὤρτο, which Stanley should have translated *proficiscebatur*, not *profectus est*; for the words mean not that they had reached Ilion, but that they were preparing against it. If that be the case, what becomes of *παρήθησαν* and *putruerunt*? How could the ropes and cables be described as rotted at the first gathering of the fleet at Argos? It is applied by Homer to the fleet after nine years service. *Χρόνος ἐπεὶ* is *χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ*. We propose to read *παρέθησαν* for *παρήθησαν*: Hom. II. A. *sub finem κατὰ δὲ πρυμνήσι' ἔδησαν*. *Ψαμμίας ἀκάτους* are the ships *drawn up on the strand*, according to the known practice of those days.

990. οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ. We think the passage much more forcible without *ἀν*, and put interrogatively. Dr. Blomfield has very

ingeniously extracted ἀβλαβεία from the Scholiast; we wish however he had included it ' *uncinis*.'

1048. Ἀγυιῦ τ'. Ἀγυιάτ', the reading restored by our editor, is confirmed by Pindar Pyth. xi. Σεμέλα Μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀγυιάτης.

1057. ᾤ, ᾤ. 'Hanc interjectionem restitui ex Ald. Rob. Turn. Med. εὖ εὖ Guelph. vitiose pro ᾤ ᾤ. Unius Stephani auctoritate non erat ejiciendum, præsertim cum per totam scenam Cassandra vaticinia ab hujusmodi exclamationibus incipiant.' We cite this with pleasure as a very judicious piece of criticism, in which we entirely coincide with the learned editor.

1065. κλαιόμενα τὰ βρέφη σφαγὰς. So Dr. Blomfield for τάδε, the reading of all the editions and manuscripts except the Venet. We prefer supplying the defective syllable in the strophe with τε, or reading αὐτοφόνων, or leaving it as it is, to the introduction of the article τὰ for τάδε, (δεικτικῶς,) pointing at the children whose phantoms she sees. By the omission of τάδε a great poetic and dramatic beauty is lost; and by *all means* a comma should be put after βρέφη, and σφαγὰς, (which is also very important for the beauty, and indeed right understanding, of the passage,) as it is in Canter and in the Glasgow edition, and a fuller stop after ἐπιπείθομαι.

1105. ἰὼ ἰὼ. So all the Edd. We decidedly prefer it to the single ἰὼ of the text; as we do in the antistrophe, ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας ἀήδονος μῶρον, to the transposition of Hermann and Schutz, λιγείας μῶρον ἀήδονος. The lines answer perfectly well as they stood—an antispastus, a dochmiac and an antispastus.

Ἰὼ ἰὼ|τᾶλᾶινᾶς κἀκὸ|πῶμῳ ἰῶχᾶι|

Ἰὼ ἰὼ|λιγείας ἀήδονος μῶρον.

No one, we suppose, will object to the *indifference* of the last syllable of the dochmiac.

1133. νεογνός. Dr. Blomfield's reason for ejecting ἀνθρώπων is very ingenious. We cannot agree however with him in transposing ὑπαὶ πέπληγμαι for πέπληγμαι δ' ὑπαὶ: his motive appears to us inadequate, as the iambic syzygy will answer perfectly well to the pure antispastus. Our objection to his reading is, that the particle δὲ is evidently wanted as a connective, and that in tmesis the preposition is usually separated from the verb by some word or words, as ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε; or by transposition, as Eur. Bacch. 554, Μόλε χρυσᾶκα ἰνᾶσσων—Ἄνα θύρσον κατ' ὄλυμπον. In Arist. Vesp. 328, Porson elegantly reads διὰ ἰνθαλέφ σπόδισον ἰαχέως. per tmesin, for the old reading διαῖν θαλέφ. Should it be contended that here is no tmesis, it should then be ὑπὸ, not ὑπαί.

1187. ἐφημίοις. †ἐφημίοις Porson; εὐφημίοις Schutz: but it is not proved that the Attics used εὐφήμιος as well as εὐφημος. The learned editor has in a manner attempted to cut the Gordian knot by

by reading *φημίς*, but we have no authority for considering this word as Greek. We should think that, as a mere conjecture, *ἐνθυμίς* would be a happier word. The *φ* and *θ* might easily change places, and we have the authority of Hesychius, Suidas, Sophocles and Thucydides for the word as well as for a sense belonging to it which would suit this passage. Hesych. 'Ενθύμιος' σεμνός, ἀπορός. Suidas has the same words. Steph. Lexicon: '*religione obstringens animum*.'

1212. ἄγαν ἀληθόμανιν. We have our doubts about the omission of *γε* here. In Hippol. 264, it is rightly omitted; in Andromache, 955, Brunck, following the Florentine edition, has expunged this particle, though in the latter passage it is not destitute of force. Dr. Blomfield has rightly edited 1225, ἄγαν γ' Ἑλλήν' ἐπίστασαι φάτιν.

1223. Ἡ κάρλα. The sense is better without the note of interrogation at the end of this line. Besides, the strong affirmative *ἦ κάρλα* belongs to an *affirmer*, and not to a *questioner*. We believe such to be its constant usage: above, in this play, Ἡ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἶρεσθαι κέαρ. Eumen. 210. Ἡ κάρτ' ἄτιμα καὶ πάρε' οὐδὲν ἡδέσω.

1295. πρὸς ὕψαλον φῶς. Though there is a difficulty and something of a confusion in the construction of this passage, we by no means think it necessarily faulty. It might be the intention of the poet by broken sentences to describe the agitation of Cassandra in her last speech, in the hurry of the moments she knew to be her last, in the tumult of human passion, and the fury of prophetic exaltation. But whether the passage be corrupt or not, our author's emendation is objectionable for using *τίνειν τοῖα* in the sense of 'exacting such punishment.' *Τίνειν δίκην, τιμωρίαν*, &c. are used by the Greeks as 'luere pœnas.' The middle voice expresses the Latin '*exigere pœnas*.' *Τίνειν τὴν βλάβην*. Plato de Legibus. Δίκην τίνουσα τῆς ἐν Αὐλίδι σφαγῆς. Eur. Iph. T. 339. Τίσασθε πατρὸς φόνον ἡμετέρου. Soph. Elec. 116. In this play, 1311, Αἰμ' ἀποτίσει; and again 1539, ἐκλίνει δ' ὁ καίνων. Yet in 1480 we admit that *ἀπέτισεν* is used differently, though we hardly think it can be brought to defend *λοῖα τίνειν* in this place. In Æsch. Choeph. 647, *Τίνει μύσος—χρόνω κλυτὴ βυσσόφραν Ἐριννὺς*, Schutz has very properly restored *ταίνει*, the reading of Aldus and Robortelli, citing the Scholiast and Eur. Supp. 672. Σαίζοντες, οὐδὲν δεόμενοι λείναι φόνον. We may here remark that Aldus frequently preserves the true reading slightly vitiated, when subsequent editors have totally corrupted it.

1345. 6. 7. πῶς γάρ; ἢς ἐχθροῖς. We are not much pleased with this alteration of the text. Οὐ at the close of a senarian, unless when accented and closing a sentence, is of very rare occurrence. It

occurs once in this very play. Neither are we quite satisfied with the omission of *ἀν*. The Greeks would say *ἢς οὐκ ἀν φράξουσιν*, not *ἢς οὐ φράξουσιν*. The rule of Dawes's *Misc. Crit.* 207, seems to apply here. 'Verbum utique optativum cum *πῶι, πόθεν, πῦ, πῶς* (we may add *ἢς*) vel quâlibet aliâ interrogandi particulâ conjunctum, alteram itidem *ἀν* comitem exigit.' *Ced.* Col. 1440. *Τίς ἀν οὐκ αἰσάνοι*; *Ced.* T. 339. *Τίς γὰρ τοιαῦτ' ἀν ἐκ ἀν ὀργίζοι* *ἔπη*; *Æsch.* *Agamem.* 1312. *Τίς ἀν οὐκ εὐξάλο βροτῶν*; It is useless to proceed with examples; but *ἀν* appears to us indispensable: we therefore embrace Mr. Elmsley's reading, *ἀγκύσατ' ἀν*.

1350. *ἔζηχα δ' ἄθ'*. 'Ἐπεσ' ἐπ', edd. veteres; *†ἔπεσ' ἐπ'* Porson; *ἔπαισ'*, Schutz conj. ex libro Scaligeri, et sic MS. Venet. and so Dr. Blomfield, optimè. Twice in the *Anabasis*, *ἔπεσεν* and *ἔπαισεν*, have changed places. Lib. ii. c. 3. ed. Zeun, the Juntin. edition and Bodleian MS. read *ἔπεσεν* for *ἔπαισεν*. There is no need of moving this verse from its present place and putting it after the line 1358. We think it very material that this beautiful passage should be correctly understood. It was evidently misconceived by Potter, who translates it—

'Often have I stood
To assay the execution where he fell.'

as if *ἔζηχα* had been *ἔζηγν*. Clytæmnestra advances on the stage, firm in resolution, yet full of the horror of the deed which she had just been committing; partly soliloquizing, partly addressing the Chorus. The line in question is a soliloquy, broken, interrupted, with long intervening pauses, and should not be printed as if it were in the plain continuity of narrative—*Ἐζηχα δ' ἐνθ' ἔπαισ'*—*ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις*.—The following translation, though totally inadequate to the full beauty of the passage, will explain its true meaning and purport.

— My hands have struck the blow!—

'Tis like the deeds that have been done of yore!—

Past!—and my feet are now upon the spot!

1423. *φεῦ τίς ἀν ἐν τάχει*. We come now to a series of choral measures, where the autistrophical advocates, with Hermann at their head, are in full glory, though we must do the learned editor the justice to say that he seems a little staggered at the confidence of his leader. 'Certe nequeo non mirari virum doctissimum, qui hoc suo stropharum ordine et positu cognito, mendas, lacunas, interpretationes, quæ aliqui certò deprehendere difficillimum foret, jam extra dubitationem poni apparere affirmet.'

We must, however, with regard to this supposed lacuna, confess ourselves to be of the new academy, disciples of Carneades and Pyrrho. To favour their system, the advocates on the other side have imagined a lacuna of no less than eight lines in the space of twenty-

twenty-five, when the sense is perfect without them, and when the speech of Clytæmnestra which immediately follows the supposed lacuna is a direct answer to the speech of the chorus which precedes it. So that either these eight intervening lines, no vestige of which appears in her answer, were unanswered, or during their whole continuance the chorus harped upon the same thought which they had expressed in antistr. A. Yet on the other side, it may be alleged, that regularity in an antistrophical system, which was perhaps indispensable in the musical parts of the drama, and the beauty and harmony arising from it, are more than sufficient to overthrow so slight an objection as that which we have made.

1437. ἐγιδµατος. Dr. Blomfield's Gl. interprets this word, 'valderoxia' a δµάω: we render it 'valde ædificata,' as θεοδµατος, εὐδμηλος: a strong metaphor, it may be said, but not stronger than νεικέων ἰέλωνα or ἄτας θριγκώσων in this play, or καλλιπυργον Σοφίαν, Arist. Nub. 1024. Fletcher, in the Spanish Curate, has 'architect of strife.'

1456. τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἵχωρ. The Homeric usage of this word in the beautiful description of the wound of Venus, is well known, with the observations of Eustathius and Porphyry on the passage, as well as the humorous application of the line by Alexander the Great. By the old poet it is used in its proper sense (κυριο-λαλεῖν) which is given by Dr. Blomfield in the Gl. Eur. Ion. 1016 uses it for liquor, generally applying it to a medicament or poison,

'Εἰς ἐν δὲ κραθὲν' αὐτὸν ἵχωρ' εἰσφορεῖς'

so Barnes; Musgravius probat: but Aldus supplies a better reading κραθὲν ἰάυλον, and the whole line should be read

'Εἰς ἐν δὲ κραθὲν ταῦτόν ἵχωρας φέρις.'

1490. πάχνα κουροβόρῳ. So the editor. We incline to Πάχνα, the reading of Casaubon and Pauw, which will at any rate make sense according to Schutz's explanation 'Frigus incutiet (Atreo) nativoro.' Πάχνα is metaphorical here, as Παχνομένη Choeph. 80. Παχνεῖναι Hom. Il. p. 112, and Hesiod. 'Egy. κ. 'Ημερ. 357. An extract from Eustathius on the passage in Homer will, we think, materially contribute to elucidate the line in the text.

'Τὸ δὲ παχνοῦται ἦτορ. κῆται μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ, 'ἐν τῷ ἐπάχνωσι φίλοι ἦτορ.' δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ πακνοῦται, καὶ αἶον πηγνυται τῇ λύπῃ, ἐπὶ καὶ ἡ πάχνη, δρόσος ἐστὶ πιτυκνωμένη καὶ πιπηγμένη ἢ καὶ ἄλλως παχνοῦται ἀντὶ τῆ ψύχεται. Εἰώθασι δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ, ψυχρὰ λέγειν τὰ ἀήδη.'

The old disposition of the lines

'ὅποι δὲ καὶ προβαίνων
πάχνα κουροβόρῳ παρέξει.'

strikes us as rather more numerous than that of Dr. Blomfield. But, on the whole, we greatly approve of his strophical and anti-strophical

strophical arrangement of this entire choral passage; and are most ready to admit the minor lacunas, (which he has pointed out by asterisks,) and the repetition of antistrophe *í* and *κ'*.

1501. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐλος. Schutz has very happily put a note of interrogation after ἔθηκε, which renders the passage more spirited, and points Clytæmnestra's answer directly to the crimination of the chorus; δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμείς. She replies, 'Did not he also deal treacherously with us?' Without the interrogation, the line would not contain a charge of treachery against Agamemnon: which treachery was the manner in which he obtained Iphigenia for the purpose of sacrificing her.

1543. κεκόλληται.—πρὸς ἀτὰ for προσάψαι is a very ingenious emendation of the learned editor, una tantum lineola abjecta ΠΡΟCATAI for ΠΡΟCΑ+AI, as in Eur. Med. 553, in one of the MSS. εὐφυχέστερον is written for εὐτυχέστερον, the error arising from the likeness of the letters T and Ψ, written thus in many MSS. T and +.

1631. κριθῶνλα. 'κριθιῶνλα Schutz. quæ forma tum analogiæ, tum metri leges violat;' so Dr. Blomfield. The metre certainly requires κριθῶνλα; but the other form occurs, apud Stob. vi. Ἐκκριθιῶνλος ἀνδρὲς ἐν ἀφροδιστοῖς. Why might not the Attics use κριθῶ and κριθιῶ as they used φυσῶ and φυσιῶ. In the Prom. 718, ἐκφυσῶμενος; in this play, 1360, Κἀκφυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν. α. σ.

1647. Στείχ' οἱ γέροντες ἤδη πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους,
Πρὶν παθεῖν. ἔρξαντα καιρὸν χρεὶν τὰδ' ὥς ἱπράξαμεν.

so the Edd.; *σέριξαν* αἰνεῖν Heath, Butler; *πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντ' ἀκαιρα* Hermann; *ἔρξαντας αἰρεῖν*, Dr. Blomfield. All these emendations are ingenious: we rather incline to the *σέριξαν* of Heath, and the *αἰρεῖν* of the learned editor, putting the stop after *πρὶν παθεῖν*. But it appears to us strange that none have discovered any difficulty in *πεπρωμένους*. We were in hopes that the Glossary would have assisted us by producing some rare and recondite usage of the word of which we were not aware; but we have searched it in vain, and are perfectly at a loss to comprehend the meaning of *πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους*. If we might be allowed *modeste conjecture*, we would read the whole passage thus:

'Στείχ' οἱ γέροντες ἤδη πρὸς δόμους, *τετρωμένους*
Πρὶν παθεῖν. *σέριξαντας αἰρεῖν* χρεὶν τὰδ' ὥς ἱπράξαμεν.'

We have only altered the unintelligible word *πεπρωμένους* into *τετρωμένους* (vulneratos) and adopted *σέριξαντας* from Heath, and *αἰρεῖν* from Dr. Blomfield.

We here take our leave of the judicious and learned editor,—not without an earnest hope that his valuable labours will be continued, and that we shall one day possess a complete edition of *Æschylus*

chylus from his hand. We are afraid we have tired the general reader by the minuteness of our philological remarks; but we could not, consistently with our duty, pass a work of this kind, from one of the most erudite of our countrymen, unnoticed, and in noticing it we could not but be minute, as minuteness is of the very essence of such disquisitions. Classical learning, though not now, as a few centuries ago, usurping more perhaps than its due share of attention, is yet one of the most splendid and beautiful provinces of literature, and the cultivation of it is highly creditable to any age or any country. Here we must profess ourselves inimical to that wretched taste which affects to ridicule what it does not understand. Aristophanes, indeed, might smile at Socrates, and Molière at Descartes; and we can smile with them, and enjoy the laugh raised by uncontrollable wit and fancy. We can even be heartily amused with the apparition of 'Aristarchus,' in the *Dunciad*, and yet return to read him in the *Phalaris* with unabated admiration. Wit and raillery sit lightly and gracefully upon poets and geniuses such as these; but when attempted by the clumsier hands of those, who, while they disregard the solidity of fact, are destitute of the brilliancy of fiction, we turn from the vapid and splenetic buffoonery with equal contempt and disgust. Recurring to our subject,—we ought to be the last lettered nation in the world to discountenance this species of literature,—we, who have so eminently distinguished ourselves in it in the persons of the *two* most renowned scholars of Europe.

ART. XI.—*Italy*. By Lady Morgan. 2 vols. 4to. pp. 841.
London. 1821.

IT may be expected that we should say something of this book, —we shall take the liberty of explaining why we shall say very little.

When *criticism* partakes of the nature of punishment, (as criticism on such a work as this would do,) it should be limited, as other punishments ought to be, to one of three objects—the reformation of the offender—the deterring others from offending—or, the correction of mischief caused by the offence. Now although Lady Morgan's 'Italy' is a series of offences against good morals, good politics, good sense, and good taste, we do not think that her arraignment would conduce to any of the three objects to which we have just limited the propriety of a penal visitation.

In the first place, we are convinced that this woman is utterly *incorrigible*; secondly, we hope that her indelicacy, ignorance, vanity, and malignity, are *inimitable*, and that, therefore, her example is very little dangerous,—and thirdly, though every page teems with

with errors of all kinds, from the most disgusting down to the most ludicrous, they are smothered in such Boeotian dulness, that they can do no harm. Extracts could afford no idea of the general and homogeneous stupidity which pervades the work; and if our review should happen to give any interest to the subject, we should be liable to the double charge of deceiving our friends and puffing Lady Morgan. We therefore decline 'drawing her frailties from their dread abode.' Buried in the lead of her ponderous quartos, the corruption is inoffensive—any examination would only serve to let the effluvia escape, and in some degree endanger the public health.

We, indeed, have been obliged to labour through these tomes, because our duty imposes that task upon us: but we have not heard of any voluntary reader who has been able to contend against the narcotic influence of her prating, prosing, and plagiarism, and get through even the first volume.—This, however, is not the only criterion we can adduce that the work, notwithstanding the obstetric skill of Sir Charles Morgan, (who, we believe, is a man-midwife,) 'dropt all but still-born from the press:'—we have another, less liable to the suspicion of partiality than any opinion of our's; we mean the advertisements of her own publishers: and worthless as the occasion is, we think that the exposure of the system of puffing in a case so flagrant as this, may not be unamusing, or unimportant to the real dignity of criticism.

Our readers—who are also, we presume, readers of newspapers—must remember that it is at least a year since 'Lady Morgan's Italy' was formally advertised—we even suspect that the intended publication of the Travels was announced before the journey itself was begun—and that *the price of the embryo MS. paid the expenses of the travellers*:—And here we must be permitted to say a word on a practice which (although, we fear, not altogether unexampled, and perhaps not degrading to such persons as Lady Morgan and her husband) we must seriously reprobate as injurious to the interests of literature and of society. Travellers in this line, like commercial Bagmen, have no object but to sell their wares to the best bidder; and thus, instead of genuine feelings, original views, and all the results of that noble curiosity and that classical enthusiasm, for which English travellers were pre-eminently renowned—we find, when the bale comes to be opened, a miserable assortment of damaged and second-hand articles—extracts from catalogues, road-books, and local histories, enlivened by observations gleaned from milliners, laquais de place, vetturinos and ciccerones, and thrown together with no object but to fill the prescribed number of sheets, and to earn the stipulated number

number of pounds. If such travellers get into a higher rank of society, it is by playing on the vanity or the weakness which may desire their applause or dread their slander:—by the terror of the forthcoming volume, they levy *contributions*, which pass under the name of *hospitality*; and they revel at Paris, Petersburg, or Parma, at feasts, which, like the banquets offered of old to the Pagan demons, are the tribute of imbecility to impudence and imposture.

But to return to the advertisements.—After many false alarms and divers appearances of light troops and tirailleurs, wearing in their caps the laurels of the anticipated victory of Lady Morgan, we thought we perceived, at last, the real advance of her columns in the dignified and emphatic advertisement of the 17th January last—

‘Preparing for the press,
ITALY, BY LADY MORGAN.’

This notice may have appeared yet earlier, but we have thought it sufficient to trace it back to the beginning of the year—and here let us, in justice, venture one episodic remark arising out of the search which we made in the file of the Morning Chronicle. As, after a sea-voyage, all meat is savoury, so after six weeks stupefying over Lady Morgan, we found or fancied the Morning Chronicle strict in its morals, sound in its principles, improved in its geography, and not wholly ignorant of ancient and modern history.

Advertisements in the foregoing style continued to be fired off, in the manner of minute guns, till the 11th June (five long months of expectation) when the immediate approach of the great Lady was announced by a whole salvo and a flourish of trumpets.

‘Shortly will be published,
ITALY, BY LADY MORGAN.’

‘Those who desire copies of this Work on the *day of publication*, are requested to forward their orders *immediately* to their respective booksellers.’

What can better paint the eagerness of the public, and the laudable anxiety of the bookseller to gratify the universal appetite! The world ‘stands tiptoe’ for this literary dawn; crowds wait its appearance in breathless expectation,—nay, so alarming is the concourse, that the publisher apprehends his shop may be endangered, and, with great prudence, endeavours to divert the crowd to different quarters of the town. The device, though ingenious, proved to be unnecessary: for it appears that no great anxiety was evinced for those very early copies—a tardiness which, we own, rather surprizes us, considering the proverbial gullibility
of

of the English nation, and that no one could have known, at that time, how stupid the book was.

The work however was too important to the publishers to be abandoned to its own struggles into life; and the principles of the renowned Mr. Puff were too apposite to be neglected on such an occasion. 'The Puff collusive,' says that Patriarch of the art, 'is the newest of any; for it acts in the disguise of determined hostility. It is much used by bold booksellers and enterprising poets: "an *indignant* correspondent observes, that Bêlzebub's Cotillon or "Proserpine's Fête Champêtre is one of the most unjustifiable performances he ever read; the severity with which certain characters are handled, is quite shocking," &c. &c.—*From this hint* the puffer of the Morning Chronicle, spake:—

'Lady Morgan's Italy has now been open to the public for several days, and already we observe that the warm enthusiasm, &c. &c. which animates her pages, has put all the race of intolerant critics into a STATE OF FURY—Lady Morgan has kindled their indignation,'—&c. &c.

This was a bold stroke—but it failed:—the '*fury*' and the '*indignation*' excited no corresponding curiosity; and 'Lady Morgan's Italy continued *open* several days' longer, without any increased desire on the part of the public to avail themselves of it. A new expedient was therefore resorted to, and the literary world was accordingly favoured with the following important notice.

'(Advertisement.) LADY MORGAN'S ITALY.—We are requested to state that, in consequence of the *very great* expenses attending the production of this work, the publishers have no present intention of printing it in any *other form* than that now on sale, in two volumes quarto, and that consequently, the report which has been propagated to the contrary, is wholly without foundation.'—*Morning Chronicle*, July.

Bad and blundering as the style of this advertisement is, we do not think it was written by Lady Morgan herself—she would hardly have made so direct a confession of the dulness of the sale, and still less would she have alluded to the VERY GREAT EXPENSES attending the work. We indeed have little doubt, that she reddened to the very eye-balls at reading it. What avails it that the penner of the puff represents the sale of the quarto to be only retarded by the public anxiety to possess the octavo!—His officious excuse was only a transparent insult, and the real effect, substantial disgrace.

This unlucky failure brought back the parties to the *puff collusive*: they took, however, the precaution of seasoning rather higher than in the former instance; and, we doubt not, confidently

dently expected that such a paragraph as the following would stimulate the dullest appetite.

‘LADY MORGAN’S ITALY.

‘It is not to be wondered at that this Lady should encounter all the *virulence and malignity of the tools of despotism*—her undaunted *exposure of the tyranny* by which Italy has been ruined entitles her to the honour of their abuse; *but her fame is fixed on a rock*’!—*Morning Chron.* July 14.

‘*Fixed upon a rock*,’ this modern Andromeda certainly was,—and, what is more pitiable, no heroic Perseus could be found to take her off. It is not surprizing, therefore, to find the bewildered puffers at their wits’ ends, and attempting to administer their *ad-minicula* in a coarser shape.

It is no longer the simple name of LADY MORGAN which is to draw crowds to all the bookshops in London; it is no longer a unanimous admiration of that great woman, only differing whether she is *most* excellent in an *octavo* or a *quarto* shape; it is no longer the ‘*enmity of tyrants*’ and ‘*the malignant fury of the reptiles she has crushed*,’ which testify her success—Alas! no—we have now arrived at a plain confession, that the public do not care a straw about her or her book:—an attempt, however, is made to convince them that they are all in the wrong, and a portentous eulogy, extracted from a paper of which we do not happen to have heard before, called the WEEKLY REGISTER, is now appended to the advertisements.

Meanness seldom accomplishes its object, and generally involves the necessity of further meannesses—the ‘*testimonium incerti auctoris*’ in favour of the great Corinna of the Radicals seems not only to have utterly failed, but to have been the prelude to the most humiliating mendicity—‘*public impatience—profound views—gay anecdotes—liberal spirit—characteristic portraits—inspirations of genius*’—all are forgotten, or despised; and we are informed, at the end of August, that there has been just published,—‘*Italy, by Lady Morgan, in two volumes, 4to. containing nearly 900 closely printed pages, price 3l. 13s. 6d.*’

What! are all the praises of the Morning Chronicle, and all the critical approbation of the Weekly Register come to *this*?—that nothing can be said for the *quality* of the article, but that, as for *quantity*, you will hardly any where get such a heap for the same money!—Pudet, pudet!—But we have done with her Ladyship—we hope, and almost believe, for ever!

‘More last words!’—Just as this sheet was going to the press, we received the puff final—the *fortorn hope* of puffing, in ‘a letter from Lady Morgan to her Reviewers.’ We shall make but two remarks on it; first, that it is as dull (we had almost said as unintelligible)

ligible) as the great work itself, and as clumsy as the series of shifts which we have already exposed: and secondly, that we find Lady Morgan adopts the argumentum à crumená, of which even we supposed she would be ashamed;—for, says this disinterested philosopher and logical reasoner, ‘the price given for my last venture from Italy is the best answer to those who endeavoured to undervalue the cargo.’ No doubt Lady Morgan thinks this proof very satisfactory; but what is it to the publisher, who paid for the work before it was written, or to the public, who will not buy it?—Instead of afflicting the public with this interminable ‘Letter,’ Lady Morgan should, we think, have tried its effect in private on her publishers, who are acting in direct opposition to her delicate feelings. She labours to show that ‘reviews of every calibre (as she elegantly phrases it) enfeeble public taste by pretending to guide it;’ and, accordingly, she exhibits a very dignified contempt of their ‘decisions’; while her publishers (as appears from a bill just sent to us) are anxiously employed in collecting from periodical works of all descriptions, whig, radical, and atheistical, every rag and scrap of fulsome criticism which the zeal of her partizans has for months been dispersing among them.

‘By day and night! but this is wondrous strange!’

ART. XII.—*De la Constitution de l'Angleterre et des Changemens qu'elle a éprouvés tant dans son Esprit que dans ses Formes; depuis son Origine jusqu'à nos jours: avec quelques Remarques sur l'ancienne Constitution de France.* Par un Anglois. Paris. 1820. 2d edit.

THIS is a bold title for a slender octavo of ninety-nine pages; and the adventurous spirit of the author further appears, before he has reached his twentieth line, in an attack upon two men whom we are in the habit of considering as the champions and expounders of our laws and constitution—De Lolme and Blackstone. We could indeed give him up a small portion of the Genevese writer; not because he is a foreigner, but because we do not hold him in the first rank of estimation in point of talent: but we cannot so easily indulge him with regard to Blackstone, who certainly had a clear and comprehensive mind, and whose Commentaries are, in many respects, a model of English writing. Notwithstanding this, however, and although there is not any thing in the work before us which can be considered as altogether new in this country, yet it is one of the neatest presents that has been made to France for many years. It contains, in a very short space, more of that species of information which might be useful there, than all the works which have appeared, in that country, since liberty became the fashion; and it might even help to correct many erroneous

roneous notions prevalent in England respecting our neighbours. The object of the author is to point out, to the tyros of freedom, the means by which the veterans have advanced; and, consequently, he was under the necessity of making them acquainted with many of their own faults, and of the good things which their predecessors, after countless efforts, had acquired.

This, however, is not the kind of political publication which succeeds best in the atmosphere of Paris. There nothing is admired that does not flatter the glory, and spread the renown of the nation. Praise of France, and abuse of England, will make any work saleable. One of the inconveniences of our free press,—yet God forbid that even that should be much diminished,—is that so much national invective circulates, not only at home, but even finds its way to the continent, where it is eagerly devoured and universally credited. We are convinced that if the respectable writers of this country, who attack the measures of government because they conscientiously disapprove of them, could imagine how much their occasional abuse of the British nation, in general, has contributed to lower its reputation in the judgment of Europe, they would become more considerate, and, we will add, more just. Many writers we certainly have, who desire no better than to disparage their native land; and the more envenomed their pen, the more they are caressed. They become, indeed, the grand authorities for all the degrading opinions respecting us; and when un Anglois l'a dit, or un Anglois l'a écrit, there is no reply. No person who has not witnessed it could credit the avidity with which our unpatriotic writings are received in France, and the influence they have upon the general mind. Even the government of that country has, in all times, been too much disposed to take its ideas upon the government of England from the journals which systematically oppose its measures; and the most virulent of these is generally chosen as the text-book of French statesmen. Some years ago, a M. Ferry de St. Constant published a work upon England, professing to give a picture of the nation drawn by itself. He rummaged, like Mr. Walsh, all the scurrilous and anti-British lampoons of a hundred years standing; and thus gave '*Les Anglois peints par eux-mêmes.*' This production was as highly relished in France as that of General Pillet, and as much believed as that of M. Rubichon; and the author had moreover a character for extreme candour, for he gave no opinion that was not extracted from a British writer.

Mr. Frisell, the author of the work before us, establishes the resemblance between the ancient parliaments of England and France, during the Saxon kings in the former country, and under the second dynasty in the latter. He then proceeds to trace the differences which gradually introduced themselves, and which ultimately

mately rendered the entire governments of both empires as unlike as if they had issued from the most dissimilar sources. His most valuable observations relate to the aristocracy of this country, and to the principles by which it is maintained and invigorated: principles which every French revolutionary writer, obeying the malignity of passion, has mistaken, or purposely misrepresented; and which Mr. Frisell recommends to the cool consideration of the French public. Comparisons of this kind are always useful to those who sincerely wish to profit by them; and, for this reason, we think Mr. Frisell has rendered an essential service to his country. Since the opening of the States-General in May, 1789; we do not think that any thing more plainly wise, and more sensibly practical, has been spoken or printed in the French republic, or empire, or monarchy, whether absolute or constitutional, usurped or legitimate.

We mention the opening of the States-General, because it is considered, by many, as the epocha from which all practical wisdom dates in France, and as the commencement of a new era. We cannot however consider it entirely in this light. The Assembly of the Notables had preceded it by more than two years; and, as the last convocation of the States had been in 1614, that is to say, about 170 years earlier, the meeting of the former, in February, 1787, may be held to be the first overt act of a change in the practice of the government. But it would, in fact, be a narrow view of the subject, which would mistake either the one or the other for the principle of all that has ensued. It would not be easy, nay, it would not be possible, to assign the precise moment or circumstance from which the overthrow of the oldest monarchy of Europe may date its origin; an overthrow which had long been threatening, and still longer approaching. Human catastrophes hang together by many an unseen link; and if a wider range of speculation were allotted to mankind, they would immediately perceive that the simplicity which ascribes the events of history to their proximate causes is ignorance. Every thing that is, is a consequence of every thing that has preceded; and all that remains to be acted in the great drama of the world is now unconsciously preparing. A more striking example of this truth could not be found, than the change which took place in France toward the end of the last century; a change not only prodigious in itself, but productive of a more rapid succession of varying fortunes to empires, whom long civilization and the exercise of much thought ought to have placed beyond the reach of casualties, than any which could be found in the annals of mankind.

Preparatory traces of the French revolution may be detected in the whole history of France; and its principal characteristics easily discovered in the characteristics of other times. Neither
would

would it be 'to consider too curiously to consider it so;' but to enter minutely into the investigations necessary to demonstrate this assertion, would much exceed our limits. The subject, however, is so interesting, that we cannot pass it by in total silence; and we will attempt, as much as time and space will allow, to show that the events of 1789, and of the years which followed, were in perfect analogy with those of the preceding periods. To do this, it is necessary to offer a few preliminary observations, and state some previous principles which, though we cannot now stop to demonstrate them, we think sufficiently palpable to be admitted in a discussion of this nature.

It has been too much the practice, even in this enlightened age, to attribute the good or evil fortunes of nations, the liberty they have enjoyed, or the despotism they have suffered, to their institutions, and to neglect the sources from which those institutions sprung, or the causes which eventually modified them; to consider them as the result of chance, or as the gift of heaven, and not, in any degree, as the intentional work of men, or as established by the combination of those who are to live under them. The operation of the understanding, indeed, in forming them, is not always manifest; but it is to be found incorporate in every limb and feature. In some communities it is more immediately perceptible than in others; and no person, even upon the earliest acquaintance with the Spartans, has denied that the laws and institutions by which they were governed were the result of intention in the legislator, approved by the common consent of the people. The mind and spirit which gave laws to Rome are also evident; and in modern times, the United States of America at once formed their constitution according to a general design. But the compact is not always so apparent; neither is the connection between the national mind, which moulds the institutions of empires, and the institutions which are the result, so immediately perceptible. It is, however, in as full existence in one instance as in another; and whether it produces its effects suddenly and in a single moment, as was the case when the laws of Lycurgus were promulgated in Sparta, or by the silent workings of time; whether it flashes directly on the conviction of him who observes mankind, or only gleams through the ruins of antiquity, it is still the same; as the meteor, which, whether it bursts in lightning from the clouds, or escapes unseen through the atmosphere, still is electric matter.

The social mind existed before institutions were thought of. When any number of individuals consent to live together, each throws into the compact the disposition which nature had given him, modified by the events and circumstances which influenced his whole preceding life. The common stock of national quali-

ties is the mean term of all these propensities, and becomes, in its turn, the impelling power which directs and fashions every future movement. Its collective impulse acts upon the community in the same manner as, before it was united, it acted upon its separate members; and as it once was busied in promoting individual good, in devising means of solitary advantage, it now becomes solicitous about the general welfare; and combines the measures by which the compact may be preserved and perfected.

The mistake which we are endeavouring to rectify, and which is one of the most serious that can be committed in political philosophy, arises from confounding the cause and origin of institutions with the re-action, which, when once established, they exercise upon the minds of all who live under them. This re-action we are far from denying; nay we even allow it greater scope than many, who do not make the distinction we would here establish. It is the assimilating power of extended empires; the cause of all the resemblances discoverable between the subjects of the extremest provinces of the widest kingdoms: the reason why the northern and the southern Chinese, whom natural position should have left so dissimilar, are in so many points alike; why, on the eastern and the western sides of the Rhine and the Rhone, the original differences between the nations dwelling near them have been increased; which has marked a stronger disparity than even nature had established between the inhabitants of either shore of the channel, that divides this country from France; and daily diminishes that which once existed between the sister islands of the British realm. In a word, it has produced all the effects of national character, which have been ascribed to boundaries; but which boundaries are utterly insufficient to explain. But institutions are not the less a primary result of the minds and hearts, of the understandings and the feelings, of the whole characters of those who form them; although they afterwards become secondary causes of later dispositions among men. They are the links which unite the past with the present, the earliest with the latest condition of nations; and firmly but imperceptibly join what was with what now is. They must then be in unison with the dispositions of their founders. They must provide for the exigencies of their situation, natural and social. They must call in every debt, and pay every obligation of the community. When they fail to perform these conditions, it is because the first law of their formation has been infringed; and they must lead, through a series of incongruities and misfortunes, through all the struggles which nature ever makes to resume her rights when they have been violated, to a disastrous end. The fall of the greatest empire of the world was but a consequence of this universal law, though corruption

ruption and luxury were the ostensible means by which it was accomplished; and many examples might be found in history to prove that such is the inviolable rule.

Seduced by the fatal mistake to which we have just adverted, politicians have been erroneously led to suppose that, by introducing the forms of government which have succeeded in one state into another, however different its natural situation may have been, the character of the people that adopts them, will be made to resemble that of the nation in which they were indigenous; and that every country may thus become susceptible of the same form of government, and enjoy the same degree of liberty. But without the spirit that first animated them, institutions are bodies without souls. Men have their moral as well as their physical wants, and it is by them that they are taught the use of their faculties; by them, that they are urged to seek out the powers of mind and body which can assist them; and to devise or apply the means of making their situation more tolerable. It would be difficult to say which of the two impulses, in a being so constituted as man, is the most effectual: but it is sufficient that either of them be counteracted, to make his existence incomplete. His moral no less than his physical wants result from all the circumstances in which he dwells; and, though some of them may reside in the imagination, by much the greatest part of them is suggested by the soundest dictates of reason, and increases in proportion as his mind becomes expanded. If Providence had not scattered through the earth some benevolent deficiencies, men would have left their native soil untilld. Without some kindly solicitude concerning future events, the human mind would have remained inactive; and, in a boundless expanse of pleasure to which no painful limits were affixed, its energies would never have been roused. The exigencies which awaken his powers have created and modified all the institutions of man; and unless those exigencies can be made the same throughout, to give the same impressions to the mind, to develop the same modes of thought, the same habits of combination, it is in vain that institutions would be carried round the globe, from people to people. Wherever laws, and constitutions, and forms of government are artificially established, their decay will ensue, like the decay of all that is in opposition to nature. Rarely indeed have they prospered, except where they have grown spontaneously, and remained under the guidance of the same spirit which gave them birth. The nobler they are, the greater is the ruin they may cause; as the armour of a giant is more fatal to the dwarf, who would use it in his defence, than the sword of an enemy.

Every abstract principle of our natures and every page of
N N 3 history

history confirm the preceding opinions; yet the calamities which during the last thirty years, those years in which, according to the general progress of reason, mankind ought to have been the wisest—and during which they certainly called themselves so—have ravaged the most improved portion of the world, had no other origin than their perversion. And neither old nor new experience seems to have taught prudence; for all that now threatens Europe may be traced to the same misconception of their truth and importance. The cause and scene—for a short time the only scene—of these evils was France. But the French are not a people to keep misfortune to themselves: and convulsed with rage and madness, with enthusiasm and despair, amid the flaming ruins they had made at home, they flung their fire-brands around them to kindle new conflagrations; and light up, if they could, the funeral pile of European civilization.

Such sentiments may appear extraordinary to those who have been in the habit of admiring the various phases of French politics, since the revolution of 1789. But we are not less ardent votaries of true liberty than they are; neither do we yield to any in our hopes and wishes, that a time may come when all shall partake in the blessing. As Englishmen, we feel too much its value, not to wish it may become universal; as men who have long possessed it, we know none of the little jealousies of monarchies, from which it is banished; and we should not boast that we are exempt from the envy and intrigue which reign in them, were it not for the eternal attacks which they who never were free, delight to repeat against our nation. Neither are we among the ‘abettors of arbitrary power, who profess the greatest inward veneration for liberty, and give it a little mouth honour now and then in the abstract, but who discourage all that might tend to promote it; and eagerly and angrily defend all the institutions by which it is repressed.’ It is *not* the abstract theory of liberty which we venerate, but its practice; and we would see that practice not only extended to a greater number of our fellow creatures, but even, if possible, enlarged and perfected. If in the burning sands of Ethiopia,—if among the wilds of arctic snow—there dwells a nation capable of liberty, it shall have our feeble voice and prayer. If it can be proved that the country in which liberty has best thriven, has, by an increase of wisdom and virtue, received new capability for freedom, we ardently desire it may accomplish its destiny; and, more than any, we shall rejoice in its happy calling, fully convinced that the perfection of government depends upon the perfection of men. If all the laws, the forms which have been devised to complete the design of good, which our unassisted nature could not have accomplished; if all our institutions,—those
instruments

instruments which the instinct of improvement puts into our hands to correct human failings, and to strengthen human weaknesses, are found unnecessary, let them be abolished as useless weights, which clog the onward motion of society, and the advancement of intellect. If our prudence and our passions, our wisdom and our folly, our virtues and our vices can balance each other so equally, that the usual conflicts they produce shall cease, all balance in the state is useless: King, Lords and Commons, may be dispensed with. But the hypothesis that all this is possible, is what, in our minds, constitutes the abstract veneration for liberty, and a veneration which always must remain abstract! And woe to the nations that should attempt to practise it! The greatest plague which can be inflicted upon a people, is the illusion that they are wiser and better than they truly are; above all, if that illusion tempts them actively to aspire at things which can be accomplished only by the reality of wisdom and virtue.

It is the curse of vanity to live and to delight in perpetual delusion; never to know, nor to desire to know, the truth relating to any thing that accompanies it; and to consider all its visions as realities. The French, more than any European nation, labour under this malediction. No sooner had they heard that there was in some part of the world and in actual practice, a thing called liberty, than they said, 'Let us be free;' and thought that freedom must follow, as light was elicited, by divine command. But their omnipotence failed them; for out of that wish arose confusion, and chaos very nearly came again.

In the whole character and constitution of the French nation, there is scarcely a single element which could enter into the composition of a system of liberty. Even the best qualities, as well of their understandings as of their hearts, are not of a nature to endure it; and the failings of the one, as of the other, are particularly adverse to it. Could freedom be secured, as a bastille may be overthrown, by enthusiasm and disorder; could an ardent momentary impulse, suddenly followed by as ardent a contradiction, without a passive interval; could levity in serious concerns, and earnestness in trifles; could an unsteady will and wavering fancy, an imagination warmed by caprice, an irritable intellect over whose impetuosity reason has but little controul, produce any thing stable, then indeed freedom might be transplanted into France; and though we know she could not have invented it, we might hope she could have received it. But the real state of things is far otherwise. Liberty is not a detached and single idea. It is a system of thoughts and wishes, not existing in a single head or heart, but in the whole system of heads and hearts which compose the nation. All the population must be fitted to

feel and understand all its principles, or it cannot exist. It must be pursued with a devout and uniform fervour, that knows no interruption. Homer may slumber, but not the people who would be free. Perpetual watchfulness is their doom; not the broken vigilance of those who, one day, are deaf to all its rational demands, and the next suppose they can compensate their negligence by fretfulness, intemperance, and outrage.—As to the vices of the French, if they did no more than resemble the vices of other nations, they would be sufficiently in opposition with freedom. But they are nationally of a darker hue; and, in the course of this examination, we shall have occasion to demonstrate that none ever militated so strongly against reasonable practical liberty, though they may agree very well with the abstraction of all government, and with unlimited licentiousness.

More striking proofs could not be found, that institutions spring out of the moral wants of nations, and that they are modified by the characters of men, than in the histories of England and France. In the very early periods of both countries, as our author has observed, many of the laws and forms of government were alike; and we will add, for this very evident reason,—both nations had a common origin. Acted upon by the same physical and moral wants, they had recourse to the same means of providing for them; and their minds were moulded in one form. But this similarity could last only as long as both continued under the influence of the same natural circumstances; and no sooner did their Celtic ancestors divide and complete their separate establishments in Gaul and Britain, than the new position, in which each portion of the emigrants was placed, began to produce a change in their characters, and to create the difference which time has so strongly confirmed. Every opinion, custom, and institution, to which they had been the most attached, in their former habitations, was preserved or altered, in proportion as it was analogous to their new situation; and to this the gradual decay of some in one nation, and their continuance in the other, may be wholly ascribed. It would be superfluous to swell the list of examples with all that we could adduce. The preservation of a national assembly and of the trial by jury in England, and the complete disuse of both in France, though both had been common in the country of the Celts, are sufficient to show to what an extent their modern descendants, placed in neighbouring though dissimilar regions, differ at this moment.

Most of the writers, who have treated this subject, as Mably, De Lolme, Millar, &c. and none more than Madame de Staël, have fallen into the common error of supposing the changes, through which the institutions of England and France have passed,

passed, and the personages who have effected those changes, to be the causes of all the events they would explain. Such, indeed, have frequently been the agencies by means of which the successive variations have been accomplished; but the causes are more remote, and must be looked for in the circumstances which fashion both events and persons, and without which, neither the one nor the other could have existed precisely as they did. The individual who exercises the most unlimited authority over his countrymen or subjects, can only acquire it—unless, indeed, he comes at the head of irresistible myriads—by taking possession of certain parts of their disposition, to which he must at first conform, even though he may afterwards modify them; and all that he can do is to follow a mean term between his will and theirs, further regulated by his strength and theirs. This maxim, true of Gengis Khan and of Timour; true even of the Tartars, whose innumerable hosts overran the Chinese territory, is still more undeniable with regard to the concerns of Europe, and of every country where intellect prevails. In the most arbitrary acts of the greatest tyrant, the disposition of the nation upon whom he tramples must be considered according to this rule; and none has ever dared to violate it with impunity.

The investigation which would naturally spring out of the preceding observations, would be very important, but very long; and we shall not engage in it. We must, however, attempt to bring together certain facts in the history of France, which will help to prove our opinion that the French are one of the nations of Europe that always has manifested the smallest capability for true and rational liberty, as also the smallest disposition to acquire it; that their capability and disposition in its favour have not increased in such a degree as to enable them, even at this moment, to ensure its possession; and that the nations who copy them, who, like them, make liberty precede, not follow wisdom and virtue, will inevitably, like them, and all the abstract veneration of a goddess more difficult to fix than Fortune herself, wander far and woefully away from their object; and return again, as they did, after countless miseries to themselves and others, and calamities which their children's children will lament, to a station still farther separated from happiness and freedom than any on which they ever stood before. It is not by scrutinizing their forms of government that we shall endeavour to prove this; but by taking up the inquiry at a point nearer to first causes, and examining not what their institutions were, but what were their characters, as may be deduced from the overt acts of their history; and by comparing them with those which they have performed during their late revolution.

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In pursuing this inquiry, we shall be compelled to bring to notice many painful topics; but the subject is of too vast an import to mankind, not to plead as our excuse, even in the minds of those whom we may the most displease. We think that a fair and calm investigation of the principles in the human mind and heart, which experience, no less than theory, has shown to be the surest basis of freedom—should it ever meet the eyes of those who are now preparing to start in the noble course—might do some service, at a moment when the rallying cry which unites or divides the nations, not of Europe only, but of the world, is liberty. The misfortunes which have arisen from erroneous notions on the subject, from depraved and corrupted means of pursuing it; and from abusive applications of its principles, have far exceeded, in a few years, ages of the foulest tyranny. Neither do we perceive that the impressions left upon the minds of men, the accessions won to knowledge, or morality, are likely to compensate those misfortunes; and long centuries of happiness, such as men have rarely experienced, must follow this iron epoch, before we can admit that the late struggles, made in the name of liberty, have not been injurious to herself and to mankind.

Lewis XVI., the monarch under whom this mighty revolution, whose effects we still deplore, broke out, was the sixty-ninth sovereign of his country, the thirty-sixth of his own dynasty, from the founder of which he was, in the male line, the twenty-ninth, and in the female line the thirty-second descendant; therefore, all that long honours and family glory could bestow upon a sovereign was centered in him. He had, besides, an endearing claim to the love of a people, who boasted a longer hereditary attachment to their monarchs than any in Europe; many virtues, the mildest and the warmest affections, with the most conscientious inclination to do nothing but good. One single defect rendered all these qualities abortive: his mind was not in unison with the spirit of his age; and this was stronger than his good intentions, because it was a result of the irresistible combinations of time.

The attachment of the French to their monarchs was not of a nature to gratify reflecting men. It partook too much of instinct, and too little of reason; too much of imagination, and not enough of affection. It resulted from blind devotedness more than from choice; and, having once conceived it to be the summary of every patriotic virtue, they wound up their minds rather than their hearts, to the fulfilment of this fancied duty. When a prince was born, they did not wait to know what his qualities might be, and whether he was likely to merit their regard. They loved him at first sight, nay, before—in his mother's womb—almost as much as they would have done at the end of a long

long and happy reign. It was sufficient that he sprang from the loins of a monarch to give him every title to their adoration. Posterity has, indeed, made some distinction between the good and the bad, and endeared the memories of St. Louis, Francis I. and Henry IV.; but the duty of attachment, submission, and respect, was alike during the life of every sovereign, whatever may have been his deserts. In former times, the *Maires du Palais*, who kept their sovereigns prisoners, and governed without controul, acted in the name and behalf, and under the apparent sanction of the kings their masters. These *Majores Domus Regiæ*, as they were called, had power enough to dismiss and annul the general assemblies of the nation in the *Champ-de-Mars*, under the last kings of the first race; yet Pepin, who inherited all the authority of his father and his grandfather, and who finally obtained the crown, was compelled, even in the plenitude of his power, to acknowledge Childeric as his monarch, and to govern in his name. In later periods, under weak or infant sovereigns, the national feeling was the same; and the ambitious princes of the royal blood who aspired to authority, the nobles who sided with them, all the factions of the court, and all the vassals of the empire, founded their pretensions on the right of the king, whom none ever conceived a project of deposing, but whom all were struggling to hold in subjection. Of the ten minorities which followed the age of Philip I. five produced long and sanguinary contests. The first was that of Charles VI. when the Regency was disputed by his four uncles, not one of whom ever aspired to the throne; though all used every means of violence, artifice, and intrigue, to secure a temporary authority in the name of the sovereign. The minority of Charles IX., during which Catherine de' Medici was Regent, gave rise to five civil wars, and, during it, the storm of the St. Bartholomew was gathering. Louis XIII. succeeded his assassinated father at the age of nine; and another Medici, his mother, destroyed, in a moment, all the good which the first of the Bourbons had been labouring to introduce; drove from her court the man whom he honoured as his friend and minister, and who deservedly united both these titles; filled the palace with petty factions; placed near her person foreigners and intriguers with whom she shared her power, and who aided her to keep the king in bondage; while attachment to the race of St. Louis still held him on his throne.

The reign of Louis XIV., begun, before he was five years old, in the midst of disorders, beheld, in its first years, the favour and intrigues of a stranger, Mazarin; the arts and licentiousness of the Cardinal de Retz, exciting civil discord without the pretence of religion; the minor king in flight, yet always a king; his seat of empire

empire besieged by his own cousin, yet himself always supposed upon his throne ; puns, pleasantries, and songs, *cafembourgs* and *vaudevilles*, abounding in the midst of horrors and disasters ; the princes of the royal blood imprisoned ; Mazarin returning from exile at the head of an army, proscribing and proscribed ; the Fronde, Barricadoes, civil wars, battles, massacres at the gates of Paris, and in Paris ; and the King, though at length detested, not dethroned. The death of this monarch, whose name the French have affixed to the period of their history, which they once conceived to be the most glorious, showed that their respect for his memory was not as great as their adulation of him while living. The profligate Duke of Orleans, (a name often connected with recollections fatal to the repose of his family,) uncle of the infant king, forced his ward, but five years old, to appear at a *lit de justice*, for the purpose of setting aside the last arrangement of his great-grandfather, who, at the beginning of his own reign, at nearly the same age, and with the same pompous mockery, had presided, on a like occasion, to hear the will of his own father annulled ; and Philip d'Orleans, in contradiction to the testament of Louis XIV., was declared, by the parliament, sole and absolute Regent. But Louis XV. was the last sovereign of his race, whom his subjects were to love ; and it seemed as if the most ill-judging hatred had been destined to avenge, in a single instant, long ages of indiscriminate attachment.

The power of the Regent, for the time being, was unbounded as the authority of the monarch himself. It was he who distributed justice, gave sanction to every edict, and dispensed every favour. He even received the revenues of the crown without being accountable for them. Such means would surely have been sufficient to dispossess the rightful sovereign, if something more than is usual in other countries had not operated to balance their effect. In cases of minority, the Regent was moreover guardian of the minor's person ; and thus possessed all that ambition could desire to accomplish in its wildest dreams. Yet, though the Regency was a subject of contest, the throne itself was not assailed ; and the King, in whose name contending factions triumphed, and with whose authority each, in its turn, sought to countenance its aggression, was in no danger of losing his right. The love of the nation manifested itself in preserving his inheritance ; but was not very scrupulous in contributing to his happiness, or in making him personally respected. During the Regency, instituted in the absence of John, who was taken prisoner in the battle of Poitiers, the kingdom became a scene of disorders, such as few countries have witnessed ; and respect for the captive monarch was incapable of containing any of the factions within just bounds. The Dauphin

Dauphin was thrice driven from his capital, after seeing some of his principal courtiers murdered before his face, and the whole kingdom filled with plots and insurrections, without any definite object but wanton insubordination. Yet though it never was doubted that Charles de Navarre was ambitious of obtaining the Regency, he dared not avow his thoughts of aspiring to the throne, even though he asserted that he could prove his right to it, as grandson of Louis X. When Charles VI. was afflicted with mental infirmity, the calamities of the state were still greater; if any evils can exceed those which befel France during the captivity of John. The severest contest ever known for a Regency was under this monarch; the long and bloody and treacherous animosities of the rival factions of Orleans and Burgundy divided the kingdom; while the King was kept immured, in want of the common necessities of life, and robbed of every thing—except his crown. Even the Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., one of the most prosperous monarchs of France, was outraged in every point, excepting in his right to the throne; and anarchy was universal, amid universal acknowledgment of the legitimate and indefeasible claim of the descendants of Hugh Capet and St. Louis, in the due order of succession.

If the persevering zeal of the French upon this head was founded upon love to their sovereign and his family, it must be confessed that their mode of showing it was neither the most desirable nor the most efficient. They placed him in perpetual danger of losing, not his crown, but his life; and rent with civil discord and unmeaning strife, the realm which they called his inviolable patrimony. They respected the royal trunk too much to cut it down. They left it in possession of the soil, but they tore off all its branches. They put a sceptre in the hand of the lineal heir, and then disgraced the monarch, and kept the sovereign prisoner. During the captivity of John, the French showed little alacrity to raise the money for his ransom; and no sooner was it collected, than Marcel and his associates seized upon it, and applied it to their own factious purposes. And so difficult did he find it, on his return, to fulfil the article of the treaty, which set him at liberty for a stipulated ransom, that, for the sum of 600,000 golden crowns, he gave his daughter Isabella in marriage to John Galeas Visconti, in the year 1360, and consequently before the revolution, which placed that family on the ducal throne of Milan; that is to say, to use the words of Villani, ‘he sold his flesh and blood for a sum of money to a person much his inferior.’ It is true the resources of the nation were diminished by the wars and insurrections which had preceded;
but

but its promptness to find new means was not proportioned to those which still remained.

The captivity of Francis I. offered new opportunity for disorders, and it was not neglected, though the firmness of the Regent his mother finally repressed them. When he was permitted to go back to France, the nation was violently irritated at the manner in which Charles V. had treated him and his family; and in a moment of enthusiasm the clergy offered 1,300,000 golden crowns as a subsidy to make war, in which the nobles and burgesses tendered their assistance. But when it became necessary to raise the sum of 2,000,000 for the ransom of his two sons whom he had left in Spain as hostages for his return there, the money was not to be found; and without the unbounded generosity of Henry VIII. who furnished him with nearly half the amount, the princes would probably have died in bondage. Yet Francis I. is one of the sovereigns to whose memory the French pay the greatest deference, 'as the father of letters, the model of chivalry, and the soul of honour'—notwithstanding his protest before witnesses against the treaty of Madrid, and his consequent refusal to fulfil it; and even John is among their respected monarchs. The English never have made the same parade of affection to their kings. Some of them, indeed, they have handled rather roughly; others they have cashiered somewhat cavalierly; yet, when they have made choice of a monarch on whom they can fix their affections, their love is a more active principle than the blind attachment of the French. When Richard, by the petty malice of two sovereigns, jealous of his glory,—and one of these was Philip Augustus,—was unjustly detained captive, his ransom was fixed at 150,000 marks of silver. The captivity of the superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal tenures; and all the vassals of the kingdom were obliged to contribute. Twenty shillings were levied on every knight's fee in England. This mode of raising the sum, however, was too dilatory for the national feeling, and did not produce the amount expected; but the voluntary zeal of the people readily supplied the deficiency. Yet the nation had been cruelly drained of money by the crusades during many years.

Minorities and regencies have not been so frequent in England as in France; neither, when they did occur, were they marked by calamities like those which the French nation usually inflicted on itself in those interruptions to strong and undisputed government. Some of our regencies indeed have been epochas of great national virtue; and some of our regents, as Pembroke, Bedford, &c. were men of eminent worth. But usurpations have been much more common; and from the Norman conquest to the
settlement

settlement of the disputes of York and Lancaster, seven or eight sovereigns ascended the throne without any right but the sword. Our dynasties, too, have frequently changed; and, upon the whole, we have shown little steadiness in our attachment to the families or persons of our sovereigns. This difference in our history, compared with that of France, depends altogether upon the ideas which have long prevailed in each country respecting government.

The subtle distinction which some, and among them Montesquieu, have attempted to establish between pure monarchy and despotism, is altogether sophistical: in a despotic empire, they say the despot governs by his own will; in a monarchy, the sovereign rules by established laws. But who made those laws? Do they suffice for every emergency? Have they foreseen every case? Are they to be immutable? And who is to alter them? Surely, if the monarch can, after certain formalities, order that his will shall be law, and punish those who oppose him, he may as well issue his mandate at once; and France, notwithstanding some deceitful forms, was, to all intents and purposes, a despotic monarchy. The monarch was the government, and all the government: but, in England, he was only a part of the government, generally not much more than a third part, and sometimes not so much. It became then of little comparative importance in what hands that third part was placed; but the same mind and spirit which could unwisely concentrate and deposit the whole essence of the state in one single idol, could easily suppose that idol inviolable and infallible. Such was the case of the French. They had not political wisdom enough to divide the powers of the realm into their three natural ramifications; but they adopted what perhaps, neglecting this best of all precautions, was the next wisest measure: by fixing the line in which the sceptre should invariably descend, they put it out of the power of ambition, of perfidy, of conquest, to give them monarchs; supposing, and truly supposing, that he who succeeds to a long line of royal ancestors has as fair a chance of inheriting their virtues, as he who ascends a throne by blood and usurpation. This principle they adopted at a very early period; and certainly, if the nation be compared with its sovereigns, and a due estimate be made of the proportion of virtue inherent in monarchies in general, it will be found that the kings of France were not inferior to their subjects. Some may indeed have been tyrannical, unjust, or sanguinary, but many were good; and a greater proportion of the characteristic vices of Frenchmen are to be found in the nation than among its monarchs.

Savages not yet civilized, and empires in the decay of national virtue,

virtue, are not scrupulous as to the means they employ to rid themselves of a sovereign, who by his vices or his virtues, his strength or his weakness, may not suit their purpose. Men in an intermediate state may be so fashioned to political superstition as to look upon the dismissal of a king, even by just means, as a violation of divine right. But certain it is, that in proportion as social improvement advances in its most intellectual modification, injustice of every kind, cruelty, treachery and wanton insubordination diminish. In the early periods of British history some barbarous instances of regicide occur, as the murders of Edward and Richard the Second; and in the rage of civil wars the death of Henry VI. and his son; or of the infant princes of York during the usurpation of Richard III. But such events ceased in England after that time, by increasing civilization; and because, better informed of its rights and duties, the nation had learned that crimes must bring on crimes, and assassination be followed by assassination. The condemnation of Charles I. was of a nature different from that of all the preceding regicides; and however unwarrantable the act itself may have been, however the work of frenzy and faction, the mode of committing it bespoke an immeasurable progress in the institutions of the realm, and consequently in the minds of the people. The distance which separates the brutal act of Gournay and Mantravers, from a sentence pronounced by a great national council, must be acknowledged to be immense, even by those who are the most inclined to maintain, that in the latter instance the crime was more national. The murder of Charles was the last that occurred in England; and, better instructed in our second revolution than in our first, we avoided this motive for the re-action of vengeance, and allowed the monarch with his family to escape. One or two solitary instances of attempts directed against the best, the most upright, moral and religious monarch that ever sat upon a Christian throne, have a little sullied our recent annals; but as they were made chiefly by madmen they impeach our reason rather than our morals. The nation had in fact improved in wisdom and in virtue, had learned milder maxims and humaner practices; because the reflexion to which our natural situation has eternally bound us down must ever lead to such results, should no stronger power interfere to push us violently aside.

But the power which restrained the arm of the French from assassinating their monarchs in times of greater ignorance, was not reason, was not morality, was not even the blind affection they professed to the dynasty. It was political superstition; a dread of violating the divine right, by which they held themselves subjects of their monarchs. But when another and a stronger superstition

superstition than that which binds man to man arose; when the bonds which unite him to his Creator were supposed to be violated, or when the former superstition was, by the mere progress of general light, discovered to be an error, restraint was broken down. It is in the later periods of French history, and while in England, juster notions of kingly rights and duties had been acquired, that we must look for examples of their infringement. During the last eight reigns in that country, the lives of six kings have been attempted, four of whom perished by the hands of their murderers; three princes of the royal blood were put to death, together with one queen and two princesses; and had not the whole royal family betaken themselves to flight, not one would have escaped. Our revolutionary rage against the Stuarts was satisfied with one victim in the family; and we hardly pursued even those who pursued us. From these facts we think our assertion wholly justifiable, that the love which the French bore to their sovereigns was enthusiastic, superstitious, indiscriminate, partaking even of blind servility more than of rational affection, and not promising for a future time any of the great features of reason, which a more distinguishing attachment would have given room to expect.

But even the forms of civil liberty had begun to be neglected at a very early period in France; and the pursuit was abandoned there, in proportion as we became more eagerly engaged in it. Under the Frankish kings, deliberating assemblies, in some shape or other, were known and practised; and Charlemagne, aided by councils of his peers and bishops, enacted laws. Peace was made at Strasbough between the three brothers, Lothaire, Lewis the German and Charles the Bold, in an assembly of the nation. In 888, Eudes was proclaimed king in the same manner; and one hundred years afterwards Hugh Capet thought it necessary to do away the irregularity of his succession to the throne, by obtaining the countenance of the same power. The times of meeting were not regularly fixed, or frequent; for during six centuries, that is to say from 613 to 1230, about thirty-five instances only could be found, and these by no means at equal intervals. After Lewis the Fat, by enfranchising the commons, had created a new order in his kingdom, and made the people partake of the authority which before had been confined to the lords and clergy, these assemblies took the form of states-general; and thus they continued until they were assembled under Lewis XVI., when they underwent their final innovation.

The step which Lewis the Fat had taken was one of the most likely that could be devised, to raise the people to a more respectable situation than they had ever before enjoyed. It was nearly

contemporary with the British charter of Henry I.; but though it seemed to allow greater privileges to the people than that of our monarch, it did in fact not give them more than was already possessed in England; for the condition of the lower orders was much better with us before Henry I. than it had been in France previously to Lewis VI. If the same disposition for liberty had prevailed in both countries, the beginning of the twelfth century was the era from which it should have continued to produce similar effects. But it was far otherwise; and while, in this island, the rights of the commons became every day more acknowledged, and their influence more felt, until all the orders and powers, and interests of the state were finally incorporated into our present happy constitution, the commons in France did not reap proportionate advantages from their enfranchisement. The causes of this difference we shall not look for in the forms or modes, according to which the national assemblies, in England called parliaments, in France states-general, met and deliberated. We shall rather endeavour to ascertain, why these forms and modes were so superior in one country to what they were in the other.

The persons who give the latest date to the institution of parliament, in England, assert it to be in the year 1264, the 49th of Henry I. The earliest authentic convocation of the states-general, and the admission of the third estate, with a deliberative voice in them, was in 1302, about forty years later. At their first institution these assemblies bore some resemblance to each other; but a very essential alteration took place in the British parliament, by its division into two houses, each of which became a distinct and independent branch of the legislature. In the year 1283 the Commons sat at Acton Bunnell, while the Peers were sitting at Shrewsbury (Hallam, vol. iii. 35.); but although the states-general frequently deliberated in separate chambers, according to the three orders that composed them, they in fact formed but one body, and presented the results of their deliberations as one, thus acting as a council of state, but not composing any thing like an efficient legal balance in the constitution. From the moment of its commencement, the influence of the British parliament went on increasing with very little interruption; and, after various struggles, such as are inseparable from the establishment of liberty, wherever it has not been entirely coeval with the empire itself, it attained the exact share of power which seems to be compatible with the rights of all parties, and the peace and happiness of the nation. But the states-general, very far from making any progress, rather sunk in influence and consideration, and did not maintain the rank which they once held in the councils of France, and which national wisdom certainly would not only

only have supported, but augmented. It would be curious to trace the progress, or rather the stagnancy of this assembly during nearly five centuries; and to show how completely and by what means it remained stationary. But we will confine ourselves to one single point; to the effect which the admission of the third estate to a deliberative voice produced upon the government of France.

As we before observed, the national assembly, while confined to peers and prelates, was convened about thirty-five times during six centuries, and at unequal intervals. All their meetings were peaceable, and produced no evil consequences to the nation—no riotings—no outrages—no massacres. The most troublesome (three in number) were those under Lewis the Debonnair, when this weak monarch was rather severely handled; and upon the whole, they were as wise and as good as any assemblies could be expected to be in those times. But, no sooner were the people admitted, than the states assumed a different aspect; and many of the sanguinary scenes which have dishonoured France, in the course of her annals, may be traced up to these deliberating assemblies.

The third convocation of the States-General, that in 1312, exactly ten years after their establishment, was in order to abolish the order of the Templars, and to execute a cruel task more cruelly in France than in any other part of Europe; for there these wretched knights were burned, while almost every other nation was satisfied with suppressing the order, and confiscating their property. The fifth, that under John in 1355, showed a certain feeling of the necessity of some regular administration; but an utter incapacity to accomplish it. They induced the king, for instance, to pledge himself not to divert the subsidies which should be granted to him, but to apply them *bonâ fide* to the purposes for which they were intended. This certainly was a very wise and prudent plan; but the mode of securing its execution was rather extraordinary:—in case of the king's breaking his faith, the deputies were bound by oath to disobey him, and to resist any force he might employ. But no means whatever were pointed out to effect this, neither was it possible in such a government to attempt it. It was in this assembly that the famous declaration was made, regulating many important things between the king and subject; but which, though it has been compared by the French to our Magna Charta, was a very imperfect sketch of it, and still more imperfectly adhered to. This however may be considered as one of the best periods of the States-General. After the battle of Poitiers, the Dauphin, afterwards Charles V., convoked another assembly; but instead of generously coming forward to relieve the disastrous state of the monarchy, they began to talk of

past grievances, and, in fact, very soon lost sight of both those objects in vindictive re-actions. We are far from censuring any attempt to reform abuses, and to establish just rights; and we acknowledge many of the views taken by the states to be perfectly wise; but the nation was not capable of carrying them into practice; and for this reason they terminated in confusion and blood. This meeting brought to light two men who subsequently became the scourges of their country; Robert le Coq, whom the sovereign had made bishop and duke of Laon; and Etienne Marcel, prevot des marchands, while the Dauphin, regent of the kingdom, was the slave and prisoner of his revolted subjects, who usurped every authority. In a word, anarchy, the jacquerie, the companies formed into regular banditti, the massacres committed in Paris and elsewhere by the populace—and they have no parallel in English history—accompanied or followed the meetings of the States-General, which took place during the captivity of John; but no efficient good to the nation resulted from them, because the nation required none—was conscious of none. The depravity of the nobility equalled that of the people; and they childishly disdained being present in the assembly with the third estate. The States-General held in 1359, conducted themselves better, and assisted the regent to bring the government into some shape, by opposing domestic, no less than foreign attacks.

In 1380, when the uncles of Charles V. (a minor) were disputing for the regency, the states again attempted to re-establish the lost rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities of the nation; but all their efforts terminated as they began, in theory, crowned by endless calamities; the maillotins, the massacre of all who were employed to receive the taxes, as of many others; and the punishment of the offenders by throwing them into the river without form of process; a practice which takes away all merit of originality from the *noyades* of the revolution. In 1413, a popular assembly, not indeed the States-General, compelled Charles VI. to enregister what were called the Cabochian ordinances, from the name of their author Caboché, a butcher; and which were worthy of such an origin. The people at this moment gained such an ascendancy in the state, that, had they known how, they might have moulded it as they pleased; and had the nation been capable of liberty, there certainly was no oppression on the part of the government, which could prevent its establishment. This may be considered as one of the periods of French history, during which the will of the people was the most prevalent; and consequently, during which their character, having the greatest scope to show itself, may be the most fairly appreciated. But instead of liberty, the French people chose anarchy,—in its most tremendous

tremendous forms. We are fatigued and disgusted with repeating the word massacre; but this period of the greatest popular emancipation and power is the period of the greatest cruelties; of the Armagnacs and the Bourguignons, who continued murdering each other for near forty years, and almost without astonishing the nation; of horrors which words cannot describe, and of which no extract can convey an idea. They must be read in the historians of the times, and in those who have copied from them; and even then they will appear incredible, for European history does not contain any thing which could induce a belief that they were possible among civilized beings.

In 1439 and 1440 the states met without doing any thing. Those who assembled under Charles VIII. in 1482, and from whom so much was expected, finding themselves too numerous to debate in one body, resolved themselves not into chambers, representing the kingdom according to the established orders of society, but into six nations—the worst mode of division that could be imagined. After a great parade of justice, order, &c. and restoring the memories of some illustrious victims of Lewis XI., they broke up abruptly. They were however the wisest and the best that had yet been assembled, and really did project and execute so many good things, that it is surprizing they did not accomplish more, and that so little of what they had effected was permanent. But the ingenuity of the French in avoiding liberty must often astonish those who attentively study their history. The states-general under Lewis XII. met only to annul a promise he had made by treaty, to give his daughter in marriage to Charles of Luxembourg. They helped him to break his royal word, then called him the father of his people, and were dismissed. In 1558 Henry II. introduced a fourth estate, by adding the chiefs of the magistracy to the assembly, under the title of *Etat de la Justice*. These states-general sat in so mutilated a form, that many historians allow them to have been but notables. The states-general of 1561, when the Chancellor l'Hopital spoke in the name of the king, after much talking, declared their incompetence to grant the taxes required, and were dismissed. The states of Blois, in 1576, wanted to take away the veto from the king and vest it in the hands of a commission; and without deciding any thing as to supplies, separated after resolving that the unity of religion should be maintained in France by pacific measures. Those assembled at the same place in 1588 made a great display of pompous oratory, says de Thou; and it was, during one or other of these sessions, that Henry III. declared himself the chief of a faction, proscribed about one quarter of his subjects, and connived at

the murder of the Duke and the Cardinal de Guise. Finally, in 1614, the states-general met for the last time previously to the revolution of 1789; and we will transcribe an account of their proceedings from the writings of a man who certainly was not adverse to deliberating assemblies in any form.

‘ Les derniers états avoient été rassemblés en 1614, au moment de la majorité de Louis XIII. et sous l'autorité toujours subsistante de Marie de Médicis. Ils furent convoqués à la hâte, et dissous de la même manière. On y vit les efforts du clergé pour faire reconnaître en France l'autorité temporelle du Pape, et le concile de Trente; mais aucune autre discussion importante n'occupa les états. Les trois ordres, rassemblés séparément, se rendoient des visites par commissaires, s'envoyoient réciproquement des orateurs. On observoit scrupuleusement toutes les étiquettes; on comptoit le nombre des pas que l'on faisoit dans une des trois chambres pour accompagner les délégués des deux autres, ou pour aller au devant d'eux. Il y avoit de ces pas un tel nombre pour le tiers-état, un tel nombre pour la noblesse, un tel autre pour le clergé, et l'on en tenoit registre. On inscrivait également les harangues; et ces harangues ressembloient à des déclamations théâtrales plutôt qu'à des controverses sérieuses. Enfin au milieu des complimens les plus fastidieux, il s'élevoit des querelles sur les phrases inconsidérées; et il fallut, entre autres, beaucoup de négociations et d'entrevues pour apaiser la fermentation occasionnée par une comparaison impertinente d'un orateur du tiers, qui en parlant au roi avoit désigné les nobles comme des adorateurs de la Déesse Pécune. On composa ensuite des doléances, et l'on espéroit recevoir quelque satisfaction avant la séparation des états; mais cette séparation fut ordonnée au moment même de la réception des cahiers. Les députés du tiers-état parurent humiliés et désolés d'être contraints à s'en retourner dans leurs baillages sans avoir rien obtenu pour la chose publique.’—*Necker, Révol. Française.*

From what we have said, the disposition of the French nation for a representative government, the aptitude of the people to exercise any legislative function; in a word, the share they have in all the qualities upon which liberty is founded, may fairly be deduced. The states-general were seldom convened, except upon some perilous occasion to the country—the captivity of the sovereign, a disputed regency, financial embarrassments, or national distresses of some kind. Their convocation was more a consequence of despair than of hope, or even of reason. It sometimes served to take off the odium of certain measures from the monarch, and make the orders of the nation believe those measures were of their own fabrication; sometimes to help the monarch to violate a promise, upon the plea of national expediency; at others, to assist him to be cruel and unjust. Sometimes a glimmering of wisdom appeared in their councils; but there never was virtue, energy, or union to carry any of their projects into lasting effect.

The

The best that can be said of the states-general of France, and this but rarely, is that they left their country no worse than they found it. The general reputation they deserve is, that without securing any good to the people, they were the means of exciting them to tumult and revolt, which regularly increased in proportion as the third estate acquired influence and authority. Almost all the blood that has been shed in France by Frenchmen, since the time of Philip IV., and it has been most profusely shed by them, may be traced to the meeting of the states-general with the addition of the third estate.

As to the Notables and Parliaments, we shall say little of either. The former did not meet once in a century. The latter had a different composition and different functions from the States-General. They represented no part of the nation, for they were deputed by none. Their members required a peculiar education; and though they retained a portion of their original nature, they were in fact and practice courts of justice; they enregistered ordinances and made remonstrances, they condemned and acquitted prisoners. It was the parliament of Paris, the principal parliament of the kingdom, that among their good and evil deeds, ratified the peace between the Bourguignons and Orleanists; confiscated the estates of the Count d'Armagnac; refused to enregister an edict abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction; condemned to death the Duke de Nemours; refused to contribute taxes in the same proportion as the people; enregistered an edict establishing Orri inquisitor of the faith; and another, giving the Inquisition power only over the clergy; condemned Anne du Bourg to death as a Protestant; and shortly afterwards, the great and good Coligni; instituted an annual procession of thanksgiving for the massacre of the St. Bartholomew; were made the tool of successive factions, and the instrument of their vengeance; were forbidden by Lewis XIV. to deliberate upon matters of state or finances; to proceed against the ministers of his choice; to visit the great, or to receive presents for the administration of justice; were dismissed by the same monarch, who, while he was hunting at Vincennes, being informed of a refractory meeting they were then holding, suddenly appeared among them booted and spurred, with his whip in his hand, and forbad their proceeding; were deprived by him of the right of presenting remonstrances; called his illegitimate offspring to the throne; were again forbidden to deliberate, and told by the Garde des Sceaux, '*Le roi veut être obéi et sur le champ*;' were restored by the regent to their right of remonstrance; were exiled by Lewis XV. and recalled at the birth of Lewis XVI.; entered into a league with the other parliaments of the kingdom to form one body; provoked the people

of Paris to sedition; condemned to death Lally-Tollendal; were recognised by Lewis XV. as essentially the tribunal of peers, and almost immediately afterwards were exiled and cashiered; were reinstated by Lewis XVI. under whom, after enregistering an edict to assemble the States-General, according to the forms of 1614, they were finally dissolved by the National Assembly, and their judicial functions transferred to courts of justice created for the purpose.

The influence of the parliaments then had not increased; on the contrary, it had diminished; for the monarchs of the fourteenth century thought them necessary, and those of the eighteenth turned them adrift. No substitute for the States-General during their long suspension of nearly two centuries can be found in these assemblies; neither is there any other institution of France which can be considered in that light. The parliaments, however, upon the whole, did more good and less harm than the States-General, and for a very evident reason: the people of France, that portion of the population which in all countries properly constitutes the nation, had less to do with them, and their spirit had no representative there. Consequently, the parliaments were less turbulent and full as efficacious; contributed less to the effusion of blood, and just as much to liberty. Upon the whole, indeed, it may be questioned whether, with all their imperfections, they were not the best opposition to despotic power which the nation could admit of; and whether the very maximum of liberty of which the French are capable, may not be measured by the rights and privileges of this body, irregular and faulty as was its constitution. It contained the best informed, indeed the only well-informed men of the country, as to its laws and government; and it was just sufficient to persuade the French of all that is necessary for them; that is to say, that there was a power in the state which was allowed to modify absolute rule; a body which was permitted to interpose between the subject and the grand monarch; a tolerated bulwark against oppression, and a legal vent for loquacity.

The liberties of the Gallican church constitute a privilege in which the French place much of their ecclesiastical glory. These consisted principally in two points: 1. That the Pope cannot interfere in the temporal or civil concerns of the kingdom. 2. That even his spiritual power is limited by the ancient councils of the realm. All this was very prudent, but if scrutinised, it will appear less the result of general wisdom and policy than of local interest. The French, in almost every stage of their history, have been the great abettors of papal encroachments; and this not from weakness, like many of the emperors, but from principle. They opposed, however,

however, the interference of the Roman Pontiff at home; that is to say, they assisted the church to become paramount over all the kingdoms of the earth, France excepted. The attributes which the Pope claimed from other nations, the French, while they permitted him to assume them wherever they themselves were not concerned, arrogated in their turn to their own church, and transferred infallibility to a council of their own bishops. At no period have they abridged this attribute in favour of reason; and the religion of Christ remained, in the year 1790, loaded with all the corruptions which human vice and folly had been accumulating upon it during eighteen centuries; but these corruptions were turned to the account of the Gallican church.

It is remarkable, that one of the earliest sects which opposed the errors of the Romish church arose in the south of France. The north of Europe, in the middle of the twelfth century, had not sufficient mental cultivation to consider such matters attentively; and the first dissatisfaction was to be expected on the part of the nearest witnesses to abuses, in maintaining which they had no interest. The Catholic writers, who have described, under various names, the sect of the Albigenses, paint them in colours too detestable to be true; and the falsehood of their statements is made further evident by other opponents of the innovation, who advised their own partisans to imitate the austere virtues of the new Christians, if they sincerely wished to lead them back again into the bosom of the church. But the opinions of the Albigenses made little progress in the rest of France, and they themselves were nearly exterminated by the unheard-of cruelty of their persecutors at different epochas, and renewed after an interval of four centuries. It was not from these crude attempts to get rid of abuses that an effective reformation was to be produced. Such an event must be the result of calm and unimpassioned reason; and it was more congenial with the reflection of the north than with the impetuosity of a southern people.

But though the Albigenses were the first to raise an outcry against the Roman Pontiff, they made less impression upon the minds of their fellow-subjects, during four centuries, than Wicliffe, who lived nearly about the middle of that period, and whose era may in some measure be considered as its mezzo termine, had operated in a very few years in this island. In England, as in France, the new sectaries were opposed, but with much less cruelty and with much less success. When Luther and Calvin began to teach, the opinions which became prevalent in France were those of the latter; yet Calvin was a more austere reformer than his rival, and his opposition to every kind of supremacy, except that of each church for itself governed by presbyteries and synods, without bishops,

bishops, resembled a republican more than a monarchical regimen. In short, among the various shades and modes of reformation, the French chose that which was the least suited to their political system and their character; for we maintain that there is a necessary relation between religious and political systems, and that both are inseparably bound to national character. They were not led to it by conviction, but by impulse; not by reflection, but by ardour; not by devotion, but by enthusiasm; and they felt that they wished to change—perhaps to reform—but they were not certain how. They obeyed the dictates of fancy, which always exaggerates; and they overshot the mark which was the only one they could have attained. It is just possible, that Lutheranism might have obtained footing in France, but this is the utmost reach of our belief. Calvinism, in the sixteenth century, was as wild a project there as equality in the eighteenth; and from it the reformation received a shock, against which the nation never has been able to rally.

The Inquisition had been established at Toulouse in the reign of Lewis IX. and this perhaps was among his claims to the title of saint. It was directed against the Albigenses, whom it pursued with unrelenting rigour, punishing even voluntary converts from their faith. At the end of three years, however, this tribunal was driven from Toulouse, and fled to Narbonne, where it was ill received. The reader may see in Mathew Paris, and other writers of those times, the infamous conduct and the cruelties of a monk named Robert, placed at the head of the Inquisition by the Pope, and tolerated by Saint Lewis during six years. About eighty years afterwards another Inquisitor, Foulques, inflicted unheard of tortures upon the inhabitants of Toulouse, under pretence of heresy, insomuch that Philip le Bel, who was not of a very tender or tolerant disposition, interfered to put an end to them; but not until this person had tortured and burned ten times as many heretics as our Queen Mary. At length a more effectual check was put to the proceedings of this tribunal, not by the people, but by the kings of France, who became jealous of its power; and the project of establishing it in France, upon the same footing as in Spain, in order to oppose the spreading spirit of Calvinism, was rendered abortive by the eloquence of Pierre Seguier; although a bull of Paul IV. at the request of Henry II. in 1558, the very year in which Elizabeth ascended the English throne, established it according to the model of the Inquisition in Rome; and named the cardinals of Lorraine, Bourbon, and Chatillon, as presidents, with a right to delegate their power to bishops and doctors in theology.

But the Inquisition was a slow and feeble engine of persecution,

tion, compared with the other modes of exterminating heretics employed in France. Intolerance authorized, commanded by law, is a horrid and revolting principle; but the very interposition of the law, with its formalities and delays, must always make legal persecutions less sanguinary, and murders less frequent, than when the populace directly execute their unbridled malignity. The bloodiest tribunal that the world has beheld, that which stalked with the most gigantic strides from murder to murder, that which had passed a solemn compact with government—and executed that compact—to try, that is to condemn, each prisoner in six minutes, and to execute him in thirty-two seconds—the revolutionary tribunal of Robespierre, employed twice as many months to exterminate the same number of victims, as the Septembrisers of the preceding year had employed nights and days. The Inquisition of Spain, most odious from its having consecrated the spirit of intolerance, from having disfranchised reason and illegalised conscience, has not, during its entire existence, committed half as many murders as Charles IX. with his abetting court and people. Yet the religious massacres in France do not inspire the same detestation as the Spanish tribunal. As mere injustice the latter is as bad; but as cruelty, the worst of national vices, indiscriminate murder without form or process, is more detestable; and if crimes, in their nature equal, become more atrocious by repetition, the French nation is more sinful. But the spirit of insubordination is always rash; and there are those who do not hesitate to say that the state of the catholics in Ireland, in 1821, is more deplorable than the state of the protestants in the worst times in France. A French work published in 1819, by the Abbé de la Mennois, the hope of all who would regenerate religion in that country, and which is characterised by some eloquence, much fanaticism and still more intolerance, contains the following passage, ‘Rien ne ressemble davantage aux persécutions des Empereurs Romains contre les premiers Chrétiens, que les persécutions de l’Angleterre contre les catholiques.’—*Essai sur l’Indifférence en Matière de Religion.* 3^{me} ed. tom. i. p. 65.

The British nation was as much inclined to protestantism as ever Henry VIII. was; and we may add, as his son and successor Edward. Queen Mary did what she could to cure them of this peccant humour, but in vain. Nay it is doubtful whether Elizabeth did more to incline her subjects to the reformed creed, or her subjects to dispose her to make it the religion of the state. But after her reign, no question can arise concerning the prevailing opinion; for the nation then became infinitely more protestant than any of its rulers. It was the nation that opposed the retrograde bias of the Stuarts;

Stuarts; and, during four successive reigns, triumphantly contended for that religion which it afterwards made a condition—the most indispensable to the succession to the crown—not out of bigotry, superstition, or intolerance, but because it was firmly persuaded that the tenets and discipline of the Romish church were not so propitious to the liberties of the people, as the protestant doctrines. But this connection either the French did not perceive; or else they were too indifferent to freedom to make it the principle of their choice. As far as the example of the sovereign is concerned, no nation in Europe ever had so fair an opportunity of becoming protestants as they had. The king, whom they adored, had been persecuted for his faith; and narrowly escaped being massacred in the St. Bartholomew. The mother of Henry IV. had early instilled into him the principles of the reformation; and when his father, an indolent and voluptuous prince, after many vacillations, went back to the catholic religion, and confided his education to the professors of that creed, his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, before her separation from him, recommended to him, on pain of disinheritance, never to give up the new faith; and his father dying shortly afterwards, he was the better enabled to continue in it. About the time of the dreadful massacre, however, he found it necessary to become a catholic; until, a little before the assembly of the states-general at Blois, in 1576, having made his escape from the court, he publicly recanted, declaring that the fear of the St. Bartholomew had forced his conversion. He was, to all intents and purposes, attached to the protestant faith; and had he not been so, his succession to the crown would not have required the confirmation of his successful arms. The French nation was catholic, while he was of the opposite belief; nay, so catholic, that the states-general just mentioned demanded of Henry III. the revocation of all pardons and favours granted to heretics, and required him to make war against them. In short, in 1593, Henry IV., after fighting for nearly four years to maintain upon his throne the religion of his private life, was compelled by the weight of public opinion to abjure it. The spectacle afforded by the two nations, in this case, was as contradictory as any two things could be. The British monarchs were using all their efforts to lead their subjects back again to the church of Rome. The favourite king of France was exposing himself daily to the risk of losing his crown, in order to make his subjects embrace a creed which he thought the most religiously true, and the most politically conducive to liberty. But the British nation was too enlightened to return to the errors it had abjured; the French had not the mental cultivation necessary to guide them to truth. They defended

fended bigotry with arms; and fought against their king who would have rescued their conscience from human caprice, and placed it in the immediate care of Omnipotence.

From the preceding examination of the political and religious tendencies of the French nation, it does not appear that they were much inclined to independence on either subject, or that they possessed just feelings on the score of liberty in any of its shapes. The same thing may also be demonstrated by examining their practice and sentiments on other points of national conduct; and if we can prove that, in some of the vices which most strongly militate against the establishment of civil liberty, the French have distinguished themselves above other nations, much will be done to show that it is not from them that mankind can learn the lessons which noble minds must ever deem the most precious.

The notions which the French have seemed to entertain of good faith and justice are more relaxed, than those which compose the civil or political creed of other nations. The history of Spain, a country frequently calumniated, does not present any thing approaching to the number of violations of good faith, private or public, between individuals or between governments, which might be reckoned in France; neither do we think that Italy, divided into all its petty states, could furnish more numerous examples than the extensive country of Gaul, whose physical force might have secured it from recurring to this weapon of the weak. The French often deride us for the anxiety we feel with regard to the private morality of the men in whom we place a public confidence. A favourite maxim of their wisdom is that there may be political mistakes but there can be no political crimes.—But we do not mean to push our inquiries farther on this head.

Of all the vices incident to human nature, that which, more than any other, militates against the establishment of liberty, is cruelty. It is connected with all that is baleful in our natures. It calls to its assistance every vice, however heinous or however mean. It is the destructive principle in all its desolating activity, not only accomplishing the present miseries of men, but preparing future destinies still blacker; sweeping away, with its long train of contemporary evils, all that is fairest in the creation; and preventing the return of good by the crimes which its memory engenders. In the tempests which it raises, but which it has no virtue to allay, the temple of liberty, most weak when it is not entirely strong, though unassailable when firmly fixed, must be overthrown.

The most afflicting conviction which the above considerations upon deliberating bodies in France, suggest, is that the assemblies, in which the people had the greatest share, were invariably those whose meeting was attended with the greatest effusion of blood;

blood; of blood shed wantonly, nay sportively. Every country has some reproaches to make to itself upon the score of cruelty; and even freedom has been too profuse of human lives. But despotism has been incomparably more prodigal; and, upon this subject, we shall endeavour to prove two points,—the first, as preliminary, that throughout the world the vice which seems to be the most in opposition to freedom is cruelty; the second, as conclusive to our particular theme, that the French nation is that in which, of all the nations of Europe, this vice has been, in every period, the most prominent and inveterate; that to which they have the most frequently returned, and which has known the fewest interruptions.

In Asia, slavery and cruelty keep equal pace and ever have done so. In Africa, where inhumanity wears a still more ferocious aspect, freedom is still more a stranger. But these are extreme cases, and we can find others nearer home. The Athenians and the Spartans were not sanguinary, while they were free; although the former were often thoughtless, and the latter always severe. The Romans, as long as their republic lasted, were austere and stern, harsh to themselves and others. They inflicted some cruel punishments to serve as examples, as at Fidenæ, at Suessa Pomætiæ; and, when they had in their power the Samnite general who had disgraced them at the Caudine Forks, they were cruel as well as ungenerous. But such trifling acts as these would not even be mentioned in Asiatic history; and much more numerous examples might be found of Roman benevolence and generosity, than of Roman cruelty. The revolution which expelled the Tarquins did not cost half as many lives, even in proportion to the population, as the usurpation of Cæsar afterwards destroyed. But, at the former period, the Romans were capable of liberty; at the latter, they could not endure it. During the empire, humanity was banished, and with it freedom; although Christianity should have established a new proportion between these national virtues, and the most instructive history which the ancient world affords, gives ample proof that they are inseparable. In the history of Britain, the most instructive of modern times, and, in all that relates to civil liberty, the most instructive of the world, the same fact is apparent; and the epochas at which liberty made a real progress were marked with the greatest humanity. Alfred was a rigorous observer of justice, and an inflexible judge; but he ordered no massacres and committed no cruelties. The first charter—that under Henry I.—was ratified by no hecatomb; and the field of Runnamede was bloodless. Edward I. was not cruel toward his subjects whose charter he confirmed; neither did they extort its confirmation by murder. The Habeas Corpus, the Bill of Rights
Act,

Act, were obtained even without a battle or a death: but the unavailing wars of York and Lancaster, during which liberty did not advance a single step, form the most cruel and destructive periods of our history. The retrograde motion of our religious emancipation was much more bloody than its onward progress; and tolerance is humanity. Our first revolution, that in which Charles I. perished, was more sanguinary than our second, and its result was not liberty; while the second, one of the most humane upon record, fully accomplished that precious purpose. Every revolution that would succeed, if it has liberty or even independence for its object, must be merciful.

In proof of our second position, we must recall to the memory of our readers some very dreadful and revolting scenes. The circumstances which are particularly to be remarked respecting French cruelty are, that it is wanton, indiscriminate, mixed up with much levity, and that, contrary to the progress of inhumanity in other European nations, it has rather increased than diminished as civilization has advanced; for the massacres of later times have been at least as pitiless and ferocious, as any that occurred in the most barbarous periods. This persistency in a vice which, more than any other, is corrected by social improvement, forms one of its most characteristic features in France; and though it admits of an easy explanation, we must, for the present, confine ourselves to the fact. We will not dwell upon the monsters which that country produced in early times, as Fredegonde, Brunéhaut; or as Chilperic, the Nero of that country, and Clotaire II. Neither shall we mention the acts of some of their bad sovereigns of later date. It may be said that the utmost blame which can accrue to the people from such acts as these is, that they tolerated the rulers who perpetrated them; and were either bad, or weak, or foolish enough to submit to governors who sported with their lives. To stamp inhumanity as a national vice, it must be shown to be the vice of the nation, not of its monarchs; and this again is a feature of French cruelty, that in no country of Europe has the bulk of the nation taken so active a part in massacres. It will, therefore, be sufficient to enumerate some of those in which the mass of the population was concerned, to maintain our assertion. The Cottereaux, under Philip II., are represented as laying waste first the environs of Bourges, and afterwards spreading much farther, flaying alive the priests, violating women before their husbands' faces, committing every kind of sacrilege and cruelty to such an extent that the monarch found it necessary to send an army to exterminate them—and they were exterminated. During the crusade against Raymond, Count of Thoulouse, sixty thousand Albigenes were massacred, and seven thousand in a church. Simon de
Montford,

Montford, whose humanity the Père Daniel thinks he cannot sufficiently eulogize, after the taking of Lavaur, threw the lady of the castle, alive, into a well, hanged her brother, murdered eighty gentlemen, her companions, and burned four hundred heretics, while the clergy were singing a hymn to the Holy Ghost. The Routiers, in 1185, were as cruel as the Cottreaux in 1183. The Pastoureaux, under St. Lewis, and during the regency of Blanche, committed still greater ravages, and murdered, with excessive cruelty, all who opposed them. These same Pastoureaux, who, in France, amounted to more than 50,000, and kept the whole country in terror and in blood, attempted to get a footing in England, but they never rose to any height; for they were immediately subdued, and the chiefs punished by the few sectaries whom they had seduced. Under Philip IV. Hainault was laid waste, and the Count of that province revenged himself by burning, plundering, and violating all that he could reach; insomuch, says Velly, that one would have supposed that hordes of Tartars had combined to ruin Europe.

The following account is given of the Jacquerie, which began near Beauvais, in the reign of John. The peasantry, furious at the ill-treatment they said they had received from their superiors, flew to any arms they could find, and laid waste the whole country, murdering every person, not nobles only, but peasants, who refused to join them. Two hundred castles were burned, and their inhabitants massacred. But the nobles soon retaliated, and were as indiscriminate in their vengeance as the Jacques had been in provoking it. The massacre in Paris, by order of Marcel, happened about the same time, as also the cruelties of the *grandes compagnies*, who, one after another, murdered all who stood in their way, and deluged France with blood. Under Charles VI., the Maillotins massacred at first the tax-gatherers, and afterwards all they met, and reduced Paris to the state of a town taken by storm. To this succeeded dreadful executions, too horrid and too numerous for open day; and many were put in sacks and thrown by night into the Seine. The massacres which took place in Paris, and in France, during the factions of Orleans and Burgundy, certainly surpassed the alternate proscriptions of Marius and Sylla, of Antony and Octavius; though history, which painted the latter as the most odious and destructive, has had the art to slur over the former; but the capital of Italy never, in the worst of times, presented such a scene of thoughtless profligacy, and sanguinary levity, as many that occurred in the reign of Charles VI. In Rome, the nod of Marius was a sentence of death. In Paris, every man of the triumphant faction was a Marius, and murdered with a look. The historian, (Velly,) after recounting

recounting, in the course of a few pages, more confusion, cruelty, and bloodshed, and giving a more gloomy picture of Paris than ever London afforded, says, with much naïveté, 'Il y avoit eu jusqu'alors peu de sang versé;' and indeed, in comparison with what followed, he is in the right, for it was after the scenes just mentioned that the worst massacres began. Disgusting as is the picture, we are compelled to delineate it, in order to show that in stating the point we meant to prove, we were neither intemperate nor unjust. The 12th June, 1418, was the memorable day on which the populace broke open the prisons; and forcing those who were confined there, Armagnacs, Bourguignons, debtors, criminals, guiltless, all to come out, slew them one by one: the Connetable, the Chancellor, seven prelates, the peers and magistrates of the parliament, with many of less note, were dragged from their dungeons and massacred. The prison of the Châtelet alone made some resistance, but it was set on fire, and at length it surrendered. The people rushed in, and either threw the prisoners, or compelled them to precipitate themselves, out of the windows upon pikes which were held below to receive them. In the court of the palace the blood of the murdered flowed ankle deep, and there was not a street in Paris without its assassinations. Every man killed every enemy, or rival, or creditor he had. (*Velly*, vol. iii. p. 468.) Every species of outrage was executed upon the dead bodies during three days; and a sash (*écharpe*) in the form of that worn as the badge of the triumphing faction, was cut for the Duke d'Armagnac, out of his own flesh, and hung across his corpse. Three thousand five hundred persons perished in three days; and the Septembrisers of the fifteenth century were applauded by the chiefs of the nobility, some of whom, it is said, gained three hundred thousand crowns by their exploits. (*ibid.* p. 471.) Immediately afterwards the Queen Isabella of Bavaria, with the Duke of Burgundy, returned to Paris in triumph; and the streets, from which the blood, shed by her orders a day or two before, was not yet washed away, were strewed with roses for her solemn entry. The reign which followed put an end to the disturbances, and suspended, for a long time, the cruelty of the nation. One of the monarchs, however, whom they called the Grand Roi, was present at an execution of Calvinists, thus described by Daniel as an act of exemplary piety of Francis I.

'Le soir du même jour six coupables furent conduits à la place publique où l'on avoit préparé des feux pour les brûler. Il y avoit au milieu de chaque bucher une espèce d'estrade élevée où on les attachait; ensuite on alluma le feu au-dessous d'eux, et les bourreaux, lachant doucement la corde, laissoient couler jusqu'à la hauteur du feu ces misérables pour leur en faire sentir la plus vive impression; puis on les guindoit de nouveau en haut, et après leur avoir fait souffrir ce cruel

tourment à diverses reprises, on les laissa tomber au milieu des flammes où ils expirèrent.'

Our Mary is justly stigmatized as a monster; yet we are not aware that she ever took the diversion of the stake in person; besides—and this alone may serve to mark the feelings of the two nations with regard to cruelty—we do not adore—we execrate her memory. During her reign, too, not more than 283 persons perished by religious persecutions; but Mezerai expresses himself thus *in praise* of Francis I.: 'Heretics in his reign, and by his order, were burned by dozens, sent to the galleys by hundreds, and banished by thousands.' The persecutions against the Waldenses, at Cabrieres, Merindole, Carcassoue, &c., commanded by Francis, and executed by the Baron d'Oppede, were attended with more numerous details of cruelty than all those under Mary; and in one single night more persons perished than in the five years and a half of her wretched reign.

The persecutions under Francis were the forerunners of all that happened in the ensuing reigns; and cruelty, which at this polished period was very great in France, increased as the nation became more refined. The reign of Henry II. was full of religious persecutions. The strictest orders were given to the judges to show no mercy to protestants. Some of the parliament were put in prison for having proposed to moderate the penalties against them. All who interceded in their favour were considered as accomplices; and at the rejoicings for the birth of Charles IX.—a dreadful omen of his future reign—it was thought a proper accompaniment to the festival to make a bonfire of living heretics, which the monarch applauded from the windows of his palace; though it seems he was much affected when he heard the screams of his household tailor—one of the victims. The shorter reign of Francis II. was of course less bloody; but the name of Charles IX. is sufficient to call to mind all that is horrid. Beside the St. Bartholomew—which in England at least seems to have absorbed all indignation—there occurred, in his reign, the massacre of Vassy and a civil war, which summed up in a very small space of time much more blood, and cruelty, and murder than our entire wars of the Red and White Roses. The age of Lewis XIV. witnessed the massacres at the Hotel de Ville, when the people, too impatient to make distinctions between friends and foes, massacred all they met, Mazarines and Frondeurs. The same reign, which the French have designated as one of the great epochas in the history of mankind, by which the whole species was improved and dignified, produced, beside the massacre of the Hotel de Ville, the revocation of the edict de Nantes, the Dragonnades, the Camisards, the religious wars in the Cevennes, and the devastations of the Palatinate.

All

All the horrors which we have recounted, (and we have not given a single one which is not extracted from a French historian, and which does not rest upon French authority,) and an infinitely greater number which we have spared our readers the pains of perusing, were committed—to what end? Certainly, notwithstanding what Madame de Staël has said upon the subject—not to the end of liberty. Liberty, in our minds, is so far from insubordination, that we should be inclined to define it, ‘rational submission to rational rule.’ Now we have not been able to discover the slightest trace of either of these, in any of the civil commotions of France; but on the contrary, the most licentious spirit of destruction and nothing more. The eloquent and learned writer just mentioned, asserts: (*Considérations sur la Révol. Franç. tom. i. 17.*) ‘les troubles civils, aussi bien que les violences auxquelles on a eu recours pour les étouffer, attéstant que les Français ont lutté autant que les Anglais pour obtenir la liberté légale, qui seule peut faire jouir une nation du calme de l’émulation et de la prospérité.’ We look upon this opinion to be as extraordinary and irrational as any we have met with. To say that the troubles and violences were as great in France as in England is not enough;—they were greater, ten times greater, and the blood that was spilled in them one hundred times as much in not twice the population. But that these troubles and violences were in the cause of legal liberty, or of any liberty, or of any rights or immunities, but a universal right and liberty to plunder and destroy, is what we deny. The season of those atrocities is now old; and the apostles of new liberty, who might, perhaps, not look upon more recent scenes without passion, may contemplate them with impartiality. Even to these men we appeal, and ask, whether, in all the commotions which the history of France contains—they can point out one instance in which any real attempt was made to secure liberty, or even to establish it—we mean not British or American liberty—but such liberty as the Swiss, the Dutch, the Swedes, many states of Italy, many nations of Germany, nay, many kingdoms of Spain were in those moments enjoying? A few of the monarchs of France, indeed, made some advances toward introducing a little liberty: but the people did not second them, and for this reason: the freedom which the kings would have given was regular and gradual: that which their subjects wanted was disorderly and irruptive. Besides, the liberty which monarchs offer is a suspicious present. There is none true, none lasting, which is not won by the virtue and wisdom of the nation at large; and virtue and wisdom will always find means to extort from those who would oppose them the latitude which suits them, and the emancipation which they are competent to enjoy without abuse.

It is a sad prognostic when subjects are less anxious to reclaim their rights, than monarchs are to grant them. Nations, whose wish is to convert life into a scene of mirth and pleasure, must find liberty rather an incumbrance; yet if they have, at the same time, a certain portion of *amour propre*, they will not like to allow that they are not free. The wisest thing for such would be to renounce their legal portions, and beg for a little alimony; to put themselves voluntarily into the hands of trustees who will provide that their capital be not squandered away, or their revenues quite withheld; and who, possessing ample means of controul, present no image of restraint except good order. Such was the extremest liberty which the French, during many centuries, seemed capable of enjoying: a tolerated, not a prescriptive liberty; no code of national rights, in theory or in practice: but an occasional and permitted infringement of despotism which the sovereign forbore to check in favour of public opinion, and in order to maintain the illusion that liberty enjoyed upon sufferance was liberty. The answer of Lewis XII. to some courtiers who urged him to punish a company of comedians, who had sneered at his respectable economy, fully illustrates our meaning: 'I might do so,' said he; 'but I am not sorry to have it known that, during my reign, such a liberty was taken with impunity.' There is not one example that the French have attempted to pass this limit without misery to themselves; or to establish freedom as a right, without losing it as an indulgence.

Another of the many causes which unfit the French nation for liberty, is the particular bias of their intellectual faculties, which has not adapted them for the great conceptions of a wide and just and liberal system of morality and policy. No man labours for the mere love of labour; and the French have so little necessity for toil, that they do not exercise either mind or body in persevering industry; though the extreme vivacity of their sensations has endowed them with a greater quickness of perception, than is enjoyed by other nations. But to perceive is not to understand, still less to feel; and the very promptitude with which an object is at first desired is often an obstacle to its entire accomplishment, as it renders the advantages of steady pursuit less obvious, from making them less necessary.

'The most eminent instance of the flourishing of learning,' says Hume, (*Essay on Civil Liberty*), 'in absolute governments is that of France, which scarcely ever enjoyed any established liberty, and yet has carried the arts and sciences as near perfection as any other nation. The English are perhaps greater philosophers, the Italians better painters and musicians, the Romans were greater orators; but the French are the only people, except the Greeks, who have been at once philosophers, poets, orators, historians, painters,

painters, architects, sculptors, and musicians. With regard to the stage—they have excelled even the Greeks, who far excelled the English. And in common life, they have in a great measure perfected that art, the most useful and agreeable of any, *l'art de vivre*, the art of society and conversation.' There is scarcely an opinion contained in this extract, (or indeed in the whole Essay,) to which we can subscribe. A short sketch of the benefit which mankind at large has derived from the labours of French intellect, will be our best reply. We take this test as the most general we can find, because, if mankind does not derive benefit from the intellectual labours of nations, those labours must have been either very worthless, or very selfish.

We shall first consider the character of their literature. The French were early lovers of poetry; that is to say, of light romance and amatory verse. The arrival of Constance, daughter of William I., count of Provence and wife to Robert, who succeeded Hugo Capet, is the epocha of the introduction of poetry composed in the vulgar tongue; and to that period succeeded others of considerable fame, as when the *Jeux Floraux* were introduced, when the *Troubadours*, the *Conteurs*, the *Menestrels*, &c. flourished; and it was from France that England first borrowed her romantic poesies. But while in this country, the imagination of the poet every day received new succours from the light of the philosopher, while it soared to express the most magnificent conceptions in the most splendid diction, and laid every province of nature under contribution; the French paid more attention to language than to thought, and selfishly confined their poetical enjoyments to what only they could feel, instead of extending them to the beauties which remain the same in every dialect and to every nation. Theirs was, and is, the poetry of phrases,—ours became the poetry of the mind and of the heart. Philosophy and passion, imagination and fancy, are equally unknown to French verse, where every sentiment is disfigured, and clipt, and drawn through the slender wire-holes of what is called good taste. Of all the nations that ever have poetised, the French is the least poetical; it is that which has produced the least proportion of such poetry as would continue to be poetry if translated into another tongue; that whose language is the least capable of rendering the strong imagery, the splendid fancies, or the deep thoughts of foreign bards endowed with bolder feelings than theirs; and the language of a nation is, perhaps, a more general measure of its poetical capacity than even its poetry. In short, France is the country to which the fervid soul, the inspiration, the rapture, the fine frenzy, the creative spirit of the poet have been the most completely denied.

In philosophy, of whatever description, whether moral, political,

or intellectual, the discoveries of the French have been slender ; and it would have been difficult in any of those branches, to name any thing for which the world is indebted to them, and which can be classed among the great impulses by which the species has been essentially improved, and raised to a more exalted station than it held before. No great conceptions on the human soul, the human heart, or the human understanding characterize their researches ; none of the towering marks, which stand as beacons in the ocean of time to show where thought has dared, and lighted the way to new adventurers, have been erected by French meditation. The systems which they have devised, whether in ethics, politics, or natural philosophy, are among the most short-lived of human invention, as the greatest names, those of Ramus, (murdered at the Saint Bartholomew, by Charpentaire his rival,) Des Cartes, Malebranche, Helvetius, and even Lavoisier can testify. They have discovered no worlds—they have planted few colonies, explored few deserts, and led the way through few seas untried before. No new empires have sprung from their loins to be the heirs and repositories of their various glories. The universe is indebted to them for no benefactions like the following : instruments to measure time ; the mariner's compass, (for the claim to this, upon the plea that the needle is in the shape of a fleur-de-lis, is as valid as Lavoisier's claim to the system of chemistry in the last century, by calling it French chemistry ;) printing, gunpowder, the air-pump, the steam-engine, telescopes, inoculation, vaccination, international constitutions which regulate the rights of states ; the institutions of political liberty as in Germany, or of civil liberty as in England ; or a religious reformation as in both. In a word, no people that has occupied such a space upon the globe, such a place in history ; that has enjoyed such a rank among nations ; that has aspired to so much consideration for mental improvement, to such an influence in the concerns of men ; that has been so long and so highly in a progressive state of cultivation, so eager for fame, so insatiate of glory, so restless in ambition, has ever contributed so little to the universal advantage of the species.

The art, indeed, in which Mr. Hume allows them the greatest eminence, certainly owes them much of the perfection it had attained in France: *l'art de vivre*. But either Mr. Hume has given a very wide meaning to the term, or else he has mistaken its import altogether. *L'art de vivre*, he says, the art of society and conversation, is the most useful and the most agreeable of any. If society be separated from conversation, and taken in its most extensive signification, civil and political society, the good organization of a community, the order of a realm, then indeed we should agree with Mr. Hume that it is the most useful. But the art of society, as illustrated in his *Essay* by the expressions which
accompany

accompany it, means no such thing. Thus allied, it implies the art of living agreeably in courts and in assemblies, in boudoirs and in salons, at *petits-soupers* and *grands-dîners*; the art which persons of wealth and fashion invent for their own convenience, and which thence descends, with decreasing intensity, to inferior ranks. It is the art which gives currency to folly, and polish to vice, and grace to depravity, and unworthiness to homely virtue, and ease to the intercourse of the polite. This art indeed, or rather this portion of the *art de vivre*, once was well understood in France, but only this portion; and this surely is not the most useful. It is painful to read such an opinion in the works of a man, who, as an historian and a philosopher, stands so eminent:—but the perfection which the French had attained in this art biassed his mind, and he was the dupe of their politeness; seductive, however, as were the Parisian coteries in which Mr. Hume lived, our general information—our rectitude of mind—our cordiality of feeling were unknown to them. And could Mr. Hume be gratified by conversation in which these were wanting? or did he not perceive their absence?

The intellect of the French is lively, quick, and sensitive; it is particularly happy in the glances it takes of transitory relations, and in all cases where ready perception is necessary; but it is unfortunate in all that depends upon combinations and generalization. It does not take enlarged views, or draw comprehensive conclusions. Guided by sensation more than by reason, it judges from exceptions, not from rules; because the rarity of exceptions obtrudes their notice upon the senses, and rules are matter for reflection. It has not therefore the greatness and stability, the perseverance, the solidity necessary for practical and established liberty. It may oppose tyranny, it may pull down despotism, for these are works of destruction; but there is little chance while it remains as it is, that it will put any thing better in their place. The French *sçavants*, by the splendour of whose renown the world has been dazzled, are the exceptions to the general state of knowledge in the country; neither is it to be wondered that a few among a very active people should advance most rapidly, as soon as their vivacity can submit to be confined within the severer limits of scientific truth. But grand and comprehensive views on the one hand, and, on the other, sober, rational practicability are always wanting.

Yet notwithstanding all that we have said against the probability of liberty in France, deduced from the past history of that country, and which, we confess, appears to us to contain the most discouraging prognostics we have met with in the annals of any European nation, we are not so hardened in our opinions as totally to exclude the possibility of success. Sad indeed would be

the lot of mortals if they never could improve. We most conscientiously believe in the reformation of all our fellow-creatures; and we hold their amendment to be more certain, as their repentance is more sincere, and their contrition more hearty. But expiations such as these are not alone sufficient to fit them for a better condition in the system of society; and human prosperity must be secured by principles more active. Those constitute, so to say, the theory of moral regeneration; but on earth, all is practice. What we require, before we can give up our opinion, is not merely sorrow for the past, but a total and fundamental reform of character and mind. New hearts must be infused into the people unused to liberty, before they can be free; and it is in their actions that we read their hearts. We expect, then, that the advocates who support an opposite doctrine from ours, and maintain the aptitude of the French nation for liberty, should point out to us such a change in their actions—not in their words, their professions, their declamations—not in their laws, their institutions, their forms of government—as may authorize a change in our opinions. We should be the first and the most happy to submit to their arguments, could they convince us that the late political troubles of France had been attended by a real and practical diminution of moral and political ill to that country only—for we will not be too unreasonable on the score of benefits conferred on other nations—that the pretexts upon which the French revolution was grounded, really were its causes; that, by it, the past vices of the nation had been reformed, or its past virtues strengthened; that new virtues had been engendered; that in a human sense the correction of evils had been pursued by no animosities, and animosity followed by no blood; that abuses had not been supplanted by crimes, and partial ill by general desolation; that justice, if not robbed of all its severity, had retained none which the public good did not demand; that war, if not stripped of all its dreadful engines, had practised no superfluous modes of misery; that civil discord had lost its fury, and revenge its stings, and duplicity its wiles; that the new champions of new freedom had directed their ingenuity to diminish, not to encrease the sad stores of human affliction; that their generosity had not been universal spoliation, their liberty not licentiousness, their equality not envy, their philanthropy not vengeance, their fraternity not the clasp of death; that toleration had some other origin beside the belief in no God; that incredulity had not erected its inquisition to exterminate all who were guilty of religion; and that Atheism had not kindled its fires of persecution, hotter than the flames of intolerance. What we ask surely is not much; and we stand eager and anxious to be refuted. The ordinary feelings of humanity would be sufficient to make us ardently desire to be convicted

victed of error; but we can assume a position more direct, one, of which the least delicate inquisitors of moral motives own the influence: England hardly has a dearer interest than that our opinion should not be correct. As the welfare of the good is promoted by good men; as the interest of the virtuous is to live among the virtuous; of peaceful provinces to have peaceful neighbours; of commercial nations to lie near opulent empires; so it is the interest of free states to be surrounded by free states. The native rights of mankind have nothing to fear from men who inhale the sacred breath of liberty. The higher France shall rise, then, in the scale of freedom, the higher Britain will be carried; and, as we do not think our present horizon is the verge of earth, exquisitely as we are gratified by the possession of the good it encircles, we hope and trust, nay, we are confident, that the species has yet much possible progress allotted to it, in that boundless space, whose centre is every where, but whose circumference, like the Riphean mountains of antiquity, recede indefinitely as mankind advances. Perhaps since the diffusion of Christianity, but surely during the last and wisest centuries, Britain has stood foremost in the infinite course of reason. It is she who has carried the undiscovered centre forwards, and made the inscrutable circumference expand. She is the foremost beacon of the civilized world; and the best security that her lights, and with them those of all mankind, shall not be extinguished is, that other nations shall follow and contemplate. The nearest in place we should hope to see the nearest in emulation; and that wisdom, virtue, and liberty should confirm to us the associates and competitors which vicinity had given; in order that what is termed art in the construction of society, may not be opposed to nature. It is by these principles that we would be judged; and if, in the desire to impress upon others the warm conviction which we feel ourselves, and in which both mind and soul participate, some bitterness has escaped us, it is the bitterness of sorrow, not of malignity. The nation we wish to know the most improved, is France. France is the country which, next to our own, we have the most immediate interest to see happy, tranquil, moral, wise, and free; in peace with ourselves, in harmony with the world; and if, when we do not find our wishes realized, when, on the contrary, we know them to be frustrated in every point, we dwell upon the theme; we speak in disappointment, not in envy; in affliction, not in hatred.

ERRATUM.

p., 339.—for ‘*Hetrodorus*’ read ‘*Heliodorus*.’

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